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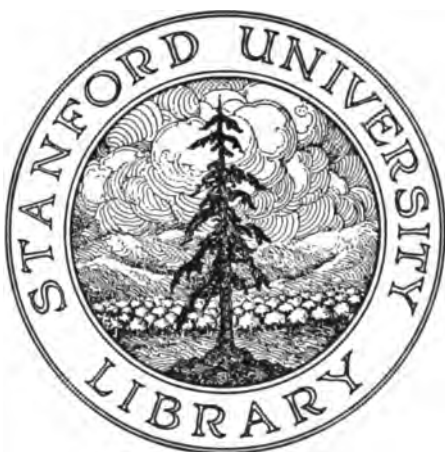
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THE
ANNUAL REGISTER,
OR A VIEW OF THE
HISTORY,
POLITICS,
AND
LITERATURE,
For the YEAR 1808.



LONDON:

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PREFACE.

IN the history of 1808, the great object of attention is Spain. Spain is the centre around which we arrange all other countries in Europe; and we take more or less interest in them, according to the relation in which they stand to the theatre, on which the contest between liberty and tyranny is to be determined. This exhibits to our view a striking mixture of patriotism and corruption, exertion and remissness, precaution and improvidence, heroism and cowardice. Patriotic ardour, however, prevailed, on the whole, over corruption; and though new levies of peasants were apt, on most occasions, to consult, as was to be expected, their safety by flight, the *amor patriæ*, and the bravery of many thousands of Spaniards were carried to the highest pitch of glory; and formed an early and fond hope, that if some character pre-eminently energetic and great should be produced by the present contest, and the patriots place him at their head, and trust themselves entirely to his direction, the Great Peninsula might be saved, and the tide of fortune turned against the tyrant. Such were the expectations of humanity after the first efforts of the direction of provincial juntas. At the present moment, the minds of men, accustomed to anticipate future by a retrospection of past events, are agitated between hope and fear, according as they turn their views to the progress of conquerors, or the prosperous success of those who, contending for liberty, have made head against them.

When a great and populous nation, possessing extensive yet compacted dominions, is roused to arms, and breathes a spirit of ambition and conquest, it has generally been found for a time irresistible. Multitudes are united under one standard; experience produces able commanders; they possess all the advantages of stratagem and attack over mere defence: resistance only renovates their spirits, inflames

flames their passions, and with their strength increases their pretensions. They go on, conquering and to conquer. The Persians under Cyrus were irresistible: the Macedonians under Alexander were irresistible; so were the Romans; the Saracens who invaded Europe from the south; and the hordes of Tartars that have poured at different periods into the north of Europe and of Asia. To come nearer to our own times, and a case the most similar in history to what is now alluded to, Charlemagne, triumphing over all confederation and resistance, carried his conquests over Europe to the banks of the Vistula—precisely to the territory that witnessed the peace of Tilsit in 1807. Scarcely had that great and enterprising prince remitted his exertions for the farther extension of his empire, or ceased from aggression, when the Norwegians and Danes appeared, and made predatory descents on the coast of Aquitaine. In the reign of his successors, they effected settlements in Sicily, Naples, France, and Great Britain: thus proving still the truth of the maxim, that enthusiasm and aggression usually prevail over the power attacked, or combinations among different powers for common safety.

On the other hand, the spirit of liberty, in as many or more instances, and some of them against the most fearful odds, has proved invincible. Not to multiply examples which will readily occur to readers of history, the Dutch maintained or regained their liberty, after a struggle with both the branches of the House of Austria, then in the zenith of its power, continued for half a century. The mountaineers of Chili were not to be subdued by the arms of Charles V., nor those of his successors, to this day. Whatever be the issue of the present contest in the Peninsula, it is proper to record the efforts of patriotism and courage, and the resources of necessity—we had almost said, of despair.

While doubts and fears were entertained that the political independence of Old Spain was hastening to a period, a gleam of hope arose, that, in all events, the Spanish name and nation would still be preserved in both Asia and America—*plus ultra*.

THE
ANNUAL REGISTER,
For the YEAR 1808.

THE
HISTORY
OF
EUROPE.

CHAP. I.

The Parliamentary proceedings of this Year, a natural Bond of Connection between the great Events of 1807 and 1808.—Speech from the Throne.—Debates thereon in both Houses.—Moved in the Peers by the Earl of Galloway.—Amendment moved by the Duke of Norfolk.—This Amendment seconded by Lord Sidmouth.—Opposed by the Earl of Aberdeen.—Supported by Lord Grenville.—Opposed by Lord Hawkesbury.—Supported by the Earl of Lauderdale.—Opposed by Lord Mulgrave.—The Amendment rejected.—In the House of Commons the Address moved by Lord Hamilton.—Motion for the Address seconded by Mr. C. Ellis.—Observations by Lord Milton respecting the Attack on Copenhagen.—Speech of Mr. Ponsonby, and Notice of a Motion respecting the affair of Copenhagen.—The Address supported by Mr. Milnes.—Strictures on the Address by Mr. Whitbread.—Speech of Mr. Canning in support of the Address.—Lord H. Petty against the attack on Copenhagen.—Mr. Bathurst ditto.—Mr. Windham ditto.—Reply of Mr. Perceval.—The Question carried without a Division.—Report of the Address.—Fresh Debates.

THE wonderful events that had come to pass on the continent of Europe in the summer and autumn of 1807, formed a great portion of the various subjects that

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were brought into discussion in the imperial parliament of Great Britain and Ireland, that was assembled on the 31st of January, 1808. It is therefore proper, in the history of

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this year, for the sake of order, both chronological and natural, in the first place to give some account of the proceedings and debates of this great national council; the only great council in Europe in which political affairs could be treated with freedom. The attention of parliament towards the close of the session was roused with equal impetuosity by the most unexpected events in the west of Europe: events which seemed to be as fortunate and bright, as those in the north and east had been disastrous and cloudy. Though therefore parliamentary affairs constitute only a secondary and subordinate part of the history of Europe, in the present case, they form a very natural bond of connexion between the great events of 1807 and those of 1808.

The speech from the throne*, delivered by commission, turned as usual on the great public questions that would come under discussion in parliament; the most important of which were the expedition to Copenhagen; our relations with Russia, Austria, and Sweden; the departure of the royal family of Portugal for the Brazils; and the orders in council respecting neutral commerce. In the house of peers an address, in answer to his majesty's speech, was moved by the earl of Galloway, who recapitulated with great approbation its most prominent features. In the speech from the throne, their lordships had been informed, that soon after the treaty of Tilsit had announced the direction of Russia, of the cause she had espoused, his Majesty's ministers received the most positive information that it was the intention

of the enemy to compel the courts of Denmark and Portugal to subscribe their navies to a general confederacy about to be formed against this country. This formidable combination had been frustrated with respect to Denmark by force of arms. The hostile sentiments of the court of Denmark, evinced in many ways for some years past, had rendered every other mode of proceeding useless. It was an unfortunate circumstance that the Danish fleet should be encircled by the walls of the capital, thereby causing misfortune which every human mind would wish to have avoided. But it was creditable to the arms of this country, and meritorious in the officers commanding the expedition, that every attempt was made to prevent that evil. As soon as success had enabled us to judge for ourselves, every prediction of government had been verified. An arsenal was found to be over supplied with every article of equipment, magazines replete with stores, ascertained to have been purchased by agents of France, and demonstrations which could not escape the eye of seamen, that the fleet was on the eve of being fitted out. It was gratifying to reflect on the means that had been employed to secure the navy of Portugal from the grasp of France, by recommending to the court to transfer the seat of their government to the Brazils; to see one government of Europe preferring emigration to submission to France, an event from which, provided a strict friendship and liberal policy should be observed by both Britain and Portugal, the most beneficial results were to be

* State Papers, page 296.

expected

expected. It was gratifying also to reflect, that at the very moment when our merchants were deprived of their trade with Russia, so large a portion of the continent of America was thrown open to their enterprise. He hoped that we should become independent of Russia for ever. If the legislature of these kingdoms would grant a liberal bounty to encourage the cultivation of hemp and flax, both at home and in the British colonies, we might yet live to greet the day of our quarrel with Russia, and even hail with satisfaction the inauspicious treaty of Tilsit.

With respect to the other powers of Europe, lord Galloway observed, that with the single exception of Sweden, they were prostrate at the feet of France, and obedient to the mandates of their domineering master. But the conduct and spirit of the independent monarch of Sweden merited every eulogium. He trusted that a British force would aid him in the Baltic to defy his enemies, and that British gratitude would compensate any loss he might be obliged to suffer, by transferring to him some of those colonies we could so well spare, and must soon take from our joint foes. As to our dispute with the United States of America, local knowledge obtained by him at the early periods of the French revolution had enabled him to form a very decided opinion with respect to that country, and he was sorry to say, he could not form a flattering one; and he was happy to learn by the tenour of his majesty's speech, that it was not the intention of his majesty's government to concede one single point more to that illiberal and prejudiced people. "My lords," said

he, "we must make a stand somewhere, and where can we do it better than in defence of our seamen and our trade, which the Americans unequivocally demanded? If America prefer French alliance to British connection, it is not in your power to controul her choice, nor can you prevent that war which I do not wish to take place; but which, if it does take place, I am confident, if pursued by us with judgment and reference to the American character and situation, no man need to fear." But lord Galloway observed, our chief concern was with France; "She proclaims, my lords, that she will not lay down her arms, but will augment her force until she has conquered the liberty of the seas, the first right of all nations. In recommending to us an armed truce, which she calls a peace, she says, 'it shall endure until she chooses to proclaim anew the principles of her armed neutrality,'" when she permits you to proclaim your principles of maritime law. Is this what you are willing to accept as your peace? Have we already forgot the peace of Amiens? Do we wish to see the seamen of France all restored, and the pendants of her ships going up, while ours will necessarily be coming down? My lords, although the arms of Europe may appear on the side of France, I cannot believe that her heart is against this country. If we remain firm and unappalled, as recommended by his majesty, and exemplified by himself, some balance may yet be preserved in Europe; if we yield, no man can foresee the consequences." The earl concluded by moving an address to his majesty, which, as usual,

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usual, re-echoed the sentiments of the speech. This motion was seconded by lord Kenyon, who dwelt chiefly on the passage in the speech which related to the emigration of the court of Portugal to the Brazils, and the spirit with which ministers conducted themselves in not surrendering the naval rights of this country to the Americans. The duke of Norfolk was sorry that it would be impossible for him to give his unqualified assent to the address as it stood. The speech from the throne declared, that it was with the depest reluctance his majesty had found himself compelled to resort to the extremity of force against Denmark. Now the duke, looking in the most careful manner to the speech, did not perceive that it was in the contemplation of his majesty's servants to afford to the house any such information on the subject as should enable them to say that they saw reason for concurring in a declaration that there was a necessity for the measure. He was aware it would be said that every species of discretion should be observed in exposing matters of such delicacy. This principle, and the propriety of acting upon it, in most cases, he was far from disputing; but he thought it was carrying the doctrine too far to desire of that house to express their opinion of the necessity of a measure of so extreme a nature, without the most distant tittle of evidence to justify it. His grace herefore moved, that the clause respecting the expedition to the Baltic, in the redress, should be omitted.

The amendment proposed was seconded by lord viscount Sidmouth. The speech referred to the fact of his majesty having

been apprized of the intention of the enemy to combine the powers of the continent in one general confederacy, to be directed either to the entire subjugation of this kingdom, or to the imposing upon his majesty an insecure and inglorious peace; that for this purpose, states formerly neutral, were to be forced into hostility, and compelled to bring to bear against the different parts of his majesty's dominions, the whole of the naval force of Europe, and specifically the fleets of Portugal and Denmark. If this were really the case, it would be a complete justification of the conduct of this country, not only in our own eyes, but those of the whole world. For the moment a nation meditates hostility against you, that is to be regarded as a declaration of war. But then, to give effect to this justification, some proof of its existence must be adduced. "A hostile disposition," it had been said, on the part of the Danish government towards this country, had manifested itself for the last seven years; and the fact of their having acceded to the views of France, was evident from the immense quantity of stores and ammunition found in their arsenals. Lord S. asked if it was consistent with human reason, or even with the words of the speech itself, in another paragraph, that the court of Denmark should be in amity with France at a time when France was carrying on hostilities against Russia? or if it could be supposed, that between the period of the battle which preceded the peace of Tilsit, and our attack on Copenhagen, these stores had been collected? Where then were the demonstrations of hostility manifested on the part of Denmark

Denmark against this country? Where were her armies? In Holstein. Where was her fleet? Lying in ordinary. Her armies, so far from being in hostile movement against us, were, to the number of 20,000 men, encamped in Holstein, guarding against the hostile movements of the French. Had they been in Zealand, we might not so easily have been able to congratulate ourselves on the victory we obtained. Her navy, so far from meditating hostilities against us, was surprised, the greater part of it in a state of complete disrepair. It was said that the French would have seized on Holstein, and from thence might have easily passed over into Zealand. This, his lordship understood, was by no means so easy as was imagined: such a frost seldom occurred as to afford a comfortable passage from the one place to the other; and even when it did so happen the people of Zealand might break the ice nearest to their own side. And, supposing that the French might thus have got possession of the Danish navy, what use could they have made of it? What had we to dread from the addition of sixteen sail of the line, of such ships as those of Denmark? Even before the battle of Trafalgar we could have had nothing to dread from such an accession of strength to our enemy, far less now. We were told that hostile dispositions, on the part of the northern powers, had begun to shew themselves ever since the peace of Tilsit. Why then had we allowed a Russian fleet since that time to pass through the Mediterranean, and three sail of the line belonging to Russia to go unmolested, at the very same time the Danish fleet was seized on? Would it not have

been more magnanimous to have attacked the powerful than the weak? It was known that the minds of the inhabitants of Petersburg were favourable to this country. Our fleet, by presenting itself at a proper time before that capital, might have gained possession of it, and thus Sweden would have been saved; and Denmark, who was as much our friend as Russia was our ally, would have been spared. This mode of warfare his lordship objected to, particularly as tending to overturn the law of nations. It would have been more becoming in Great Britain to oppose our honour and good faith to our enemy's mode of warfare.

The earl of Aberdeen defended the expedition to Copenhagen. Of the law of nations, self-protection was a principle. Much had been said of the extraordinary and unprecedented nature of this expedition; but there was a precedent for it in the conduct of the late administration towards Turkey. And he did not conceive it to be more probable, that the Turkish fleet should sail into the English channel than the Danish.

Lord Grenville said, that from the commencement of the war in 1793, down to the termination of the illustrious administration of the illustrious Mr. Pitt, in no speech from the throne, at the commencement of a session, were parliament called upon to pledge themselves in support of measures without evidence before them of their necessity, propriety, or utility. In no case were they called upon to approve of measures before the papers relating to them were produced, whereon a judgment might be formed according to the evidence of the case; yet, in the present instance,

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ministers

ministers departing from so salutary a rule, not only called upon parliament to approve of measures which nothing but absolute necessity could justify, and respecting the necessity of which not a tittle of evidence had been produced, but had even called upon them to applaud other measures now, respecting which papers were to be produced hereafter. There was on the continent of Europe a great reliance on the integrity and justice of the British parliament; and it looked with anxiety for the decision of this council on the motives and policy of the expedition to Copenhagen. This had already made an impression throughout the continent unfavourable to this country. How much greater would that impression be, if parliament should give its decision approving of that expedition? And still more, if it should do so, without any evidence or information on the subject. Ministers had asserted, that there were secret articles in the treaty of Tilsit affecting the interests of this country, and the French government asserted there were none. Here then was a challenge; and it was incumbent on ministers to prove that there were such articles, but this they had not attempted to do; and in the speech from the throne had given up the assertion they had formerly made, of the existence of those secret articles, in his majesty's declaration respecting Russia. That circumstances might exist which would imperatively justify such an expedition as that to Copenhagen, was admitted by the most approved writers on the law of nations. The same writers, however, stated the dreadful consequences that would result from the

application of such a doctrine, unless the imperative circumstances were clearly proved and accurately defined. The danger ought to be clearly established, and the inability of the neutral state to defend itself. With respect to the Danish fleet, which it had been said was in a state of preparation, was it not natural when all the powers around her were at war, that she should be in a state of preparation? But if he had not been grossly misinformed, so far from this being the case, the greater part of the Danish ships were laid up in ordinary. It was contended, that because French troops occupied Holstein, Zealand must fall of course, but this was not at all proved; on the contrary, there were between Holstein and Zealand two passages of the sea; the one six, and the other sixteen miles wide, which a French army must cross to invade Zealand, and where they might be met with effect by British or Danish ships. It might as well be said, that England must be conquered by the French because they occupy the continent of France, there being only a channel twenty-one miles broad between Calais and Dover, as that Zealand must fall if Holstein were occupied by French troops. It had been argued by the noble lord who spoke last, that the expedition to Copenhagen had a precedent in that to Constantinople. Supposing the expedition to Constantinople to have been an instance of bad faith, how is that to justify another instance of bad faith? The fact however was, that the expedition to Turkey was chiefly in conformity with the treaty with Russia, and that its object was not to seize the Turkish fleet, but

but to enforce the execution of treaties.

With regard to the two propositions maintained by ministers, first, that we should not enter into a negotiation unless the basis thereof should be previously stated; and, secondly, that we should not avail ourselves of the mediation of any power not perfectly impartial, or suspected of partiality to the enemy, Lord G. could not conceive any thing more preposterous. The second proposition was peculiarly untenable, because we do not accept a mediator as an umpire, but merely as a medium of facilitating our communication with the enemy. If the mediator be partial to the enemy, what injury can result to us? We are not bound by his sentiments, and we may avail ourselves of his interposition, by rejecting which we may provoke him to declare against us. Such precisely had been the case with respect to Russia. As to the first proposition there were not in the whole history of this, or any other civilized country, any precedents to be found for sustaining it. With respect to that topic of the speech which related to Portugal, the simple questions were, what we had lost, and what we had gained by the emigration to Portugal? We had lost, as a publication of the enemy had lately stated, two of the most important ports for us on the whole coast of the continent of Europe, Lisbon and Oporto. And, with regard to the transmarine possessions of Portugal, he asked what we had obtained, more than what we possessed before, by the presence of the Prince of Brazil in that settlement? How would the Brazils be made more productive for this country, by any other means

than those which would tend to the consummate ruin of our own colonies? In so far as the emigration in question manifested any friendship for us, or as it presented a contrast to the conduct of other princes, it certainly formed a grateful subject for the contemplation of mankind, and of congratulation to that house. But as to the commercial or political advantages to be derived from it to this country, he could not consent to delude his countrymen by holding out such ideas.

In reviewing the dreadful catalogue of evils which surrounded or menaced this country, he believed that the greatest additional calamity for us, and the greatest advantage for France that could be well imagined, would be a war with America. Such, indeed, was the language of ministers themselves. And yet what had been their conduct? Why, at the very time it was most material to avoid such a war, they absolutely altered the law of the land to promote it. Ministers stated, and in that Lord G. agreed with them; that no difficulty or danger could befall the country equal to that of acquiescing in the surrender of our maritime rights. If America put forth such a claim, then a call upon parliament and the country to resist it would be unanimously answered in the affirmative. But America had not asserted any such claim. — The speech, Lord G. observed, studiously separated the two questions involved in our controversy with America, namely, that of the Chesapeake, and that relating to our orders of council. But those questions would not be separated in America, nor yet in discussion here. In examining the orders of council, they were to be considered in three point

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points of view; first, as affecting our commerce; secondly, the constitution; and lastly, our negotiation with America. When all the papers relative to this important question should be laid before the house, it would be the duty of the house particularly to enquire, whether his majesty's government could constitutionally enact such prohibitions as these orders of council contain; next, whether the time chosen for issuing these orders was not peculiarly exceptionable, as tending so much to inflame the minds of the Americans, already so strongly excited against us; and also, whether we had any right thus to annihilate the whole trade of America: thus to say to that power, as our orders distinctly expressed, "Not a ship of yours shall sail which shall not be subject to confiscation by us, or to conditions which shall subject it to confiscation by the enemy." Lord G. asked, whether such language was reconcileable with any law or usage, or principle of equity? On what grounds could the paragraph in the speech relate to the necessity of the orders in council? The plain interpretation of this paragraph was, "that we had been too long carrying on a most unequal contest of justice against injustice." Could that great man, Mr. Pitt, look down from heaven upon this declaration, how much would he deprecate the sentiment, "that we ought to terminate the unequal contest of justice against injustice?" It was to the principle which sustained justice against injustice that we owed our consequence, character, and safety. It was this principle that animated our army and navy, which upheld the spirit of the people, and which, if we should

abandon, we would sink into shame and degradation.

Lord Grenville concluded a long speech, of which we have only given briefly the substance, as all the topics he handled afterwards became subjects of separate discussion, with an earnest representation of the importance and necessity of an inquiry into the state of Ireland, with a view to the adoption of measures calculated to conciliate the population of that country.

Lord Hawkesbury having observed, that ministers could not be expected to point out the precise quarter and channel from which they had received their information respecting the arrangements at Tilsit, said, that even if ministers entertained any doubt of their information respecting what passed at Tilsit, it must long since have vanished. The information received through the channel alluded to was corroborated by a variety of other channels wholly unconnected with each other. It was corroborated by the testimony of the government of Portugal, to whom it was proposed to make common cause with the continent against England, and to unite their fleet with that of Spain, of France, and of Denmark, to enable the confederacy to make a general attack on these islands. It was corroborated by the testimony of different persons in Ireland, where all the designs and projects of the enemy were most speedily known, and where it was promised, that the combined fleets of Spain, Portugal, and Denmark, should make a descent on both Ireland and Britain, but the principal one on Ireland.—A wish had been expressed that we had proceeded to Cronstadt, and seized the Russian fleet, leaving the Danish

Danish fleet of sixteen sail of the line behind us!! Besides, the Russian fleet was not so ready for sea, nor so well calculated in any respect as the Danish fleet to carry the designs of the enemy into execution. Further, there were many circumstances in the treaty of Tilsit which indisposed the people of Russia against that treaty; and even at the time the seizure of the Danish fleet was known at Petersburg, the emperor Alexander seemed more inclined than before to renew his relations with this country. As to all that was urged against the orders in council, and against the treatment of America, while a negotiation with America was on foot, it was doubtless better to abstain from a discussion that would tend only farther to inflame the minds of the two countries. He lamented the uncalled-for mention of the state of Ireland. The concessions alluded to by the noble baron could not now be thought of. Indeed, even if these concessions were made, still more would be called for, and there would be no end of such demands.

The earl of Lauderdale replied to lord Hawkesbury, and strongly urged the constitutional necessity of a bill of indemnity for the orders of council.

Lord Mulgrave admitted, that neither at the time of rejecting the Russian mediation, nor at this moment, had government any copy of the secret articles of the treaty of Tilsit. They were in possession of secret projects, but could only assert, not adduce proof of their nature.

The duke of Norfolk's motion, to omit the fourth paragraph in the proposed address to the throne, respecting the seizure of the Danish fleet; and another amendment by

lord Grenville, declaratory of the opinion of the house, that it would neither be respectful to his majesty, nor becoming the dignity of the house, to give an opinion as to the propriety of rejecting the Russian mediation till the papers relative to that question were before the house, were both negatived without a division. The address was then agreed to, and ordered to be presented.—Against the decision of the house respecting the seizure of the Danish fleets, protests, with reasons of dissent, were entered by the duke of Clarence, lord Rawdon, the earl of Lauderdale, the earl Grey, lord Vassal Holland, the duke of Norfolk, the viscount Sidmouth, and lord Erskine.

On the same day, Jan. 21, in the house of commons, as soon as the speech from the throne was read from the chair,

Lord Hamilton rose, and in a maiden speech moved the address. After a review of the extraordinary state of Europe, the difficulties and dangers that environed our country, and the success and the glory with which it had made head against all these; he said, that in the regret which his majesty had expressed at being compelled to adopt hostile measures against Denmark, the house would undoubtedly join; but it would be a regret unmingled with reproach: for, after the treaty of Tilsit, and the subsequent conduct of Russia and Denmark, it was impossible that any man could doubt of a combination of powers having been formed against us. Too long had the common enemy of Europe been permitted to proceed in his career of violence to neutral powers for the aggrandizement of his own. That the expedition to Copenhagen was

was

was most important, and most critical, every one must have felt when it was brought to a determination; every one must now be sensible that it was most wise. He challenged the annals of Europe to produce an instance of a warlike enterprize, in which so much entreaty had been resorted to before success, and so much forbearance manifested after it. What his majesty's ministers had planned with decision, they had carried into effect with a force which could not leave to the Danes any hope of triumphing in a contest. And he confessed, that he could no more consider the Danish government as justified in sacrificing the lives of so many gallant men in a hopeless resistance, than he could admire the heroism of the prince, who, himself escaping from the dangers with which he was environed, coolly devoted his capital to destruction, and its inhabitants to slaughter. Accustomed as we had been lately to witness extraordinary events, he could not avoid expressing his astonishment at seeing the emperor of Russia, the champion of the continent, secured by his situation from the calamities which had overtaken other countries, voluntarily put the last band to the degradation of the continental powers of Europe; to see him descending from the proud eminence on which he had been placed, for the purpose of violating his engagements, and crouching under the throne of that usurper, whom he had so lately insulted and defied. The contrast which the firmness and magnanimity of the king of Sweden displayed, commanded equally our admiration and support. And lord H. was sure, that the house would gladly enable his majesty not only to fulfil

his engagements to that gallant prince, but also to shew to the world, that it was not by the quantum of immediate interest that we measured our national faith and friendship.

Of many important subjects of consideration presented by his majesty's speech, none were more important than the principle adopted, and the steps taken by our government, to frustrate the enemy's designs against our commerce: the principle of retaliation and self-defence.—In a moment of frenzy, France had issued edicts levelled against our commerce. Had the objects of these measures been attained, had they even partially crippled our means, the consideration that a temporary distress to ourselves was utter ruin to our opponents, must have induced us to persevere in the contest with tranquillity and firmness; but the very reverse was the fact. So far from our means being diminished, although the different branches of our commerce might vary in extent, the aggregate exceeded that of the most prosperous period of our history: insomuch that his majesty, in his most gracious speech, expressed his confidence, that no material increase of the burthens of his people would be necessary.

There was one subject, from the contemplation of which unalloyed pleasure must be derived in every point of view; namely, the rescue from the power of France of one of the oldest and most faithful of our allies, transferred from a country weak and indefensible to one secure and powerful: an occurrence which afforded a field for the most brilliant anticipations, commercial and political. Lord Hamilton then said,

said, that under the impression of the feelings which he experienced, he should move that an humble address should be presented to his majesty, &c. The address, which, as usual, was an echo to the speech, being read by the clerk at the table,

Mr. C. Ellis seconded the motion. With respect to the design entertained by France, of compelling Denmark to join the confederacy against Great Britain, if ministers were in possession in July of the information alone, which had since been publicly disclosed, they would have failed in their duty if they had not acted as they did. A similar attempt had been made by France on Portugal. But the frankness of the court of Lisbon, and its determination neither to lend its aid to the confederacy against Great Britain, nor to abandon British persons and property to the possession of the French, entitled it to the confidence of his majesty's government, and justified it in pursuing a line of conduct different from that adopted in the case of Denmark. Adverting to the Russian declaration, he contended, that a character very different from that of Russia marked the composition, not only in the sort of argument made use of, but in the peculiarities of the style, which, if not French, was the most happy imitation of French that he had ever seen. The magnanimity of his majesty in offering reparation for injury to the United States of America, was most praise worthy. He trusted the Anglo-Americans would see that it was not their true policy to unite themselves to France. We had ample means of carrying on war. In our navy we had not only

the most efficient defence, but a greater power of active hostility than, perhaps, we ourselves were yet aware of. By exerting our naval force in every possible direction, we might shew the enemy that a predominant navy gives a power scarcely inferior to that of a conquering army.

Lord viscount Milton regretted, that ministers had not expressed their willingness to enter into a negotiation, on suitable terms, for peace. At the same time, he did not approve of any idle clamours for peace before the terms of negotiation should be ascertained. The attack on Copenhagen he considered to be *prima facie* unjustifiable. Copenhagen was left defenceless, while the Danish troops were pouring towards Holstein, thus evincing an unaffected confidence in the amity of the British nation, and at the same time a sincere distrust of the French army. Yet he did not deny that there might have been circumstances as yet unrevealed, by which the attack on that capital might be justified.

Mr. Ponsonby observed, that his majesty's speech embraced such a variety of topics, that it was not easy to express one's sentiments upon it. Had it been made known, as was the usual custom, two or three days before it was delivered, members would have had less difficulty in stating their opinions upon its contents. And this was the more to be wished, that it was the longest perhaps that was ever heard from the throne since the days of James I. Its principal object he understood to be, the elucidation of our relations of peace and war with other powers. But before he could deliver an opinion of the conduct,

on

on which these relations depended, he must be in possession of the correspondence which had taken place between our own government and the governments of foreign nations. It was right in ministers to assume an attitude of dignity, worthy of the character and resources of the country. Whether a prolongation of the war with France, or the commencement of hostilities with other powers was the only alternative left us, he was not in possession of information sufficient to form an opinion. The house, he asserted, was equally destitute of information on the question relative to America and neutral nations. There was another subject of much importance, which might have been introduced into the speech, namely, the present state of Ireland. As to the affair of Copenhagen, he would on a future occasion move for the production of necessary documents, so that it might, at least, be fairly brought into discussion.

Mr. Milnes, after an eulogy on the present administration, observed, that it would indeed have been impolitic to adopt any measure by which the character of the country might be affected, if the powers of Europe retained their independence, if the government of Denmark had been free to follow that course which its honour and interest dictated. But there was not a power on the continent which could have resisted the mandates of the enemy. It was the first duty of ministers to act upon the necessity of the case, and it was equally their duty to use their discretion in judging of that necessity. And if, in acting upon this, they were to err at all, it was best that they should err upon the side of public security. If Denmark

had been really worse disposed towards this country than she was, could she have pursued any other course than that precisely which she had followed? The extraordinary concentration of French troops on the frontiers of Holstein, the submission of Denmark to the decrees of France, and her remonstrances against our maritime rights, together with her active and formidable naval equipments, were sufficient evidences of her submission to Buonaparte.—Was Buonaparte's system, that "all Europe should be devoted, excepting Denmark?" With a large navy, with a more extended commerce, and with the keys of the Baltic in her hand, would he have allowed her to remain as a monument of reproach to the vassalage of surrounding countries, and to have broken the continuity of the chain which binds every country of Europe? It was the declared opinion of a noble lord (Milton) that the expedition should be condemned, because the crown prince was in Holstein, and his forces unprepared for action. Strange as that sentiment might appear to his mind, it excited no surprise. It was a doctrine of the school of which the noble lord was a disciple, or perhaps the leader. And when a noble lord (Petty) announced, that their motto was—"Nos Rebus Servamus Secundis;" or that they would never afford any assistance to friends till they were in a condition not to want it, he could not but think the advice of the noble lord perfectly natural, that we should never resist an enemy till he should be in a condition to despise our resistance. As to peace, Buonaparte would certainly, in his terms, wish to question our maritime

maritime supremacy, a patrimony entailed upon us, and therefore not a matter of negotiation; ministers would judge how far a peace was promising under such auspices. Were Buonaparte to abdicate his throne, and to depose all his minion princes; were he to restore to France her legal government, and to Europe her balance of power, they would not, in his mind, be equivalents for the sacrifice of our command at sea.—We had seen the original principles of revolutionary devastation settled into a savage tyranny, which had armed, by its menaces or corruption, the rest of Europe against us. We saw that it had a leader pledged to our ruin, who, after exhausting the other sources of his malignity, renounced at length that commercial law which mitigated the war to both, and converted into the instruments of his hostility the want and misery of his own people. We saw, however, that in this spirit of destruction, disengaged from all its other objects, and concentrated on the downfall of this single country, he had not advanced one single step towards it; that the time was still to come, when the glories of the great nation were to burst on Britain, and when, execrating the oligarchy of our constitution, we were to become happy in the monarchy he was to give us. In the mean time, he declared us blockaded, not by the presence and assault of his navies, and the consequent destruction of our commercial strength, but by shutting the gates against his own shipping. Seeing all this, and reflecting how far the predictions of Buonaparte had been fulfilled, and on whom this species of warfare pressed heaviest, the whole nation

might learn a lesson of encouragement and of admonition: to bear what they had so steadily borne, and to command success by deserving it.

Mr. Whitbread said, that if there was no other justification of the attack on Denmark than what had been given that evening, he had no hesitation in declaring it base and treacherous. He declared, that he would rather have seen the fleet of Denmark in forced hostilities against us, manned by her sailors, acting under compulsion; than he would, after what had happened, see them moored in our own ports. In addition to the inveterate animosity of Denmark, to which this act had given rise, had it not also been the means of cutting off our communication with the continent, as well as of throwing Denmark into the hands of France? But we were told it would be dangerous to grant the information desired. To whom would it be dangerous? To ministers? He verily believed they had none to give. To those who gave them the information on which they acted? This he could not well conceive, since they had asserted their being in possession of it: and it was not very material, after avowing this fact, whether they imparted the substance of the information or not. As to the fact in question itself, we had assertion against assertion: the assertion of the crown prince of Denmark on the one hand, and an assertion which ministers had put into the mouth of their sovereign on the other. And, for his own part, he had no hesitation in saying, that he gave credit to the former in preference to the latter.

Mr. Whitbread here adverted to

to expressions used by the noble lord who moved the address, highly derogatory to the courage of the crown prince, and such certainly as never ought to have been applied to any man who, like him, had been tried, or indeed to any man who was untried. He saw, however, with regret and sorrow, that it was quite the fashion to deal out sarcasms, and sometimes abuse on those powers who, in consequence of the pressure of circumstances, had been compelled to abandon our cause. He was far from thinking that the emperor Alexander had deserted us in a moment of despondency and alarm as had been stated, and was persuaded that he had been forced to the step he took by the necessity of the case.—As to the emigration from Portugal, it was brought about by the menacing proclamation of Buonaparte, and the approach of a French army to Lisbon, not, in any degree by the dexterity and address of ministers, and their agent, lord Strangford, as had been given out.—Of our relations with Vienna and Petersburg, he would forbear to speak till the promised papers were on the table; but if the principles of common sense were applied to the present conjuncture, a more favourable opportunity for negotiating a peace with France could not be hoped for.

Mr. secretary Canning was surprised, that Mr. Ponsonby should have required a day's preparation to marshal his arguments or opinions on the matter of the address; to deliver his sentiments upon topics on which the public mind had long since formed a decided opinion. For the discussion of these, he had stated, as an additional ground of delay, the necessity

of communications respecting the intercourse between his majesty's ministers and the courts of Austria and Russia.—These powers were not in a situation to mediate impartially. If this fact should be proved by the notes to be produced, he hoped for Mr. P's. approbation of ministers, in not consenting to treat till they should know upon what basis; a question that had occupied three months in the late negotiation. As to the expedition to Copenhagen, it was possible that Mr. P. might move for some information that might be produced safely. But if he should move for the secret information on which that expedition was undertaken, as far as his judgment went, he believed he would never have ocular conviction.—Was it possible, that a time when there was no capital on the continent where the power of Buonaparte could not drag the offender against him to execution, should be fixed on for divulging the sources of secret intelligence? Was this country to say to the agents who served it from fidelity, or from less worthy motives, "You shall serve us but once, and your life shall be the forfeit?"—What had happened to Portugal was sufficient to convince every fair thinking man of the truth of the information respecting Denmark: for the communications from the Portuguese government related as well to the Danish as the Portuguese navy. In the expedition to Copenhagen the present ministers had the example of those before them. It was only necessary to apply to Denmark the principle they had applied to Portugal; to threaten and coerce secret enemies, or at least suspicious neutrals, instead of old and

and faithful allies. It was remarkable that while the application of force at Copenhagen was condemned by the gentlemen opposite, the non-application of it at Lisbon was censured no less severely. But so it would have been if the force had been applied at Lisbon and negotiation at Copenhagen. The Danish navy would have been lost by foolish confidence, and Portugal outraged by unprincipled and impolitic violence.

With respect to the late supposed negotiation for peace, Mr. C. declared that no tangible overture had been made either by the French or Austrian government. With respect to the late orders of council retaliating the restrictions of the French government on our commerce, he maintained our right to go as far as France, and make France feel, in the effects of her own injustice, that we could hope to bring her to more reasonable conduct. The vigour of the British navy, when put forth with a determination which the moderate spirit of our government had hitherto restrained, would prove equal to cope with the power that the tyrant of France had established at land. It would appear, that if he combined all the powers of the continent to oppress us, the combination would but encrease our strength and energy, and make us triumph under our oppression.

Lord H. Petty contended, that the principles of right and wrong were to be considered in politics as well as philosophy, and on these men were to reason in general till a particular case was made out. It was a singular instance to be in a state of war with a power against which there were no documents to

prove a hostile act. Lord Petty regretted very much that there should be so little in the speech about the temporary policy respecting Denmark, and nothing at all about the permanent policy respecting Ireland.

Mr. Bathurst contended, that all the danger that would arise from a communication of the particulars of the intelligence required, had been incurred already. He was surprised that those who had examined whether Portugal could be defended against France, had not also enquired into the practicability of defending Zealand, and whether the Danes were able and disposed to defend themselves.

Mr. Windham put the question if it was reasonable to call upon the country to approve of a proceeding in its nature involving the national character, without alledging one instance in proof of either the justice or policy of the measure? As to the question of right, he was willing to wait for the justification of ministers, and should, for the sake of the country, be most happy to find it satisfactory. But as to the policy, he could only say, that he would rather Buonaparte were now in possession of the Danish fleet by the means to which he must have resorted in the seizure of it, than that England should have got it in the way she did. The ships would be rotten when the effervescence of national feeling would live in the remembrance of national injury.—To this observation,

The chancellor of the exchequer replied, that certainly the captured ships would be rotten some time or other, but not in the ensuing spring; not at a period when

when they might be employed in conveying French troops to Ireland, not when they were to be employed in excluding us from the Baltic, and furthering the designs of the enemy.

Colonel Montague Matthew expressed, in strong terms, his mistrust of a set of ministers who had come into office with an avowed hostility against four millions of his majesty's subjects in Ireland.

The question was then carried without a division, and the house adjourned.

House of Commons, Friday, Jan. 22,—Lord Hamilton brought up the report of the address to his majesty.

Mr. Macdonald said, that the armament of the Danes could not be considered as hostile, because the preparations in their harbours could not have been begun in the interval between the treaty of Tilsit and the sailing of the expedition; and as to the dispositions of the Danes, their arming exhibited rather a jealousy of the designs of France than of those of Great Britain.

Mr. Fuller was only sorry that ministers had not seized every bird that hovered about the transactions at Tilsit. Whatever the other side of the house might say about the allegations of crown princes, or half-crown princes, we ought to believe our own ministers.

Mr. Herbert was of opinion, that the present ministers had, by their expedition, disgraced the country, without either necessity or ability. Yet he would not oppose the address, though he would not promise his support of the measures to which it related.

Mr. Eden required an explanation

of one part of the speech. The treaty of Tilsit was signed on the 7th of July; intelligence, and a copy of it reached this country on the 8th of August only, and yet, on the 26th of July, the orders had been given to admiral Gambier to sail from the Downs.

Mr. Pym expressed his opinion that our advantages from peace would be equal to, if not greater, than that of our enemies. It was impossible for him, on the evidence before the house, to approve of the expedition to Denmark.

Mr. York said, that he would ask any man acquainted with public business, whether the nature of our government was not such that the government of the country could not proceed if it did not act upon grounds which could not, consistently with the interests of the country, be made public? He was old enough to remember the American war, and he could state from opportunities which he had had of personally knowing the fact, that in consequence of the production of the papers, relative to the sailing of the Toulon fleet, on the motion of a gentleman of very high talents, now no more, (Mr. Fox) the French had been enabled to cut off a source of intelligence which this country had possessed in Holland since the days of queen Anne. He would give credit to government for their having received intelligence of the secret articles of Tilsit. There was enough on the face of such papers to enable the enemy to trace the source from whence they might have been received. On the secret articles of Tilsit he would rest his foot, and give his approbation to the measure in

a question. As to the collusion of Denmark, he must confess that as an Englishman, he thought and felt that the Danish government (for he would not speak with disrespect of the prince so nearly connected with our own family) had acted with collusion. It ought not to be forgotten that before force was employed, an alternative had been offered to the Danish government, and when that alternative was rejected he thought we were right in employing force to secure the fleet: a conduct that was justifiable on the first principles of human nature, self-preservation. Abstract principles of right he respected as much as any man; but in our respect for these we should not suffer ourselves to become the victims of abstract principles of wrong. With regard to the dates which had been adverted to, gentlemen seemed to draw their whole argument from the rapidity with which the expedition had been fitted out and dispatched; a rapidity which they had not lately been accustomed to witness. And if the crown prince, or rather (for ministers often governed princes and kings) the Bernstorffs had formed their estimates of the expedition, from the specimens they had lately seen, they would not have expected that Zealand would be so soon surrounded: they therefore thought it expedient to keep their army in Holstein, to keep up appearances. As to the question of peace, it was involved in difficulty and delicacy. He had supported the peace of Amiens, as an experiment; yet as the experiment had been made, he was not disposed to repeat it. Whilst Buonaparte continued at the head of the French nation, and should continue to go-

vern by military measures, from the moment we should make peace with him our danger would begin. He trusted, however, that ministers would not reject any offers of negotiation on terms of equality, and the point of honour should be never given up.

Mr. Windham thought that honour in any peace that might now be concluded, was totally out of the question; safety was all we could now look for, and this was all he would ask. The honourable gentleman appeared to treat anciently received principles with as little ceremony as the famous French committee of safety had done. Mr. W. however, would still venture to profess an attachment to the old maxim of 'honesty being the best policy,' a maxim, which was just as true when applied to the conduct of nations as that of individuals. Nor did he think it sufficient merely to profess it; it was equally essential to act upon it. But an open and public repudiation of this principle was an alarming symptom indeed, and infinitely more fatal to the cause of public morals than many practical deviations from it. It was a state of most hopeless depravity when people began to adapt their theory to their practice. He advised ministers to stop short in this new career, for he assured them they would cut but a poor figure when compared with the enemy, who from long practice, was become a rival too formidable for us to encounter. It never had been disputed that government might have received information which it would be imprudent in them to publish. But there was another question, Whether or not they should have acted on such information? Mr. W.

suspected,

suspected, that in the case in question, the ministers, instead of preparing troops for an expedition, had prepared an expedition for the troops. Finding that they had got money in their pockets, they resolved on spending it. Not knowing what to do with the army they had collected, they said, after some reflection, "God bless us, let us go and attack the Danish fleet."

Mr. Canning, in answer to the question put by Mr. Eden, observed, that ministers had never said that they had in their possession any one secret article of the treaty of Tilsit, but only that the substance of such secret articles had been confidentially communicated to his Majesty's government, and that a long time previous to the date adverted to by the honourable gentleman. As to the inference attempted to be drawn from the advanced state of preparation in which the armament was placed before the treaty of Tilsit, it was notorious that that army was then equipping for an entirely distinct object, when the secret intelligence was received

which made it the duty of ministers to employ it in the service in which it had been so successfully engaged.

Mr. Whitbread, after some observations on the importance of maintaining national morality and good faith, and the possibility of making peace as readily now as at any former period of the war, adverted to what had fallen from Mr. Yorke of a tender or option, as it was called, made to the Danes, that if they gave us their fleet, we would defend them from the French. How? We defend them, who were not able, after seizing their fleet, to keep possession of Zealand for one winter? He concluded with repeating his conviction, that ministers had never received, either in substance or in form, the secret information which they alleged they had received, and to which they had attributed that fatal and disgraceful expedition.

The report was brought up, and the address was presented to his Majesty, who returned his most gracious answer January 25th.

CHAP. II.

Motion in the House of Lords for a Vote of Thanks to the Officers employed in the Attack on Copenhagen.—A Motion to the same Effect in the House of Commons.—Opposed by Mr. Windham—and Mr. Brand.—Supported by the Chancellor of the Exchequer—and on a Division of the House carried.—Motion by Mr. Ponsonby for Papers relative to the Expedition to Copenhagen—and for certain Resolutions on that Subject.—Opposed by Mr. Canning—Mr. Milnes—Lord Leveson Gower—Lord Castlereagh, &c. &c.—Supported by Mr. Windham—and Mr. Whitbread.—On a Division of the House negatived.—House of Peers.—Motion by the Duke of Norfolk for the Substance of all Communications respecting the State of the Danish Navy, and the Secret Articles of the Treaty of Tilsit.—Supported by Lord Hutchinson—The Earl of Buckinghamshire—The Earl of Moira—The Earl of Jersey—The Earl of St. Vincent—Lord Sidmouth, &c. &c.—Opposed by the Marquis of Wellesley—Lord Berrington—Lord Limerick, &c. &c.—Negatived.—Resolution moved by Lord Sidmouth for preserving the Danish Fleet in such a State that it might be eventually restored to Denmark.—After a Debate, the Motion negatived.—House of Commons.—Motion by Mr. Sheridan for the Correspondence which passed after the Capitulation of Copenhagen, between His Majesty's Ministers and the Court of Stockholm, relative to the retaining Possession of the Island of Zealand by a Swedish Army in Concert with His Majesty's Forces.—Supported by Mr. Windham—Mr. Ponsonby, &c. &c.—Opposed by Mr. Canning;—negatived.—House of Lords.—Motion by the Earl of Darnley for an Address to His Majesty, stating that there was no Necessity for the Expedition against Copenhagen, &c.—negatived.—Motion for an Address to His Majesty of an opposite Nature by Lord Elliot;—carried.—Conversation respecting the Detention and Condemnation of Danish Trading Vessels.—House of Commons.—Baltic Expedition brought again into Discussion by Mr. Sharp.—Motion for an Address to His Majesty to the same Effect as that of Lord Darnley's in the House of Lords.—Debate.—The Motion negatived.—House of Commons.—Motion by Lord Folkstone of the same tenour as that in the House of Lords by Lord Sidmouth, respecting the Danish Navy.—Supported and opposed on the usual Grounds by different Speakers;—negatived.—House of Lords.—Resolutions moved by Lord Sidmouth respecting the Ships detained in our Harbours previously to Hostilities.—Debate.—The Motion negatived.

THOUGH the expedition to Copenhagen had been so fully examined in the debates on the speech from the throne, in respect

spect of both moral law and sound policy, it was again and again brought into discussion, and continued to be at different times, and on different occasions, a subject of very animated controversy for almost the whole of the present session of parliament.

In the house of lords January 28th, lord Hawkesbury moved a vote of thanks to the officers employed in the attack of Copenhagen. His motion, he premised, related merely to the service on which the expedition to Copenhagen was sent, and not at all to the policy of the expedition, the object of which, undoubtedly of great magnitude and importance, was attained by the skill and ability of the officers employed. Here he gave an account of the origin, progress, and issue of the expedition*. He praised the promptitude and rapidity with which the Danish ships were fitted out and brought away, and concluded by moving the thanks of the house to lieutenant general lord viscount Cathcart, K. T. for the prompt and decisive measures adopted by him in the attack on Copenhagen.

Lord Holland contended that the magnitude and importance of an object alone, was not a sufficient ground for the thanks of parliament to those who had been employed with success in obtaining it. In the present instance there was no opportunity for the display of skill and science. Had there been an opportunity, there could not be a doubt but these qualities would have been eminently displayed. Had it been proposed only to thank the army, he might, perhaps, have

been induced to give it no opposition; but when it was proposed also to thank the navy employed in this expedition, he could not but oppose the motion, as there was no opportunity for the display of military naval skill. The high and peculiar honour of the thanks of parliament ought not to be rendered too common. In order to preserve its value it ought to be reserved for great occasions, for brilliant exploits and great victories, as in the Roman republic triumphs were never granted but for the most splendid achievements.—Earl Grey spoke to the same effect.—Lord Auckland observed that there was no information before the house to shew the policy or propriety of attacking an unsuspecting and defenceless people; but with respect to the execution of the service, it had displayed great ability, energy, and skill.

Lord Mulgrave, in reply to lord Holland, said, that he could not see on what ground, in the present question, any distinction could be made between the army and the navy. The most skilful distributions were made by lord Gambier in the disposal of the fleet under his command; that part of it which was entrusted to rear admiral Keates was extended for 200 miles, and had for its object, to cut off the communication between Zealand and the continent. By this means the Danish army in Holstein was prevented from passing into Zealand. The skill therefore of admiral Gambier had been conspicuously manifested. But in any case when the army and navy were conjointly employed, to vote thanks

* For a narrative of which see chapter XIV. of our last volume.

to the one and not to the other, could not tend to any possible good. It had, besides, always been the practice to unite them in votes of thanks where they were jointly employed.

The motion being put and carried, and the issue ordered to be communicated to lord viscount Cathcart, on his taking his seat in the house, lord Hawkesbury moved thanks to sir Harry Burrard, bart. the earl of Rosslyn, the honourable sir G. L. Ludlow, K. B. sir David Baird, the major generals, brigadiers and other officers employed, and an approval and acknowledgment of the services of the non-commissioned officers and soldiers; which motions were agreed to, and ordered to be communicated by the lord chancellor to lord viscount Cathcart.

His lordship then moved the thanks of the house to the right honourable lord Gambier, for the judicious distribution of the fleet, thereby contributing to the success of the expedition after all negotiation had failed, and for the promptitude displayed in fitting out the Danish ships, and shipping the stores.

The duke of Norfolk objected, that the words relative to negotiation tended to prejudge the question of which notice had been given, and of which the object was to ascertain the nature of the previous negotiation*.

Lord Hawkesbury replied, that the negotiation alluded to in the motion was merely that entered into by the commanders in their military capacity, and had no reference to political negotiation. After a short conversation the mo-

tion was agreed to, and ordered to be communicated to lord Gambier when in his place in the house. Lord Hawkesbury next moved thanks to vice admiral sir H. E. Stanhope, bart. rear admirals Esington, Sir Samuel Hood, K. B. and Keates, captain sir Home Popham, K. M. captain of the fleet, and the other officers. The duke of Norfolk asked, if it was usual to include in a vote of thanks, the captain of a fleet by name? A conversation ensued about precedents. The earl of Lauderdale observed that it would be a most singular circumstance if sir Home Popham were to be made the first instance of the captain of a fleet being thanked by name. Some precedents were produced, and the motion was agreed to. So also was a motion for approving and acknowledging the services of the seamen and marines, and the result of both motions was ordered to be communicated by the lord chancellor to lord Gambier.

On the same day thanks to his Majesty's army and navy employed in the Baltic expeditions were moved in the house of commons by lord Castlereagh, who expatiated on the magnitude and importance of the exploit, the difficulties that were surmounted in performing it, and the prompt exertions of the board of ordnance, to whose great exertions it was in a great measure owing that a British force was assembled, ready to act in the Baltic before the middle of August.

Mr. Windham observed, that in the present question, it was the province of the house to decide generally upon the merits of the

* The duke of Norfolk had given notice on the day before that he should to-morrow night move for certain papers respecting the expedition to Copenhagen.

service, but in coming to this decision, it was necessary to make a distinction between the merits of the ministers who planned, and of the navy and army who performed the expedition. The justice and policy of the expedition would come under consideration at another time. The question now before the house simply was, whether the service was of such a nature as to rank it among those instances of distinguished and successful exertions for which any vote of thanks of that house had been recorded, and in his opinion it did not come under that description of service by which the rules of national gratitude ought to be governed, nor was at all of that nature to which they ought to be applied. He conceived that the only fit occasion for the two houses of parliament to pass a vote of thanks for the services of either the army or navy, was, the achievement of some exploit which afforded matter of general and unmixed joy and exultation: when, for example, it was bestowed in consequence of a victory obtained over the first troops in the world, and over legions which had arrogated to themselves the title of *invincible*, not with superior numbers, but with a force not even equal to that of the enemy. There was no man who did not feel a pride and glory in joining in it. But in circumstances like the present, in which one ostensible part of the expedition had been entrusted to an officer who could plead in his own behalf only the approbation of a self-created tribunal, in opposition to a sentence of condemnation lately passed upon him by one legally constituted, and who, in his fortune had exemplified the

old adage, "that when the king loses the knave wins," and when by the admission of the noble lord himself, the service was of such a nature that even its success must be contemplated with pain, he was far from thinking it a proper occasion for the legislature to bestow what ought always to be accounted the highest honour; and a reward paramount to every other. He was willing to allow that the army and navy had done every thing that could be either required or expected of them, and that their services might rank with a case of either a gallant defence or a successful retreat; but he denied that they possessed those ingredients which alone could entitle them to a vote of legislative thanks. Mr. Windham adverted to the title conferred on admiral Gambier, which did not record the nature or character of the service for which it had been granted, as in the instances of lord Nelson and lord Duncan, where the title was borrowed from the respective scenes of their achievements. Nor had he heard of any medals being distributed on the present as on former occasions. He then replied to that part of the noble lord's speech in which he had described the high state of preparation of the Danish ships, at the same time that he claimed credit for the vast activity in putting those ships in a state for being brought off. Either his premises must be false, or the inference he attempted to draw from them unfounded. In the same inconsistent strain the noble lord had asserted the force sent against Copenhagen to be so formidable as to make resistance unavailing, while, with the same breath, he called upon the house to pass a
vote

vote of thanks, founded on the skill, bravery, and enterprize of the officers employed in a service where no such talents and qualities were wanted. It was incumbent on a British house of commons, particularly in times like the present, to assert its dignity, and to maintain the credit attached to its opinion of what constitutes a great national exploit. Neither did he conceive, from what he knew of the two noble lords who were embarked in the expedition, that they would think the present worthy to be ranked among the achievements of their former life. There was nothing in the name of Copenhagen, (which signifies literally a harbour of merchants) calculated to call forth the energies of a soldier, the son of a soldier, and the father of a soldier, like lord Cathcart, whose former services were well known, and with justice highly appreciated. And the very circumstance of admiral Gambier's having advantageously distinguished himself as a captain in the glorious action of the first of June, was sufficient of itself to make him set, comparatively, but a small value on his services on the present occasion.

Mr. Windham next drew the attention of the house to the conduct of ministers in moving such a resolution, the effect of which was, not indeed to encrease the taxes on the people, but what was still a more serious evil, if the people could only be brought to understand it, to diminish the great fund of honour, the best incentive to honourable exertions, and what was worse still, not only to apply it injudiciously, but to destroy the value of the whole capital. Granting that an improvident pension was had, be-

cause it was squandering away the public money; still, though one pension was granted improperly, the next was not the worse on that account. But when honour was once depreciated, its value was altogether lost. It was not difficult however to perceive the object ministers had in view, in thus heaping rewards on those who had a part in the service. It was to give it a fictitious value, and an importance in the eyes of the public that did not belong to it. Mr. Windham concluded, with solemnly protesting against this misapplication of the sacred deposit committed to the house, of dealing out with fairness and impartiality expressions of the public gratitude to those who were employed in its service.

Mr. Brand, after adverting to the alledged weakness of Denmark to defend herself, had she been attacked by France, conceived that it would be altogether inconsistent to pass a vote of thanks for a service which derives its principal importance from the degree of resistance which those employed in it had to encounter.

The chancellor of the exchequer thought, that if Mr. W's. objections to giving thanks in certain cases were admitted, they would be very prejudicial to the service. Mr. W. had admitted, that it was highly meritorious, by a judicious retreat, to secure the safety of an army or a navy; but that the house had never contemplated such a service as a proper object of their thanks. The right honourable gentleman seemed to have forgotten the case of admiral Cornwallis, who had received the thanks of parliament, not for a victory, but a retreat, "for the ability, judgment
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and bravery which he had displayed in the presence of a superior fleet of the enemy." He mentioned other instances in which the house of commons had voted their thanks, which were of a different description from that to which Mr. W. was desirous of confining it.—Mr. Tierney shewed that the precedents cited by Mr. Perceval were not applicable to the present case. The cases were by no means parallel.

The motion for thanks to lord Cathcart being read from the chair, the house divided.—For the motion 100; against it 19. After which, motions for thanks to lord Gambier, &c. &c. the same as those in the house of peers, were agreed to.

Mr. Ponsonby rose to move for such papers as his majesty's ministers were disposed to lay before the house relative to the expedition to Copenhagen. The house would thus learn what papers they were not disposed to grant; and thus a subject of unmixed debate would come before the house. He was sorry to say, that from a communication he had had with the secretary for foreign affairs, he could not call for more papers than what he should now move for. He should first move, that an humble address be presented for copies of the proclamations issued by the commanders of his majesty's naval and military forces, while before Copenhagen; and also copies or extracts of the communications with the Danish government, touching the surrender of the Danish fleet by capitulation. Secondly, that there be laid before the house, copies of the articles of capitulation concluded between the commanders of his majesty's naval and military forces, or either of them, and the officers commanding

his Danish majesty's forces in the island of Zealand: and thirdly, for the substance of such information as had been received from his majesty's naval officers, and the officers of the dock yards, with respect to the state and condition of the Danish ships at the time of their surrender or subsequently to their arrival in British ports.

House of commons, February 3. —Mr. Ponsonby, pursuant to notice of a motion respecting the expedition to Copenhagen, stated its object. He proposed to consider this subject in the three distinct relations of Denmark, Russia, and France; to ascertain the disposition of the Danish government towards this country, for some time previous to the attack on Copenhagen; to be enabled to decide whether immediately after the treaty of Tilsit, Russia had entirely abandoned herself to the councils of France; and with respect to France, to ascertain what means France had to compel Denmark to depart from her system of neutrality; and especially how far France could have succeeded in any attempts to annoy us in the Baltic. In either case it was his object to ascertain the means of France. It was idle to talk of the disposition of France; but her means he took to be in this case, as doubtful as her disposition was unquestionable. As a justification of the expedition, it was insinuated that Denmark was unable to defend her own neutrality. One of the resolutions therefore he should submit to the house, would be for copies of all communications between this country and the Danish government at the close of the last war, wherein the Danish government avows, as its apology for departing

passing from its neutrality, its inability to resist the operation of external influence. With regard to the disposition of Denmark previous to hostilities, the object of his resolutions would be, to put the house in possession of all reports made to the government of this country, relative to all attempts on the part of Denmark to encrease her naval power, to supply her arsenals, to equip her navy, to man the fleet, for instance, which we subsequently seized on. It was a well known practice in the Danish marine, that every seaman was obliged, on entering into the Danish service, to inscribe his name in a book, to state also the name of the vessel in which he embarks, to particularize the destination, and to state on what service bound. Therefore, Denmark would find extreme difficulty in secretly increasing her naval force. Still more difficult, if not impossible, would it be for that power to raise a considerable fleet in a short time. For it was not there as in England, where there constantly abounds such an immense population of seamen, and where a mighty naval power could be suddenly called into action, not only by resorting to the great resources immediately in our power, but by the compulsive operation of an impressment, throwing at once into the hands of the executive government a power that might, on the instant, be wielded with effect. Mr. P. therefore contended, that if Denmark projected such designs against this country as had been alledged, she must have proceeded to the necessary preparations, and that if she had entered on such preparations, she must have betrayed some demonstrations of them, long before my

lord Gambier arrived in the Sound. The house was in possession of the evidence offered in proof of the hostile intentions of Denmark towards this country; that is no evidence whatever: precisely as much he believed, as ministers themselves had. But what was the evidence on the other side? When vague rumour first excited the alarm of the Danish captains, they made a formal application to the Danish consul, wishing to ascertain whether the alarm excited by the report of an intended expedition was well or ill founded. The Danish consul applied in their behalf to the council of commerce, an institution which formed a part of the Danish government. What was the answer to the Danish consul? That there was not the slightest ground for apprehension on the part of the Danish captains. And at this period of Denmark's unsuspecting confidence in us, there was no less a number than three hundred Danish ships in our harbours. Supposing Denmark willing, though unable to preserve her neutrality, no man, who had read the law of nations, or any cases at all, would pretend to justify an attack upon a neutral power merely because it was weak, unless upon the principle of self-preservation. But how was this to be made out? By proving the absolute determination of France to seize on the Danish fleet, for the purpose of directing that force against us; and also by proving the incompetency of Denmark to defend herself against such an attempt on the part of France; by proving too, her indisposition to resist such an attempt, and particularly the certainty of her yielding to superior force; in all which cases we were without even the shadow

shadow of a circumstantial proof. As to the *means* of France for compelling Denmark to take a part in the maritime confederation against this country, in what circumstances did those two powers appear to the world in relation to each other? A considerable part of the Danish force was encamped in Holstein, not very far from the same place where the French troops had assumed a menacing position. — What were the most considerable territorial possessions of Denmark, on what is called the continent of Europe? Holstein, Jutland, Norway; but above all the Danish isles, in one of which was her capital. And was it likely that with such means, she would have suddenly compromised her independence as a nation? What would have been her answer to any proposal on the part of France, compelling her to enter into hostility with this country? “You have no right to compel me; but if I must be compelled to depart from my system of neutrality, and to make a choice, I will prefer friendship with England, because she can secure to me what you can never take from me; whereas war with England would expose me to many dangers from which her friendship can protect me.” But it might be objected, why did not Denmark accept our proffered treaty? Because we made no proposal that it was possible for an independent nation to accept. — Mr. Ponsonby returning from this digression to the disposition of Denmark, asked what were the means of France to compel Denmark to act against England. He had heard a great deal about armies marching over the Baltic, and had made much inquiry on the subject. He

had read many books upon it; and he was warranted in saying, that an army had not passed over the Baltic upon the ice for the last hundred and fifty years. Cold was not now what it then was. The coldness of a climate was not always regulated by its latitude. There were a variety of local causes that might in a given time sensibly ameliorate the natural coldness of a country; such, for instance, as cutting down forests, draining morasses, exposing a country to open air, &c. &c. But even admitting the practicability of the French passing over the ice; were they to encounter no obstacle from the thirty-five thousand men, that were then encamped in Holstein, when those thirty-five thousand men were brought to co-operate with the thirty thousand that lord Castlereagh had told them, the other night, were in the island of Zealand? Could the French, supposing them, against all probability, to have got into Zealand, have made the slightest stand against the united efforts of the armies of Sweden, Denmark, and England?

As to the conduct of Russia, subsequent to the treaty of Tilsit, and how far that conduct justified the suspicion of her joining the supposed marine confederacy against this country; when the news of the treaty of Tilsit first arrived, we heard of nothing but immediate hostilities on the part of Russia: and yet the Russian fleet was suffered to roam through the sea at its pleasure, while that of Denmark, in professed neutrality, was attacked and seized on. That the secret articles of the treaty of Tilsit were not the primary cause of the Danish expedition, he inferred from a minute and accurate review of the

the dispatches from lord Leveson Gower, the British minister at Petersburg.—The expedition was avowedly set on foot to defeat the three great projects attributed to the enemy, 1st. That of excluding Great Britain from all accustomed channels of communication with the continent; 2dly, of inducing or compelling the court of Denmark to shut the Sound against us; and, 3dly, of using the Danish marine in the invasion of these islands. Of these three projects we had effected the two first. We were excluded from the continent, and the Sound was shut. But was it imagined, that the mere capture of the ships rendered the Danes defenceless? Or, if the necessity did justify the expedition, why not make the most of it? Why not, when we had Zealand, keep it as conquerors, with our 30,000 troops, which had beat their 35,000? Would Buonaparte have stopped half way? If necessity justified the attack at all, the same necessity justified our making the most of it. If necessity compelled us to provoke a power, we should have gone on till we had rendered it incapable of injuring us. There was the utmost danger in doing ill by halves. But we had got a few ships—France had got Zealand, the best possible place she could have for nursing her marine, and maturing it to a formidable strength. And in what difficulty had this involved our faithful ally, the king of Sweden? Exposed to an attack on every side. By Denmark from Norway and her isles; by Russia from Finland; and by France from a variety of different positions. Mr. Ponsonby proceeded to arraign the monstrous doctrine, which had been resorted to in defence of the expedition, that

statesmen are absolved from those immutable and eternal laws of morality, which the providence that rules the universe prescribes alike to men and nations, and to shew the evils naturally arising to states, and that had in fact sprung out of a departure from those rules of justice, liberty, and patriotism. He then concluded with moving his resolutions. The first motion was, "That an humble address be presented to his majesty, that he would be graciously pleased to cause to be laid before the house, the substance and dates of their information, sent by our ministers at Copenhagen, relative to the naval force of Denmark, and the measures taken to augment that force."

Mr. Canning, after many observations in the way of sarcasm or irony, the subject of which was the conduct of the late administration respecting foreign powers, compared with that of the present, came at last to the question before the house; which, he admitted, had been fairly stated by Mr. Ponsonby; the disposition of Denmark, and of Russia, and the means of France. He had admitted the designs of France, without any other evidence than that contained in his majesty's speech. As to Denmark, though he (Mr. C.) did not impute to that country a disposition to go to war with this, he protested against the advantage which was taken of this admission, when it was asserted, that we had the hearts of the Danes, and that we had forfeited them. From the moment of the armed neutrality in 1780, there had been a feeling towards this country on the part of Denmark; not of direct hostility, but certainly not of very cordial friendship. Was it not probable that a league of much

much more force, and knit with much greater vigour than any preceding one, would be formed against this country? was it not probable, from the experience of the past, that Denmark would be induced by inclination, or compelled by force, to join that league? He illustrated the probability of such an event at great length, by historical details, accompanied with reflections and inferences. Among other details and comments, he read extracts from several dispatches from Mr. Garlicke, stating that after the French decree of the 21st November had been communicated to the Danish government, a demand was made, that the Danish army should be withdrawn from Holstein, that no English or Swedish troops should be allowed to enter the Danish territory, nor any measures taken demonstrative of distrust of France; that on receipt of this intelligence at Kiel, relays of horses had been provided, not for the advance, but to secure the retreat of the crown prince; that no preparations had been made for defence, nor any inclination shewn to resort to the aid of the natural allies of Denmark; that several of the persons employed in the offices of state, were attached to the French interests, and acted in collusion with France. In short, Mr. Garlicke thought it his duty to state, that there was reason to conclude, that France, when in an attitude to make the demand, would insist on the exclusion of British vessels from the ports of Denmark, and probably afterwards, on the surrender of Copenhagen.

Mr. C. asked, whether Denmark had not the most unequivocal intimation of the dangers that hung over her? Had not the bulletin

published by Buonaparte, after the battle of Friedland, given her notice of her approaching fate; when it stated, "That the blockade of the continent would then cease to be a vain word?" To what other ports than those of Denmark, could this prospective threat be applied? What others were neutral? To Denmark alone, this intimation of the bulletin referred, and accordingly she was found shrinking into her shell, as France approached, and neglecting to make any addition to her means of defence. He asked, if this was a state of things in which his majesty's ministers were to go on, confiding in the sincerity and the means of the Danish government, till they should be called on for assistance?—As to the disposition of Russia, all accounts agreed in representing, that the mind of the court of Russia was alienated from this country, and one might easily conceive a reason for that alienation. The expectation of assistance from this country, no matter whether well or ill founded, was the cause, not of the peace of Tilsit, but of the temper in which it was concluded. Out of twenty dispatches received from our ambassador with the emperor, there was not one in which he did not say, "Send assistance, or Russia will fail you. Make a diversion that shall take part of the weight of the war off Russia, or she will withdraw from it."

It had been said, why not attack Cronstadt, and menace the emperor in his own capital? There was a great party, or rather a majority of the bettermost people in Russia, who were anxious for British connection; but whatever the partialities of such persons might have been, they must all have felt for the honour and glory of their country; and

and therefore it could not be desirable to destroy, by an unprofitable attack on the national feelings, the nascent popularity of this country. Besides, there were, at that time, five hundred British ships in the ports of Russia, and six thousand British seamen. The conduct that had been adopted in the expedition to Copenhagen, was not without precedent or example. In the year 1801, the island of Madeira had been taken possession of by our government, for fear it should fall into the hands of the French; yet Portugal was a neutral nation, and had always, by way of eminence, been styled the old and ancient ally of England. In the year 1806, there had been reports of its being the intention of the French government to invade Portugal. He had, himself, no doubt of the perpetual intention of the French government to prosecute that design, though it did not appear, that a French army was assembled at Bayonne. He admired the conduct which had been adopted by the late minister on the occasion; and he felt gratitude, for the manner in which their proceeding had enabled him to meet the general question on this charge. Here he read an extract from the instructions, given by the late board of admiralty to the earl of St. Vincent, when dispatched to Lisbon.—Of all persons he did not think, that the present ministers should be accused of injustice by the captors of Alexandria; of mismanagement, by the attackers of the Dardanelles; as inglorious, by the conquerors of Constantinople.—By the expedition to Copenhagen, the means of the enemy for injuring Great Britain had been reduced, and the security of the country aug-

mented. Those who thought the policy of that measure weak, and its execution unjust, would vote against him; but he could not consider it as mainly to take the division upon the motion for papers, and not on the merits of the question, merely because some few would vote for papers who would not support a motion for censure.

Mr. Windham, after a good deal of laughter at the action and gesticulation with which Mr. Canning was accustomed to grace his oratory, observed, that he had ventured to justify himself upon cases not only not analagous, but in direct and pointed contradiction to the question at issue: "You," says he, "the late ministers, condemn our measure against Copenhagen, although you did the same thing against Portugal:"—"To this," said Mr. Windham, we answer, "that though in the same situation, we did not perform the same act. The navy of Portugal was threatened with an attack by Buonaparte; an army had actually been assembled at Bayonne, for the purpose of violating the neutrality of Portugal, and ultimately seizing her fleet.—We sent a squadron, under the command of an intelligent and active officer, to be actually on the spot; not to be guided by general and unsupported surmises; not to proceed to extremity until the intention of France was not only manifest, but likely to be carried into execution, until it should be evident to the world, and to the Portuguese themselves, that there was no alternative between our temporary possession of the ships, and their seizure by France: that though compelled to the execution, the means

means of justification should be as manifest as the measure."

The attack on Copenhagen, Mr. Windham considered as a violation of that public law of nations, which, though adverse on occasions to the particular views of communities, was still conducive to the general interests of mankind. Did the partizans of that measure vainly hope, that its advantages would outlive the danger and the calamities that would spring from it? When Denmark or France should have recruited that marine with the hearts and energies which our conduct had afforded them? Here Mr. Windham drew a very lively picture of the recollections and sentiments of the Danes, and other nations, on beholding the monuments of our havoc in Copenhagen. There was a class of men, he said, so prone to all the narrow views and sordid inducements of life, that no measure appeared to be of value, but in the sordid profit it produced. These men would greet with acclamation every act of plunder and rapine, careless of the means and manner in which it was effected. "But I wish to hear the opinion of your learned doctors of the law, of your profound sages, and learned civilians, on the opposite side of the house. Are they converts to the new doctrine? Will they disclaim the efficacy of that public law of nations, which they have taken such care to understand and to communicate? Are they prepared to throw off their wigs, bury their books, and break their wands, in order to substitute the new system of unprovoked outrage, in place of the exploded doctrine of moral justice? A due and proper confidence in ministers, I would be

the last man to refuse; but under the present circumstances, I must tell them, that from me they have no letter of attorney to involve the credit and honour of the country, and to tarnish it with a stain, which no future circumstances can remove."

Mr. Milnes said, that while gentlemen opposite to him gave credit to the assurances of Buonaparte, they omitted no opportunity of calling in question the declarations of their own sovereign and his ministers. It had been contended that the measure now before the house was wrong upon the face of it; but was there not something wrong on the face of a motion, which required a disclosure of information confidentially communicated? Would it not be injudicious to throw open the records of the foreign office, by which the enemy would be put in possession of the means that government had of obtaining a knowledge of his plans, and eventually of frustrating their execution? He considered the motion as an attempt, on the part of the opposition, to convert the money voted by parliament for secret service into means of procuring information for themselves, which no one else was at all solicitous to obtain. He advised them, instead of bringing forward motions of this description, at once to propose a resolution, that ministers had lost the confidence of parliament.

Mr. Bathurst observed, that the danger of disclosing proofs should not be pleaded generally. Let ministers tell, why this or that specific paper could not be granted. Nor was it necessary, in granting any paper, that they should acquaint the house how they came by it.

2. He did not think, that there could be any objection to the production of any documents that had been moved for: and, in his opinion, the letters, extracts from which had been read, ought to be among the number. The letter of Mr. Garlick, for instance, stating the hostile mind of Denmark, was very important. It was important also, for the house to know, upon what the opinion of that gentleman was founded; that, if the French were once in possession of Holstein, the island of Zealand must fall into their power. Mr. Canning, in allusion to the conduct of the late administration towards Portugal, had argued, that if we could attack our ally, surely we might attack a power which we had every reason to suspect of hostile intentions against us; but the honourable secretary seemed not to know, or to have forgot, that the expedition alluded to was sent, not to attack, but to protect an ally, at a time when there were British troops in Portugal, to repel an actual invasion of French and Spanish troops. He could not, however, but remark that ministers, while they withheld all information, respecting the late expedition, had not the smallest scruple in disclosing all the secrets of government for the last seven years.

Mr. Leslie Foster conceived, that the expedition to Copenhagen was imperatively dictated by the ascendancy which Buonaparte had acquired over the arms and counsels of the powers of the north, in consequence of the negligence and supineness of the late administration, which had done nothing for the common cause, except sending a miserable subsidy to the king of

Prussia, which was like a present to the dey of Algiers.

Mr. Morris' called upon gentlemen to reflect on the imminent danger with which this country was threatened, and particularly Ireland; the invasion of which was the object to which the use of the Danish fleet was destined.

Mr. Lyttleton confessed, that differing as he did from the present administration, on many important points, from the satisfaction they had given the house on the measure of the late expedition, he had on that point become their proselyte. The Danish fleet was undoubtedly intended for the invasion of Ireland.

Mr. Whitbread concluded a speech in support of the motion before the house, as follows: "Ministers wanted to imitate the enemy of France. How did they do that? France had slain a giant, and then England must go and kill an helpless, innocent child; but the question now was, not whether the expedition was justifiable, but whether that house was bound to give credit to the assertions of ministers, and whether it ought not to require more information.

Lord Leveson Gower denied positively, that the hostility of Russia was occasioned, either by the neglect of England to send her succours, or by the attack on Copenhagen. The real cause of that hostility, was, the battle of Friedland. When the emperor Alexander arrived at Petersburg from Tilsit, after signing the peace with France, the first person he visited was his minister of marine; and the first orders he afterwards gave, was to repair the batteries of Cronstadt.

Lord

Lord Castlereagh, among a great variety of particulars touched on in a long speech, in vindication of the expedition to Copenhagen, gave an account of the various endeavours used by his majesty's government to bring the court of Denmark to an explanation of its views, without effect; and concluded, that the crown prince, in the whole of his conduct, had secretly favoured the views of France. He denied, that Denmark was competent to defend itself against the power of France. As to the assertion, that we ought to have remained in Copenhagen, government had given that question every discussion; and the naval and military officers being consulted on the occasion, were of opinion, that it would require a larger force to keep possession of Zealand than this country could spare; and much greater than was then in Zealand. The question, also, had been put to the first naval authorities, whether the island could be surrounded by our vessels, so as to prevent an invasion on the part of the French. The report of Admiral Keith was, that on the Jutland side there were seven or eight forts, in which might be collected to the amount of sixty thousand men; that, if the ninety pendants which were then flying round Zealand were to occupy the Belt, they must be five miles distant from each other; and that, as some of these might be driven from their stations the French could on that occasion send over their forces in the small craft, of which there was a sufficient number along the shores of Jutland.

Mr. Lushington defended the expedition on the usual grounds. On the topic of the law of nations,

he said, the sentimental system of gentlemen on the other side of the house, embraced all nations but their own. Their disquisitions might be well enough calculated for the amusement of schools; but they were not fitted for the events of real life, or a state of ferocious war.—On a division of the house, there appeared for Mr. Ponsonby's motion 108. Against it 253.

House of Lords, Feb. 8.—The duke of Norfolk called the attention of their lordships to the important subject, on which he had moved them to be summoned. The expedition to Copenhagen, was a measure which deeply affected the character of the country; and, in order that they might come to a true judgment of it, it was material that they should be furnished with all that body of information, to which ministers had, on a former night, alluded, but which was not regularly on their table. Violence of an extraordinary kind had been used, and great scandal had been incurred both to the government and the nation, from which nothing but clear evidence of an imperious necessity could acquit them: an evidence not to be afforded but by the examination of papers. He would so word his motion, as to steer clear of all difficulty and danger of disclosure; and he should even have no objection to alter the words, if it should be thought any inconveniency could arise from it as it now stood to any of the agents of ministers, or to the state. The duke moved, for "the substance of all the communications that had been made to ministers in the course of the last year, with respect to the state of the Danish navy, of any apparent increase thereof, or of any steps

steps taken to prepare the same for us; the proclamation and correspondence of our commanders at Copenhagen; and the substance of all the secret communications respecting the secret articles of the treaty of Tilsit."

A long and animated debate ensued, in which the arguments on both sides of the question, which have already been laid before our readers, were urged, with additional circumstances, and placed in a great variety of points of view.

The duke of Norfolk's motion was supported by lord Hutchinson, lord Erskine, lord Buckinghamshire, the earl of Moira, the earl of Jersey, the earl of St. Vincent, earl Grey, lord Darnley, and lord Sidmouth. It was opposed by the marquis Wellesley, lord Boringdon, lord Harrowby, lord Limerick, lord Hawkesbury, and lord Mulgrave.

The marquis of Wellesley, who immediately rose up when the duke of Norfolk sat down, took a survey of all the objections that had been urged against the expedition. He maintained, that the facts and circumstances already before the house, were abundantly sufficient to enable the house to form a judgment on the justice and policy of the measure; that it was the design of Buonaparte to employ the resources of Denmark among the other naval means which he meditated to wield against the maritime superiority of Great Britain. As it was the interest, so it was in the power of Buonaparte to accomplish this design, either by fraud and intrigue, or by open force and violence. In proof of this assertion, he entered into a minute detail of the navigation of the Belt. The

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possibility of crossing the Belt in the ordinary season of the year, in spite of the utmost vigilance of our cruizers, was confirmed by the fact, that several bodies of the enemy's troops actually got over into Zealand, during the operations exerted to prevent it. And, as to the design of Buonaparte, who could doubt it? Had he hesitated, in his usual abrupt tone and manner, to enquire of the ministers of Portugal and Denmark, whether they had transmitted to their respective courts, his instructions, that their fleets should be equipped, and ready to unite with him in crushing the maritime despotism of England, and with that view to declare war, in concert with him, against England by the 1st of September? But it was said Denmark could defend herself. Could Denmark defend Zealand after she was deprived of Holstein, from whence she drew provisions for the support of her insular dominions?—Nor was it the policy only of Denmark, that inclined her to lean towards France. Her commercial interests gave her the same bias, for they were founded on the principles of the armed neutrality. It might also be said, that the accession of the Danish fleet to the naval means of France, could not have created any serious danger to the safety of this country. But there was a wide difference between the present state of affairs, and that previous to the glorious battle of Trafalgar. Then almost all the great powers of the continent were in arms against France. But when the expedition was sent against Copenhagen, the whole of the continent was subdued, and subdued not merely for the purpose of conquest, but the

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subjugation

subjugation of England, through the downfall of her naval supremacy. The necessity of the measure, he considered as clear. It only remained to inquire, whether the principles on which it was undertaken and executed, were contrary to the law of nations, as laid down and acted on in old times, before the bond by which it had united all civilized nations was burst by the French revolution. The first right that grew out of that law, as well as of the law of nature, was the right of security: a right which could not be limited by any of the rights of neutrality; but, it seemed, on account of the expedition to Copenhagen, a general cry was raised against England. The voice of Europe was said to condemn us. Was the voice of Europe now free? Or did any power or individual on the continent venture to breathe a sentiment hostile to the views of Buonaparte? He implored their lordships not, in the bosom of present security, to look back on past dangers, with a view to censure those by whose services they had been avoided, lest future ministers, in cases of similar urgency and danger, should be deterred from emulating the present glorious example, under the apprehension of being stigmatized as the violators of neutral rights, and the imitators of the injustice of the enemy.

Lord Hutchinson was of opinion, that even supposing the French to have been in possession of Holstein and Jutland, still Zealand might have been defended with effect against the French arms. Having been employed on a very important mission, which gave him an opportunity of having some conversations with the emperor of Rus-

sia; from these conversations, of which he gave a circumstantial account to the house, he was convinced, that the emperor was sincere in his desire to mediate, if possible, a peace between this country and France: but at all events, lord Hutchinson believed that the relations of peace and amity might then have been preserved between Great Britain and Russia. He had never said, nor did he now mean to say, that if the attack on Copenhagen had never been made, there would have been no war with Russia; but he would say, that the result of that expedition did materially change the relations between Great Britain and Russia, and give rise to sentiments of a very hostile nature, at the court of Petersburg. At the last interview he had with the emperor, which was on the 4th of September, his imperial majesty closed the conversation, by repeating with much emphasis, that he *would* have satisfaction for Denmark. Lord W. had treated lightly the opinion expressed in Europe respecting the expedition to Copenhagen; but that opinion was highly unfavourable to this country: nor had that expedition, as he conceived, been justified by the arguments used by the noble lord.

Lord Erskine expressed his satisfaction, that lord W. had endeavoured to rest his arguments on the law of nations, and not on the monstrous doctrine, that the law of nations was at an end, and that we were justified in resorting to any measure that might suit our convenience. This was copying that conduct of revolutionary France, which was the origin of the war with that country. He had rather that France had taken the fleet, and that we had

had met it boldly on the ocean. If ministers said, they had information to prove the necessity of the expedition in question, he, as a member of that house, in the exercise of his parliamentary duty, had a right to say, that no such information existed. He was perfectly aware, that in public law, provision was made for a case of necessity, but then the necessity must be made clearly manifest.

Lord Boringdon did not see on what ground, the noble lords on the other side of the house, could condemn the expedition to Copenhagen, without also condemning the expedition to Constantinople, and the instructions alledged to have been issued in 1806, to a squadron sent to the Tagus.

The earl of Buckinghamshire, shewn by dates, that the expedition against Copenhagen had actually sailed before there was a possibility of any account, even of the existence of the treaty of Til- sit, being received in this country. Even if the constant practice of parliament did not warrant the expectation of official documents being laid upon the table, the attack of a power, in perfect amity with us, against whom no act of hostility had been alledged, was in itself so questionable a proceeding, that it called for every explanation that could be possibly produced in its justification. Under circumstances somewhat similar, what was the conduct of the great king of Prussia! During the seven years war, he had suddenly marched an army into Saxony, and taken possession of Dresden, the capital of the elector. But he had not felt, that he had done enough to satisfy the world, by declaring, that he had

procured copies of the treaty entered into by the elector of Saxony, then king of Poland, for the partition of his dominions; for, having afterwards obtained possession of the original treaty, he published it at every court in Europe, in order to render his justification complete. In opposition to what had fallen from his noble friend, the marquis of Wellesley, respecting the practicability of an army equal to the capture of such a place as Copenhagen, passing the Belt from Holstein to Zealand, he opposed the opinion of the highest naval authority, (lord St. Vincent) in this or any other country. And upon that authority he would venture to assert, that so far from cruisers not being able to keep their station in the Belt in ordinary seasons, the anchorage was perfectly good; and, that by placing gun boats upon the coast, ready to put off, any armament, unsupported by a superior force, might be effectually resisted. He was aware, that during the late attack on the isle of Zealand, some few vessels had got over, notwithstanding the vigilance of our cruisers; but the number was so small as to furnish an argument in favour of his statement rather than against it. His noble friend had stated, that Buonaparte had declared at his levee, that the fleets of both Portugal and Denmark should be united against this country. But had he succeeded in the case of Portugal? And he was persuaded, that he would have equally failed in that of Denmark, though the custody of their own ships had been left to the Danes themselves. The idea of a northern confederacy combining all the naval force of the Baltic, had indeed been held out

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to the country, to magnify the danger which the measure adopted was intended to avert; whilst the real fact was, that of this supposed combination of naval force, Sweden was with us, the Baltic fleet of Russia completely in our power, and therefore the Danish fleet, even if at the disposal of France, which was at least questionable, the only danger against which we had to provide. But this was thought so great and imminent as to justify measures, which, but for the French revolution, would be without precedent. Why, his lordship asked, under the circumstances of danger under which alone our conduct towards Denmark was defended, were the Russian ships of war that passed through our fleet in the Baltic, and the Russian squadron in the Mediterranean, suffered to escape? By taking possession of the latter, we should have facilitated the negociation then depending with the Turks; and with such an instrument in our hand, we might have trusted to the mediation of the court of Petersburg, whilst, at the same time, by a strong naval force in the Baltic, we should have protected, and enabled Denmark to maintain her neutrality, kept open the Sound, and thus effectually have disappointed the expectations Buonaparte had formed, from the influence he had gained over the emperor of Russia. But above all, we should have avoided the abandonment of those sacred principles of justice and honour, by which the conduct of our government had been so advantageously contrasted with that of France.

Lord Harrowby contended, that if we had not seized the Danish

fleet, the Danes would have taken the first opportunity of entering into the maritime confederacy against this country, as in the former instance*, which led to one of the greatest naval achievements recorded in our annals. It was impossible to suppose that Buonaparte, after having annihilated the armies of the continent, would have suffered isolated Denmark to retain her independence. We had trusted to the declaration of Denmark too long. Her conduct had not merited such confidence. She had not made preparations for her defence, nor shewn any inclination to resistance. It was only when the English and Hanoverians were advancing to the rescue of the north, that she had assembled her troops in Holstein. He was surprised to find such horror expressed at the expedition to Copenhagen, by those who had approved that against Constantinople. He could conceive that a person might condemn both; but he could scarcely think it possible for one to approve the attack on Constantinople, where there was no obvious necessity, and condemn that against Copenhagen, which was so necessary for our security. This country had been acting on such grounds, as would justify an individual in aggression. The enemy had departed from the law of nations, and we, consequently, were not bound to adhere to it. If we had adhered to the principles of the noble lords, on the other side, in the late disturbances in Ireland, we should have been going to law with the rebels, whilst they were going to war with us.

The earl of Moira said, that of the hostile intentions of the present

* 1801.

ruler of France no one doubted ; but where was the evidence, that there was any collusion on the part of Denmark ? Denmark had uniformly preserved a strict neutrality between the belligerent powers, and there was no reason to think, that on the present occasion she would have deviated from it. Her army had taken a strong position in Holstein, the moment the French troops entered Hanover, and he had not the smallest doubt that, had she been attacked, she would have defended herself with gallantry and perseverance. The Danes might not indeed have been able to save the provinces of Holstein and Jutland ; but had they not the island of Zealand, to which to retire, and whither it was impossible for their enemy to follow them. The possibility of conveying an army across the Belt could not be inferred from the passage of a few individuals, particularly when it was considered that the Danes would have had the assistance of both a British and Swedish naval force to guard the passage. But in all events, he would rather have seen twice the number of ships composing the Danish fleets in the power of Buonaparte, than that we should have obtained it by the means through which it had come into our possession. As long as there was a power in Europe which, from its regard to the rights of other states, could form a rallying point to the oppressed, there was some hope, that the nations groaning under the yoke of a pitiless and inexorable tyrant, would have watched for some opportunity, and made some exertion, in common, to throw it off. Such a power was this country, before the late most

unjustifiable and unfortunate attack on Denmark. If the alledged spirit of hostility which actuated both the government and the people of Denmark against this country, was not to be cured by other means than bombarding their capital, why not also demolish those fortifications which enabled them still to shut the Baltic against our navigation ? Why leave their batteries, and the castle of Cronstadt standing ? Why leave them in possession of their docks, in which they might soon build other ships ? and had they not the same number of seamen they ever had, with which to man them ?

Lord Limerick thought the expedition to Copenhagen fully justifiable, because he could shew, that from the commencement of the last war, the Danes had been hostilely disposed towards this country. They allowed and encouraged privateers and enemies' cruizers to carry their prizes into Bergen in Norway, and to sell them there, condemned in a court formed by the French consul at that port. His lordship mentioned other instances of their hostile disposition. If the sixteen ships of the line, in the ports of Russia, were added to the twenty belonging to Denmark, there would be no doubt but the thirty-six would have forced the twelve sail of the Swedish line to co-operate with them : not to be considered as an inconsiderable force ; especially in a part so convenient for the invasion of Ireland, by the passage north about.

The earl of Jersey contended, that there was no reason whatever to believe that Denmark had entered into any alliance, or that she had even had any secret understand-

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ing with France previous to our attack on her capital: no such inference could be drawn from the quantity of stores found in her arsenals, because there had not been time for collecting these stores between the period at which the treaty of Tilsit was concluded, and the date of our invasion.

Lord Hawkesbury observed, that the law of nations was founded on the law of nature. One nation was bound to another in the commonwealth of states, just as one individual was bound to another in civil society. The only difference was, that in civil society there were tribunals to judge between man and man; and that in the commonwealth of states there was no such tribunal. Specific intelligence of the secret arrangements of Tilsit had reached ministers from a quarter which precluded all doubt of an intention to form a maritime confederacy against Great Britain. After the battles of Austerlitz, Jena, and Friedland, there was nothing on the continent that could oppose any resistance to France. Denmark, when called upon, would have had no alternative. This was the plea she had alledged in excuse for declaring against us before, in circumstances less imperative. Denmark was unable to defend Holstein; and it was the opinion of the ablest officers, that if two bodies of French of 15,000 each, had been stationed along the belt, in separate corps of 5000 each, some of them would have got over into Zealand. And when once a body of them did get over, there was no doubt that they would have got the better of the Danes, who were the worst land troops in Europe. If the Danes had been willing

to join with the British force, the attempt of defending Zealand would have been made. That offer having been made and rejected, no time was to be lost. The moderation and forbearance of our commanders, before and after the attack, left no room for regret at the manner in which the business had been done. How then could it be said, that the expedition excited disgust in all the nations of Europe? There was indeed but little freedom of speech on the continent; but where that freedom existed, the voice proved favourable to Britain. And it was no wonder, for the general interests of Europe were consulted as well as those of Great Britain. Europe, Asia, Africa, and America, would find in this act the nucleus of their future independence and grandeur. Without ships, colonies, and commerce, our enemy would never be able to humble Britain; and this grand blow would for ever prevent the attainment of his object.

The earl of St. Vincent declared his opinion, that, supposing Zealand and the Danish navy to be in the possession of Denmark, and the French to be in possession of Holstein, he should think it more practicable to invade this country from Boulogne, than Zealand from Holstein. As to the state of the Danish fleet, it seemed to his lordship to be exactly what it was when he first knew it about eight years ago.

Lord Grey observed, that though it might be the policy of France to take the most immediate measures for accomplishing her ends, it was far from likely that Denmark should grant a ready compliance with the demands of the French government. It was undoubtedly her interest to keep

keep out of the contest. And if she was desirous of doing so, she had a threat to hold out to Buonaparte, as powerful as any he had to drive her to a compliance with his wishes. She had the British navy to apply to for protection; and it would have been absolute ruin to Buonaparte's own schemes to have driven her to such a resource. His noble friend (lord St. Vincent) had just declared that the Danes in Zealand were as secure against an attack from Holstein, as we were against an attack from Boulogne. From the opinion of a military person, Lord H. wished to infer the contrary. But that opinion did not seem to lord Grey to be at all to the point. It was an answer to a question, as to the chance of some one of five or six divisions, or 5000, out of 35,000 men succeeding in effecting a landing. This was merely a hypothetical question, the answer to which proved nothing; for it did not say, that on one division landing, Zealand must fall as a necessary consequence. It was said, the Danes were hostilely disposed towards us, in proof of which, the American war was cited, the armed neutrality, and the confederacy of 1800—1. From these however, particularly the last, his lordship was inclined to form an opinion directly opposite. They would call to mind what had been the effect of that confederacy: an attack on their capital, and the loss of a considerable part of their fleet. Lord G. entered into a statement of the actual situation of the Danish fleet; no part of which, it appeared to him, could have been ready for sea in less than six weeks, and the greater part in not less than six months. If the ministers had been anxious to strengthen the country, they

would have turned their eyes towards Ireland. Let them restore to Denmark her ships; let these be manned by the most hostile of our enemies. To meet that force, let government grant to Ireland her civil and religious liberties, and they would have done more for the safety of the country than all the fleets of Denmark could ever effect. As to Lisbon, which had been referred to, our commander there had no instructions to attempt carrying off the fleet, but in the event of the French taking possession of the country. And at Constantinople no demand was made which we had not a right to make by treaty.

Lord Mulgrave urged the same arguments that had been made use of again and again in defence of the expedition to Copenhagen. There might be a great deal, he said, of magnanimity in contemplating, without any degree of apprehension, so much danger, as that of the Danish fleet falling into the hands of the enemy; but for his part he preferred the prudence which saved us from incurring it. A great deal had been said on the absurdity of allowing the Russian fleet to navigate the seas at pleasure, at the same time that this serious attack had been made on the Danish marine. Now the fact was, that orders had been dispatched to our officers not to permit a Russian fleet to go into an enemy's port. It was not want of caution that had admitted the entrance of a Russian squadron into the Tagus, but want of wind, and unfavourable weather, by which Sir Sidney Smith was prevented from reaching the Tagus, until two days after that squadron had got into it.

Lord Daruley contended, that

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no case whatever had been made out to justify the harsh measures resorted to by ministers in attacking a defenceless people in a state of avowed neutrality.

Lord viscount Sidmouth contended, in the first place, that there was no reason to suppose that the Danes were hostilely inclined towards us; and in the next, even admitting that they were, that this would not in itself justify the measure of the expedition. He commented on the glaring anachronism of imputing the expedition, which sailed in July, to intelligence not received here till the 8th of the following month, and the indecency of putting such an assertion in the mouth of his majesty. As to the designs of the French in the Baltic, Russia would never have suffered France to have established any serious influence in that sea. With respect to the danger to this country, he considered it first, with respect to its certainty, and next, with respect to its magnitude. Its certainty had not at all been made out, nor was it greater in point of magnitude than of certainty, nor was its urgency greater than either. He gave it as his opinion, that the Danish ships should be kept in a state of readiness for restoration. He conjured their lordships to pause before they decided on a question involving so deeply the national character; and that they would bear in mind, that if, as had been said, the expedition had been hitherto generally approved of by the country, it was because the country looked with confidence to ministers, for the fullest justification of their conduct. The house then divided—For the duke of Norfolk's motion, 48. Against it, 105.

House of commons, February 8th.—Mr. Whitbread called the attention of the house to a subject of the highest importance. Alluding to the conduct of Mr. secretary Canning, in quoting partial extracts in support of the opinion he was maintaining, in the late debate of February 3d, on the subject of Copenhagen, he said, a practice had crept into that house which, he thought, had been carried to an immoderate extreme. He considered the right honourable gentleman to be bound by every tie of honour and of policy, to prove by the production of the papers he should move for, that the feelings, honour, and character of our ministers abroad and at home were safe in the hands of the secretary of state for foreign affairs. The first extract he should allude to, was that referred to by Mr. C. in his speech, February 3d, from lord Howick's official dispatch to Mr. Garlicke, bearing date the 3d of December, 1806. He would move for a copy of that dispatch; for he had authority to state, that lord Howick had reason to think himself not done justice to in this instance. He did not mean to say that the right honourable secretary had forged such extracts; but he did say, that by stopping short in the midst of a sentence, and omitting the subsequent part, that wholly qualified the preceding, by reading as absolute what was meant hypothetically; he did say, that this was reading a man's evidence against himself, and against the true nature of the evidence. It was neither more nor less than falsifying the statements of another person, whose situation should have commanded more delicacy. Mr. Garlicke had been hardly treated.

Lord

Lord Howick might stand up in his place and vindicate himself, but where could Mr. Garlick vindicate his dispatches, from garbled misrepresentations. And how anxious must he be to vindicate his character to the Danish court, and every other? But independently of any personal relations, Mr. C. was placed in a most important one to the public. The Copenhagen expedition was not yet justified. The honourable secretary for foreign affairs had been driven from reason to reason, and it was for him to prove, that the last he had resorted to, the extracts he had read, were not falsified. Mr. Whitbread concluded, with moving, "that a copy of a dispatch from lord Howick, dated the 3d of December, 1806, from which extracts had been read in the debate, on Wednesday the 3d of February, be laid before the house; and also a copy of a note from Mr. Rust to lord Howick, from which extracts had been read, &c."

Mr. Canning asked, if Mr. W. recollected with what view he had cited the dispatch of the 3d of December? It was probable that existing circumstances might have led to a compromise, by which the fleet of Denmark would have been surrendered to France. In support of this assertion, he had very naturally read part of a dispatch from lord Howick to Mr. Garlick, in which the latter was instructed, if any disposition should be manifested on the part of the Danes to enter into such a compromise, distinctly to state, that it would be resented by his majesty. He had no objection whatever to the production of the notes to and from Mr. Rist. They contained an able

discussion of the French decree of the 21st of December, and of the English order of council of the 7th of January. For the production of these papers he would vote cheerfully, but not for the dispatch of the noble lord, for the production of which there had not been laid any sufficient ground.

Mr. Whitbread observed, that Mr. C. in his statement of the instructions to Mr. Garlick, had left off where the very first word of the next sentence, the word *but*, would have completely knocked down all his reasoning on the subject. Mr. W's. motion was supported by lord Temple, Mr. Herbert, Mr. Tierney, Mr. Horner, Mr. Windham, Mr. Lyttleton, Mr. Sheridan, and Mr. Sharp. It was opposed by the secretary at war, Mr. Lockhart, the chancellor of the exchequer, sir John Orde, and sir M. Montague. On a division of the house, there appeared for the motion 73; against it 127.

House of lords, February 11th. — Lord Sidmouth gave notice of a motion he intended to make, on a fit opportunity, for an address to his majesty, praying he would be graciously pleased to give directions that the Danish fleet be kept in such a state, as not to preclude the possibility of restoring it, should circumstances occur under which it might be expedient to restore it. Agreeably to this notice, the noble viscount rose to make a motion to this effect, on February 18th.; but he requested, previously, that the summons sent by the British commanders to the governor of Copenhagen, on the 16th of August, and a subsequent letter from them might be read; which was done. His object he said, was to propose to their

their lordships, to come to a resolution stating the importance of preserving the Danish fleet in such a state that it might be eventually restored to Denmark, on the restoration of peace, or sooner, if possible. He said 'eventually,' as it was possible that such a situation of affairs might exist, that to restore the Danish fleet might be giving it to France, and also because he did not wish to bring forward any motion that might interfere with the prerogative of the crown. He had also used the terms 'the restoration of peace, or sooner,' because circumstances might occur, notwithstanding the continuance of the war, in which the restoration of the fleet might be proper. He should not have brought forward the motion if he had not seen by the votes of the house of commons that the Danish ships had been surveyed, for the purpose of being taken into the British service. To adopt a resolution of the nature proposed, would set us right in the eyes of Europe, and evince our desire to be just. We should have at some period either to restore the fleet or to make compensation for it; and it was better to come at once to a resolution, declaring a decided opinion on the subject. Not all the victories of the ruler of France, nor all his conquests, could give him so much pleasure as to obtain a victory over the honour and integrity of this country. He had, upon consideration, thought it better to propose a resolution of the house, than an address to the throne. His lordship concluded, by moving, "that it was highly important to the honour of this country, that under present circumstances, no measures should

be taken with respect to the ships of war now in the possession of his majesty, in consequence of the capitulation of Copenhagen, that might preclude the eventual restitution of them to the government of Denmark, agreeably to the spirit of the requisition referred to in the proclamation issued on the 16th of August, by the commanders in chief of his majesty's sea and land forces, employed on that occasion; and renewed in their letter of the first of September, to the commander in chief of the forces of his Danish majesty."

Lord Boringdon thought the proposition of the noble viscount of a novel and extraordinary nature, and such as if adopted, must lead to the most prejudicial consequences. Had such a proposition as this been adopted with respect to the Spanish frigates, would it not have greatly embarrassed the earl of Lauderdale in his negotiations at Paris? Such a proposition could be adopted only on the ground, that the Spanish expedition was wholly unjustifiable, and the house had already decided on both its justice and necessity.

Lord Ellenborough thought, that every consideration of justice and regard for the interests and welfare of the country were in support of the motion of his noble friend.

The lord chancellor contended, that both by the law of precedent, and by that of the constitution, the present motion must be resisted. The ships we had taken from Holland had not been restored, nor those from Spain, nor those taken at Toulon. But the constitution of the country was decisive upon this point. Captured ships became the property of the crown, and the present

present motion tended to tie up the hand of the prerogative.

Lord Holland contended, that the question did not at all affect the prerogative of the crown. It was only, whether that house would resolve, that it was expedient that the government should reserve to itself the power of restoring, eventually, the ships seized by us at Copenhagen to the Danes. He was not inclined at present to enter into any exposition of the shifting, prevaricating testimony that had been resorted to, in vindication of the Baltic expedition. One time Denmark was represented as sincere in her professions of neutrality, but too weak to act up to her intentions. At another, they were told, that as her sincerity was questionable, her means of annoyance were to be feared and provided against. Again, it was pretended, that the sole grounds of the expedition were the secret arrangement of the treaty of Tilsit; and when it was attempted to trace the alledged information to any authentic source, Portugal was at one period brought forward as the informer; and at another, the disaffected Irish. This sort of shifting naturally created suspicion in the mind of every impartial man. Considering the present motion, with a reference to the question of peace, he appealed to the feelings of the noble lords, whether it would not be more for the honour of the country, if they could commence a negotiation, after a voluntary cession on their parts, rather than the subsequent degradation of a forced surrender, exacted by the stipulations of a treaty?

Lord Harrowby opposed the motion of the noble viscount, be-

cause, instead of giving them facilities in a negotiation for peace, it would better our government, and prevent them from obtaining the terms which they might otherwise secure. The arguments of the noble lords opposite went too far for their purpose; for, if they proved any thing, they proved, not that the Danish fleet should be kept in order, that it might be restored at some subsequent period, but instantly and without delay.

Lord Erskine observed, that we had gone to the Danish shores in an amicable character, and treated with the Danes on an amicable footing. We took them by surprize, when they were lulled into security, and then proposed that they should purchase the temporary protection of a foreign power, by the surrender of their independence as a nation for ever. With respect to the law of precedent he dissented from his noble and learned friend on the sack. The cases cited by his noble friend, were not, in his opinion, applicable to that before their lordships. There was no obligation whatever, on the part of this country, to restore to *revolutionized Holland* the ships taken from the *stadtholder*. With respect to the precedent of Toulon, the Toulon fleet was deposited in our hands on the express condition of its being restored on the restoration of monarchy. And in the treaty of Amiens, there was not one syllable said by France, indicative of any claim to that fleet. But there was nothing for which lord Erskine was more anxious than to shew to the world, that what we did was indeed the work of mere necessity; and that this necessity being once at an end, we scorned to enter into any pitiful calculation of

of turning it to our own advantage.

The earl of Selkirk, though he was a friend to the principle of the Danish expedition, thought it his duty to support the motion before the house.

Lord Redesdale thought, that the original proposition of our commanders to restore the Danish fleet, was completely done away by the subsequent conduct of the Danish government, in rejecting the terms of that proposition, and entering into hostilities with this country.—There was no nation in Europe to which Denmark had been so adverse, for several years back, as to this country. She would have acted hostilely towards us if she could; and our government acted wisely in depriving her of her means. Such a pledge as that for the restoration of those means would, instead of tending to conciliate, serve to produce an opposite effect, as it proposed to concede that before hand, which ought to be left for matter of treaty.

The earl of Darnley conceived it to be peculiarly becoming that house to stand forward, for the purpose of rescuing the national character from the imputation naturally to be affixed upon it, by the Danish expedition.

Lord Mulgrave, to the assertion, that we did not want ships but men, replied by alledging, that we could have men enough at any time, but that we might stand in need of shipping.

Lord Grenville denied, that the house had yet come to any decision on the merits of the Danish expedition; the evidence relative to which had not yet been laid before it. He explained the object of the

motion; it was by no means proposed, that the Danish fleet should be restored under any particular circumstances; but merely that, in order to facilitate a reconciliation, and with a view to economy also, it should be kept in such a state as to prevent any obstructions to peace with Denmark, by enabling us to restore it with the least possible expence and difficulty. After deprecating the principle, that a state of war should cancel moral obligations, or that we should shrink from doing justice lest it should lead to loss, he proceeded to comment on the consequences likely to result from the nature of our attack on Copenhagen. So far from destroying, by that attack, the naval resources of Denmark, we had, particularly by the spirit we produced, contributed to promote and extend them. Her ports and arsenals were still remaining, with a vast quantity of naval materials; and any supply she wanted, she could without difficulty obtain. The profit to be derived from our iniquity was, in fact, immaterial while we had created a spirit, valour, and animosity to fight against us, which must furnish powerful aid to the common enemy.

Lord Hawkesbury opposed the motion, as tending to fetter the executive government, in case of a negotiation with Denmark; as casting an oblique censure on the conduct of ministers; and as affixing a stigma upon a measure, which was both just and necessary.

Lord Sidmouth replied to lord Hawkesbury, on the usual grounds, that the Baltic expedition was neither just, necessary, nor politically necessary; and that at any rate the ships, under certain circumstances, ought

ought to be restored to Denmark. The house divided. For lord Sidmouth's motion, 51.—Against it, 105.

House of Commons, Feb. 25.—Mr. Sheridan submitted to the house a proposition, which appeared to him of the first importance. He had hoped, that strong information would have proved the attack on Copenhagen to have been an act of necessity; or that some unequivocal instance of the hostility of Denmark would have been shown; or lastly, that some argument would have offered some tolerable pretext for their conduct. But when he found, that instead of this, they only made an awkward attempt to form something out of all the three; that they first pretended a strong necessity; that on being driven from this ground, they tried to point out a variety of provocations on the part of Denmark; that they then said, it was necessary to do some stout act, which might prove to the world that they could imitate Buonaparte; and that the result of the whole was a total denial of all actual information whatever, he could not disguise the unfavourable impression which had been made upon his mind. The allegation, that granting information was dangerous, was ever on the lips of those whose purposes required concealment. Admitting, however, that the granting of information might be sometimes inconvenient, perhaps even dangerous, publicity was the vital principle of our political constitution. Despotic governments had some advantages from that secret lurking manner in which business might be there transacted. The peculiar conveniences enjoyed

by a despotic government were balanced by advantages on the side of freedom ten thousand times greater. This proposition Mr. Sheridan illustrated in a very happy manner. Supposing that a case could be made out against Denmark, the house was without information respecting the real cause of the war with Russia. He took it for granted, that it was not simply the attack upon Copenhagen which had alienated the emperor of Russia from this country. It was owing to something that had occurred posterior to that attack, that he had arranged himself in the list of our enemies: the communication imparted to the court of Petersburg, of the foul, treacherous, and base proposals that were made after the capitulation of Copenhagen, by ministers to Mr. Rist, the Danish agent in this country, desiring Denmark to submit to any terms they might think proper to dictate, on the pain of having Norway wrested from that kingdom and given to Sweden. If he could trust to the papers, which he held in his hand, purporting to be the substance of a conversation which passed between Mr. secretary Canning and Mr. Rist, and copies of a correspondence, which passed between the courts of Copenhagen and Stockholm, it appeared that, at the very time when ministers were soliciting the mediation of the emperor of Russia between Great Britain and Denmark, they were threatening to depose Denmark of a part of her territories, and, after having evacuated Zealand, according to the capitulation, to co-operate with a Swedish garrison in again taking possession of it. Flagrant and wicked, as he conceived the first
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attack on Copenhagen to have been, to have violated the capitulation would have been still more base and criminal. Mr. Sheridan read the several papers to which he alluded; beginning with Mr. Rist's note to count Bernstorff, containing a communication of five different menaces, if the court of Denmark did not agree to subscribe to certain terms; and ending with a note addressed by baron Fawbe, the Swedish charge d'affaires at the court of Kiel, to count Bernstorff, the Danish minister, declaring, that "Had his Swedish majesty judged it necessary to occupy Zealand with his troops jointly with those of his allies, he should have done it; and the king wishes, that he may never find himself in the case to regret that he had acted otherwise."

Mr. Sheridan put the question to the house, whether it would sanction the new system of withholding all information relative to the measures of ministers? If it did, it would be better to decide at once, that the interference of that house was at all times an impediment to the operations of government; that parliament in difficult times was a nuisance; that it was better for the king to prorogue it during pleasure, raise money as he pleases, and make war or peace, when, how, or on what terms he may think proper. He implored ministers to desist from the system of fighting Buonaparte with his own weapons. Let them oppose lenity and moderation to his cruelty and oppression; good faith to his treachery; to his violence and despotism the mildness of the British constitution; and, above all, to his mystery let them oppose publicity. He con-

cluded with moving, "That there be laid before the house, as far as the same could be done, without detriment to the public service, copies or extracts of the correspondence which passed after the capitulation of Copenhagen, between his majesty's ministers and the court of Stockholm, relative to the retaining possession of Zealand by a Swedish army, or in concert with his majesty's forces; also for copies or extracts of the correspondence which passed between his majesty's ministers and the Danish charge d'affaires, or his secretary, residentary at the court of London."

Mr. secretary Canning replied, at great length, to Mr. Sheridan; to the most important points in whose speech he answered, that the doctrine of opposing publicity to the secrecy with which the enemy conducted his affairs, would be very proper if we were prepared to become the subjects of that enemy; and that no such offer had been made of Norway to Sweden, as had just been alledged. It was true that what had passed between himself and the Danish charge d'affaires, had been reduced to a minute, in the shape of a protocol of a conference; but there was not in it a single word of what the right honourable gentleman had read from the *Moniteur*. The proposition that had been made to the Danish charge d'affaires, was, either that he should procure full powers to treat, or induce his government to appoint some person with such powers, to treat with a minister to be sent from this country to Copenhagen. This was the whole of the official communication. It would not be contended, that in any conversations he might have had with that gentleman,

gentleman, he was not justified in stating, what might possibly be the consequences of a refusal on the part of Denmark, or to advert to any other topics to induce Mr. Rist to make the application to his court. As to what had passed between the courts of Stockholm and Copenhagen, after the capitulation of Zealand, Mr. Sheridan must be aware, that such correspondence could never be produced to that house.—Mr. S. had justly stated, that we had but one ally remaining, and that him we had brought into a situation of great peril. And what was the cure he proposed? What the acknowledgment of his selfishness? That we should lay before the public the whole of his most intimate counsels, not with respect to dangers long past, but to perils actually impending, and which would be greatly aggravated by the production of the correspondence now moved for.

Mr. Canning, in the course of this speech remarked, that there was a very “observable sympathy between the gentlemen in opposition to him and his colleagues, and the French newspaper, called the *Moniteur*. No sooner than they were run dry by a debate, than a number of the *Moniteur* arrived to supply them with a fresh topic. When their light was quite exhausted on any question, in came a *Moniteur*, from which a spark fell upon the gloom, and rekindled the heat of their arguments.”

This drew a smart reply from Mr. Ponsonby, who, though sensible of the just rebuke of the right honourable secretary upon himself, and those on the same side with him, that they were grown dry in the debate, that they were

quite exhausted in language, and required the promethean fire of the *Moniteur* to rekindle them into activity, could never admit that any such imputation could be fixed on the right honourable secretary himself. His ideas were not so numerous but that they could in a moment be put in array. The man who had but few ideas could readily summon them into action, particularly, when by perpetual practice they were drilled in all the evolutions of the disputant. The right honourable secretary was such an economist in his thoughts, and such a prodigal in words, that he could feel no embarrassment in debate. He could upon any occasion bring forward that chain of words which jingles in the ear, rarely affects the understanding, and never approaches the heart; but which some partizans might call eloquence. Mr. Ponsonby proceeded to animadvert on various parts of Mr. Canning's speech.—The conduct of ministers in negotiating with Sweden for the occupation of Zealand after it should be apparently evacuated, in conformity with the capitulation, excited his astonishment. It exactly resembled the conduct of two highwaymen, one of whom should first address a passenger, demanding his money, and threaten his life, and the passenger offer his purse, but beg that his life might be spared: on this, the highwayman accepts his purse, and promises not to injure him; but the moment he walks off, he whistles his companion from the hedge, and says, “Do you dispatch him.”

Mr. Windham said, the character of the country had been seriously accused, and to that accusation Mr.

Mr. Canning had returned a mere assertion; in which, as usual, he was confident just in proportion as he was deficient in proof and argument. He had stated, that even were the papers applied for laid before the house, the gentlemen who supported the motion would not find what they wanted. They wanted some proofs to contradict the statements which appeared in the *Moniteur*, and to vindicate the character of the country; which would be very imperfectly vindicated indeed, if it rested on the mere assertion of the right honourable gentleman. If he thought the papers would support his assertion, was it not natural to infer that he would produce them? And was it not equally natural to infer the contrary from the pertinacity of his refusal? He took a view of the animadversions which had appeared in the *Moniteur*, and maintained that they were in some parts particularly just, though not expressed in very happy terms.

The earl of Temple thought the matter under consideration might be decided by a single question. Was there, or was there not any negotiation with Sweden, or any other foreign power, to occupy Zealand after our troops were bound to evacuate it?

Mr. Canning repeated, that it was the determined purpose of ministers to evacuate Zealand, and literally according to the capitulation; but when he said *literally*, he meant not *according to the letter*, but the spirit of the capitulation. The doubts entertained by ministers as to the construction of that capitulation, would not be considered as unreasonable by any candid man, who looked back to the

period at which it took place, and who reflected, that it was concluded in the utter ignorance of the declaration of war by the Danish government.

Lord Temple said, the question was, whether it was proposed to any other power to occupy Zealand, after our troops should have evacuated it?

Mr. Canning asked, if the noble lord meant to enquire, whether after all hopes of a termination of the war with Denmark had ceased, ministers had it in contemplation, or had actually provided to take any hostile steps against that country?

The question having been loudly and repeatedly called for, the house divided.—For Mr. Sheridan's motion 85—Against it 134.

House of Lords, March 3.—The earl of Darnley, after a suitable preface, moved that an humble address be presented to his majesty,

“That after attentively considering all the public documents before us concerning the late attack on Copenhagen, and the war which it has produced, we have found the information which they afford extremely imperfect and unsatisfactory.

“That in a matter in which both the honour and the interests of our country are so deeply concerned, we had hoped for the fullest explanations. The principles of our constitution, and the uniform practice of his majesty, and the sovereigns of his illustrious house, require that parliament should be distinctly apprised of the true grounds of entering into new wars, especially in a situation of our country wholly unprecedented.

“Had Denmark been a party to any

any hostile confederacy against the rights or interests of the British empire, our resistance would have been necessary, and our warfare legitimate. Under such circumstances we should only have had to regret, that the ports and arsenals of that country should so lightly have been abandoned, when advantages so very considerable had been derived from their temporary occupation; and when, by our continuing to hold them during the war, all real danger from that quarter might have been effectually averted.

"But we cannot doubt that Denmark, instead of engaging in hostile leagues, had resolved still to maintain her neutrality. This fact is proved even by the imperfect documents which have been laid before us, and is confirmed by the proclamation issued by his majesty's commanders immediately before the attack.

"Certainly Denmark was no party, nor does it appear that she was privy, to any confederacy hostile to this country. We are not even satisfied that such a league did really exist.

"The conclusion of any secret articles at Tilsit, affecting the rights or interests of the British empire, appears to have been uniformly denied both by Russia and France.

"The correspondence of his majesty's secretary of state, and the dates of the transactions themselves, prove that his majesty's ministers could not be in possession of any such articles, when the attack was ordered against Copenhagen; and it has been distinctly admitted in this house, that they have not yet obtained a copy of them.

"The king's ambassador at Pe-

tersburgh, in an official note, rested the defence of the measures not on any hostile purposes either of Denmark or Russia, but solely on the designs, which it was said, the French government had long since been known to entertain.

"His majesty's ministers not only forebore to advise such measures as would have been necessary to repel any real hostility of Russia, but they actually solicited the mediation of that power to extinguish a war, and her guarantee to defeat projects, in which it is now pretended they knew her to have been a principal and contracting party.

"Allegations thus inconsistent with each other, and contrary to admitted facts, weaken, instead of supporting, the cause to which they are applied.

"With respect to the alledged necessity of the case, we beg leave to assure his majesty, that we cannot think so meanly of the power and resources of his empire, of the spirit of his people, or of the valour and discipline of his fleets and armies, as to admit that such an act could have been required for any purpose of self-preservation.

"Any temporary advantages which the possession of such ships and stores as were taken at Copenhagen can afford, are already much more than counterbalanced by the other consequences of a measure, which appears not less objectionable in policy than in principle. That measure has augmented the number of our enemies; it has countenanced the injurious representations circulated throughout Europe respecting our principles and designs; and has inflamed against us the warmest passions of neutral and of friendly nations.

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"But it has, above all, shaken our own persuasion of the justice of our cause; a sentiment which had hitherto supported us through all our difficulties; commanding the respect of other powers, and encouraging us in an humble but confident reliance on the ultimate protection and blessing of Providence.

"Unwilling as we are even yet to pronounce definitively on a subject, the full knowledge of which has been so pertinaciously withheld from us; and reluctant as we must ever be to admit conclusions unfavourable to the justice of those counsels by which his majesty's conduct has been actuated; we are yet compelled, on such an occasion, to speak to his majesty the language of truth. And we must, therefore, with all humility, and with the most unfeigned and heartfelt sorrow, represent, that in a case, which, above all others, required the clearest proof, every presumption is against us; and that no particle of evidence has yet been adduced by which our national character can be vindicated from the guilt of an unprovoked and premeditated violation of that good faith, justice, and humanity, which have hitherto been at once the glory and the safeguard of the British empire."

The address proposed by the earl of Darnley was supported by lord Holland, and opposed by the lords Elliot and Boringdon.—The house divided. For the motion 51—Against it 110.

After this, Lord Elliot moved for an address to his majesty, stating, "That this house, considering the declaration laid before them by his majesty's command; the state to which the continent was reduced, in consequence of the negotiation

and peace of Tilsit; the avowed declaration of the French government, to exclude the British flag from every port of Europe, and to combine all the powers of the continent, in a general confederacy, against the maritime right, and political existence of Great Britain, most highly approve the prompt and vigorous measures adopted by his majesty's ministers, for the purpose of removing out of the reach of his enemies, the fleet and naval resources of Denmark." The house divided. For the motion 125—Against it 57.

House of Lords, March 7.—Viscount Sidmouth called their lordships' attention to a subject of great importance. He had heard that when a rumour prevailed of an intended attack upon Copenhagen, a representation had been made to government on behalf of the Danish vessels then in our ports, for the purpose of ascertaining, whether they were safe in completing their cargoes. The nature of this representation, or the answer to it, he did not know. But afterwards, intimation having been made by the chamber of commerce at Copenhagen, that there was no expectation of hostilities with this country, those vessels proceeded to complete their cargoes. Previously, however, to the sailing of the expedition, an order was issued under which all those vessels were detained, and others brought in, the whole of which he had heard were since condemned, and become droits of admiralty. The produce of these vessels and cargoes, he had heard, amounted to nearly 2,000,000*l*. If these statements were true, he could not help thinking the circumstances unexampled

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in the annals of the country. Unless he had further information, he must ever believe, that our expedition to Copenhagen caused the war with Denmark, and, therefore, that the vessels previously detained, ought to have been considered in a different situation from vessels detained in consequence of the previous hostile power to which they belonged. He wished to ask the noble secretary of state, whether it was true, that the vessels he had alluded to had been condemned in the manner stated, and also, whether the crews were detained as prisoners of war?

Lord Hawkesbury stated, that the same course had been adopted with respect to the Danish vessels, as had been adopted with respect to the vessels of other powers detained in similar circumstances. No assurance of protection had been given either directly or indirectly by government to the Danish vessels in our ports, at the time mentioned by the noble lord. As to the crews, they were as in other cases, detained prisoners of war, with the exception of some individuals, who had been under particular circumstances released. A cartel proposed to the Danish government had been hitherto declined. As to the value of the ships and cargoes it had been greatly exaggerated.

House of Commons, March 21.
—The Baltic expedition was again brought into discussion by

Mr. Sharp, who considered all that had passed hitherto on this subject, as only preliminary to the measure which the house would now be called upon to give. In a time of profound peace we bombarded the metropolis of a neutral

power, while all her ships were in port, and all her stores were in her arsenals. An act of this *prima facie* injustice called for a frank exposition; and, indeed, in the words of his majesty's speech, it was due to Europe and the world. But had it appeared that ministers had not resorted to this act of violence, as long as a doubt of Denmark's hostility, as long as a hope of her neutrality remained? The grounds of justification had been threefold: First, the intention of France to seize upon Holstein, and to compel Denmark to depart from her neutrality; secondly, the co-operation of Russia with France; and thirdly, the collusion of Denmark with France, and the latent conspiracy of three powers against the maritime rights of Great Britain. Having examined these three grounds, which appeared to him altogether unsatisfactory, he concluded a very animated and ingenious speech, with moving,

"That an humble address be presented to his majesty, submitting to his majesty, that we have attentively considered all the information before us respecting the late attack on Copenhagen, and the war in which we have consequently been involved; and that we deeply lament to have found it imperfect, contradictory, and unsatisfactory, in all its parts.

"That respecting a transaction in which both the honour and the interests of our country are so deeply concerned, we had hoped for the fullest explanation,

"That the principles of our constitution; and the uniform practice of his majesty and the sovereigns of his illustrious house, require that parliament should be distinctly ap-

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prized of the true grounds of entering into new wars, and especially in a situation of the country, so extraordinary and unprecedented as the present.

"That had Denmark been a party to any hostile confederacy, either for menacing his majesty's territories, or invading his maritime rights, our resistance would have been necessary, and our warfare legitimate; and that, under such circumstances, this house would only have had to regret that his majesty should have been advised so lightly to abandon the ports and arsenals of that country; for that, had the alledged danger been real, the possession of those ports during the war would have afforded the best security against that danger; whereas the abandonment of them has now left us more than ever exposed to it.

"But that we can entertain no doubt that, instead of engaging in hostile leagues, Denmark wished only to maintain her neutrality; that this fact is proved even by the imperfect documents which have been laid before us; and is distinctly acknowledged in the proclamation issued by his majesty's commanders immediately before the attack.

"That not only was Denmark no party to such a league, but we see no ground to believe that she was privy to it; and the very fact of its existence is, to say the least, in the highest degree questionable.

"That the conclusion of any secret articles at Tilsit, affecting the rights and interests of this country, appears to have been uniformly denied, both by Russia and France; and that the correspondence of his majesty's secretary of

state, and the dates of the transactions prove, that if any such articles did exist, his majesty's ministers were not in possession of them, when the attack was ordered against Copenhagen.

"That his majesty's ambassador at St. Petersburg, in an official note, rested the defence of that measure, not on the hostile purposes either of Denmark or of Russia, but solely on designs which it was said the French government had long been known to entertain.

"And that his majesty's ministers not only advised his majesty to abstain from those measures of hostility against Russia, which it was their duty to have recommended, had they really believed in the existence of such engagements; but they actually solicited her mediation to extinguish that war, and her guarantee to defeat those projects, in which it is now pretended she was known to have been a principal and contracting party.

"That allegations, thus inconsistent with themselves, and contrary to the admitted facts, rather weaken than support the case to which they are applied.

"That, with respect to the pretended necessity of the case, we beg leave respectfully to assure his majesty, that we cannot think so meanly of the power and resources of his empire, of the spirit of his people, or of the valour and discipline of his fleets and armies, as to admit that such an act would have been required for any purpose of self-preservation.

"And that, whatever temporary advantages the possession of the ships and stores taken at Copenhagen may afford, have been more than

than counterbalanced by the increased dangers arising from the manner in which they have been obtained.

"That this measure, so highly objectionable both in policy and in principle, has augmented the number of our enemies; has animated against us the passions of whole nations, who before were amicably disposed towards us; and has, above all, shaken our own reliance on the justice of our cause; the only sentiment which has hitherto upheld us in all our difficulties; commanding the respect of other nations, and inspiring our own people with a confident expectation, under the blessing of Providence, of a successful termination of a long and arduous contest.

"That we are ever unwilling to pronounce definitively on a measure, the whole grounds of which are not before us: but that, in a case which, above all others, required the clearest proof, we have the deepest mortification at being compelled to acknowledge, that every presumption is against us; and that no evidence has yet been adduced on which we can safely rest the defence of our country, from accusations the most injurious to our national character.

Mr. Sharp's motion was supported on the usual grounds, by Mr. Orde, Mr. H. Lushington, Mr. Abercrombie, Dr. Lawrence, Mr. Fitzgerald, Mr. Whitbread, and lord Henry Petty. As to the Russian war, lord Petty was willing to concede, that this might have arisen even if the Danish expedition had not taken place; but, it would have been a war of a different character. We should not have had the opinion, and the people of Russia

against us. The secretary for foreign affairs, and his advocates, in a manner confessed the inefficacy of a war of justice against injustice, and to proclaim to the world this dangerous and degrading doctrine, that England was warranted and resolved to employ the worst weapons used by France, for the purpose of overcoming what it called French iniquity. The motion was opposed by

Mr. Stuart Wortley, Mr. Porcher, lord L. Gower, Mr. Robert Thornton, the Secretary at War, Mr. Croker, and Mr. Canning. The secretary at war adverted to a fact, which appears indeed, in the present question, to be of great weight. He read an extract from official papers, to shew that at one period some steps had been taken by the Danish government for enabling its fleet to oppose the passage of the French from the continent. But these had been abandoned, and when the moment of danger came, it was perfectly unprovided and unprepared for resistance.

Of all the arguments used on the other side of the house, Mr. Sharp conceived the plain translation to be this, that any belligerent power is entitled to seize upon any means of attack and defence that a neutral power may possess, lest those means should be seized by another belligerent. He entreated the house to consider to what consequences the establishment of such a doctrine must lead. The house divided.—For the motion 64—Against it 221.

House of Lords, March 24.—The earl of Suffolk, who had not as yet heard any satisfactory explanation of the ground on which

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such a violent attack had been made on Copenhagen, moved an address to his majesty, praying that directions might be given to lay before the house such correspondence as had taken place between Mr. Garlicke and the secretary of state, from November 1806, to July 1807, respecting the designs which Denmark in conjunction with Russia, was supposed to be meditating against this country.

Lord Hawkesbury observed, that the papers now moved for by the noble lord, had already been refused, and that the motion for which they were wanted had been negatived, after mature consideration and long discussion.

Lord Grenville contended, that on the subject to which the motion referred, the house were still very imperfectly informed. The motion was also supported by earl Grey. The question being put, was negatived.

House of Commons, March 29. — Lord Folkestone, after a suitable preface, moved an address to his majesty of the same tenour as that proposed by Lord Sidmouth in the house of lords; the main drift of it being, that his majesty might be pleased to give directions, that the Danish fleet should be kept in such a state of repair and preparation, as to render it possible that it might be restored as soon as it could be done, consistently with the security of his own dominions, and to declare his intention of so doing.

Lord Folkestone's motion was supported by Mr. Brand, Mr. Wilberforce, Mr. Hawkins Browne, Mr. Hambury Tracy, Mr. Babington, Mr. Bathurst, and Sir James Hall; and opposed by Sir Thomas Turton, Mr. Simeon, Mr. James

Stephen, and Mr. Davy Giddy. — On a division of the house, there appeared for Lord Folkestone's motion 44—Against it 105.

House of Lords, May 17. — Lord viscount Sidmouth rose, in pursuance of notice, to call their lordships' attention to the subject of the Danish vessels detained previous to hostilities. It was a principle of natural justice, acknowledged by the law of nations, that vessels carrying on trade in the ports of any country should receive protection, until some cause of hostility should have arisen. But the Danish vessels had been seized without any previous cause of hostility. He had stated on a former occasion, that the proceeds of the whole of these vessels and cargoes amounted to near 2,000,000*l*. He now proceeded to shew, by a statement of particulars, that he did not make that statement on light grounds. The amount of the sum, however, made no difference with respect to the principle on which the motion he was about to submit to the house was founded. He was aware that British property to a considerable extent had been sequestered in Denmark, after hostilities had been commenced by this country; and he thought it fair that the proceeds of the Danish vessels should be answerable, in the first instance, for the amount of this property. Having stated the drift of the resolutions now to be moved for, he lamented that a disposition had lately been shewn to depart from those principles of justice which had hitherto characterized the conduct of this country, in order, as it had been alledged, to meet the injustice of the enemy. His wish was, that those principles, although driven out of every part of the

the continent, should find an asylum in Great Britain, and be here cherished and supported; thus rendering our conduct, as stated from the throne in 1794, a contrast to that of the enemy, ultimately maintaining and exalting our character, and contributing to our real security. His lordship concluded, by moving the following resolutions:

"That it appears to this house, that ships and other property to a large number and amount, belonging to subjects of his Danish majesty, have been seized and detained under orders and instructions, issued before information was received by the British government of the commencement of hostilities with Denmark; and at a time when there was no alledged or supposed cause of war or reprisals, and when in pursuit of a peaceable and lawful commerce, there was an unusual accumulation of Danish ships and cargoes in our ports, under the most perfect confidence of security; and that the said ships and other property have been since condemned as prize to the crown.

"That in consideration of the extraordinary circumstances under which the said orders and instructions were issued, it is highly expedient, that except for the purpose of indemnifying such British subjects as may have suffered from the sequestration of their property in Denmark, the appropriation of the proceeds of the said ships and other effects should be suspended, so that no obstacle may be occasioned thereby to such eventual compensation to the original owners as circumstances may appear to admit of, and as his majesty in his

justice and liberality may be pleased to direct.

"That it would be highly honourable to the character of this country, that considering the peculiar circumstances of the present case, all mariners and others detained and taken in consequence of the orders and instructions aforesaid, should be released upon such terms and conditions as his majesty may think fit to require.

"That at the time of issuing the orders and instructions aforesaid, there were also in the ports of this kingdom many ships and cargoes belonging to subjects of his Danish majesty, which having been unjustly and wrongfully brought into the said ports, had been decreed to be restored to the owners; and that many more then under adjudication must, as it appears, have been in like manner decreed to be restored: that freight-money, to a large amount, had been, and other sums of the like nature must have been, pronounced to be due; all which ships, cargoes, and freight-money have, in consequence of the supervening hostilities, been condemned as prize to the crown.

"That it is essential to justice and to the honour of the British name, as well as conformable to the ancient practice of our courts, and to the established principles of the law of nations, that effectual means be adopted for giving to the owners of the said ships, and other property, the full benefit of the decrees pronounced in their favour by the high court of admiralty, or by his majesty's high court of appeal for prizes; and the adoption of such means is rendered the more obligatory on the faith of this nation,

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tion, inasmuch as the positive stipulation of a treaty then subsisting between this country and Denmark, was intended to provide against a delay, which, however unavoidable in the present instance, has proved so injurious to the interests of the subjects of Denmark.

"That it is equally essential to justice and to the honour of the British name, that the crews, or such part of them as had remained in this kingdom, for the better custody and protection of the ships and cargoes so as aforesaid ordered to be restored, should no longer be considered as prisoners of war.

"That the principles of the foregoing resolutions be considered as extending to the proceedings of all his majesty's courts of prize, wherever the facts of the case, which at present are not before this house, shall warrant their application." Lord Sidmouth's motion was supported by lord Erskine, lord Ellenborough, earl Stanhope, and the earl of Lauderdale.

Lord Erskine maintained, that those who combated the present proposition must shew that there was an actual necessity for detaining and keeping these trading vessels; otherwise the owners were entitled, in justice, to a compensation.

Lord Lauderdale maintained, that there was never any thing in the

history of our wars, that bore the smallest resemblance to the present transaction.

The motion was opposed by the lord chancellor Eldon, and lord Hawkesbury.

Lord Eldon maintained, that as the law stood, a vessel detained, although there might be no reason for the detention at the time, became forfeited to the crown. This might operate as a hard case in many instances on individuals: but he had great doubts, whether there could be any thing like a commercial peace, and a political war at the same time. Such a system, and the idea of compensation for losses, would only lead towards speculations on the part of individuals.

Lord Hawkesbury went over the same ground, contended that the war on the part of Denmark was entirely optional, and in fact courted by that country, and also, that the seizing of the Danish ships was not without precedent.

Lord Sidmouth's first resolution being moved, the house divided.—Contents 16—Against it 36.

And on the fourth resolution, which related to the ships that had been previously ordered by the admiralty courts to be restored, another division took place. Contents 16—Non-contents 37.

CHAP. III.

Relations between Great Britain and Russia, with other Powers, particularly Russia.—Motion in the House of Commons by Mr. Whitbread for sundry Papers relating to this Subject.—Motion by Mr. Whitbread after reviewing the Information now before the House, for entering immediately into a Negotiation for Peace.—Opposed by Mr. Ponsonby, Mr. Canning, &c. &c.—Supported by Mr. Sheridan—negatived.—Resolutions moved by Mr. Adam respecting the Law of Parliament.—Supported by Mr. Windham and Mr. Whitbread.—Opposed by Mr. Canning, Mr. Perceval, Lord Castlereagh, and Mr. Sturges Bourne.—Expedition to the Dardanelles, brought into Discussion in the House of Commons by Mr. W. Taylor.—Motion for sundry Papers relating to that Affair.—The Expedition defended by Mr. T. Grenville.—Censured by Mr. Canning.—The previous Question put and carried.

VERY near akin to the long agitated question of the Baltic expedition, was that respecting our relations to Russia. In some instances they ran into one another and became the same; on the 26th of January, Mr. secretary Canning presented to the house of commons the papers relative to the Russian and the Austrian offers of mediation, which were ordered to lie on the table.

Mr. Ponsonby wished to know whether it was Mr. Canning's intention to lay before the house the papers relative to the application made by the British government to the court of St. Petersburg, to mediate between this country and Denmark.

Mr. Canning replied, that though this had not been the intention of ministers, he had no objection to their production, provided any motion for them should be so generally worded as to admit of it. For if it went the length of requiring the specific answer given

by Russia to the specific request, it could not be done, as there was no such paper in existence.

Mr. Ponsonby then moved, that an humble address should be presented, praying that his majesty would be graciously pleased to cause that there should be laid before the house, copies of extracts from the correspondence between his majesty's principal secretary of state for foreign affairs, and his accredited minister of the court of St. Petersburg, as far as related to the request of his majesty to his imperial majesty to mediate a peace between this country and Denmark. Ordered*.

Mr. Whitbread wished to be informed whether it was Mr. Ponsonby's intention to move, that these papers should be taken into consideration on any particular day; and on receiving an answer in the negative, he gave notice of his intention, without naming the day, to take an early opportunity of bringing the foreign relations of the country

* See State Papers.

country under discussion, with the view of inducing the house to come to a resolution on the propriety of commencing a negotiation for peace with France at the present moment. Accordingly, on the 16th of February, Mr. Whitbread rose, pursuant to notice, to move for certain papers, necessary to be before the house, previous to the discussions which he intended to introduce on Monday se'nnight. Ministers, after various transactions, in which they had been engaged in the course of last summer, had laid upon the table, notes, dispatches, and extracts of dispatches, explanatory of their conduct. This he considered as deficient; and his design was to call on ministers to make up the chasm. His first motion would be for copies and extracts of dispatches from the secretary of state for foreign affairs to our ministers at Vienna, relative to the proffered mediation of Austria, as he understood that this was to be granted, he would say nothing on that point. His second motion was of great and paramount importance. It was for an extract of the dispatch containing the substance of the conversation that took place between the emperor of Russia and lord Hutchinson, on the 23d of August, 1807, relative to the offer of the Russian mediation for peace, &c. It had been insinuated, that it was a breach of duty, in any accredited minister, to mention the conversations he might have had with a sovereign. This was not the case in all circumstances; but at any rate, lord Hutchinson, a most distinguished individual, renowned for his military talents, and not less celebrated for his high sense of honour, was not

an-accredited minister; though, as a private individual, he maintained a communication with the emperor of Russia, with the knowledge of our accredited minister. The conversation which he held with the emperor on the 23d of August, was known well at the time, and had been conveyed to this country in a dispatch from lord Leveson Gower, to whom it had been communicated for this express purpose. Why then should it not be communicated in an authentic and regular form to the house? The emperor confiding in the judgment and integrity of lord Hutchinson, asked him, whether, considering the situation of affairs, peace ought not to be concluded. Lord H. asserted that it ought. The emperor then said that he had offered his mediation for a peace with England, stating, at the same time, that, from what he knew, peace might be concluded on honourable terms: Was not this document necessary? Could there be any thing indiscreet in communicating it? The noble lord was not prevented by any obligation whatever of duty or expediency, to conceal the conversation. He then proceeded to state instances in which communications of conversations with sovereigns had been laid before the house. Mr. W. also wanted to have the substance of the verbal assurances, relative to peace between Russia and France, mentioned in the note of our ambassador of the 30th of June, 1807; the dispatch, containing assurances of satisfaction for a promised co-operation after a change of ministry; with several other papers, relative to the Russian loan, Sweden, &c. After a short debate, Mr. Whitbread withdrew his first motion,

tion, which related to the proffered mediation of Austria. The second, calling for extracts from lord Leveson Gower's dispatch, containing the assurances referred to Mr. Bugberg, 28th June, was negatived. That, for copies of all assurances of co-operation given to the courts of St. Petersburg and Stockholm, was, with some modifications, acceded to, as were all the others.

House of commons, February 29th.—Mr. Whitbread rose to make his announced motion, for entering immediately into a negotiation for peace. After some prefatory observations respecting the acknowledged danger of the present crisis, he said, that his present intention was to take a review of the information now before the house, respecting the conduct of ministers in refusing to enter into negotiation with France, thereon to ground a resolution expressive of what the state of the country might have been, had a different course been pursued. He had, a month ago, stated some of the symptoms of the present crisis of the country. Since that time, several petitions had been presented to the house, of which the statements were most distressing, the prayer most moderate, and the general tone most patriotic. He did not bring forward the motion he was about to make, in consequence of these petitions; but he was not sorry that they had been presented, because he was a friend to petitioning: much good had been produced by petitions. It was by the petitions of the people, that an end had been put to the American war; and if the petitions of the people had been attended to in the early part of the last war against France, our situation now would

have been far different from what it was. All projects were now given up of obtaining indemnity for the past, of dictating a constitution to France, or of curbing the power and ambition of Buonaparte. Our only aim now, was to defend ourselves. And what probability was there of obtaining a more honourable peace than might be concluded at the present moment? He called the attention of the house to the present situation of the country with regard to foreign powers. The peace of Tilsit had been treated in his majesty's declaration, and in the speech of the commissioners, most disastrous to Russia, and represented as the effect of despondency and alarm. But Mr. W. contended, that this peace had been the salvation, and had prevented the Russian army from being totally and completely extinguished. Before the peace of Tilsit, however, was concluded, an offer had been made by Russia, to mediate a peace between Great Britain and France: an offer which he had always considered as an effusion of Alexander's heart towards this country. Here Mr. Whitbread entered into a detailed analysis of the papers which had been laid on the table, relative to this offer, on the part of Russia, and the refusal of ministers to accept of it. In the course of many observations and comments, he adverted to general Bugberg's letter of the 20th June, in which he complains of Russia having been left unaided in the contest. On the justice or injustice of these complaints, he did not now mean to enter; but he contended that the language held in this note, which was that of a man who seemed to feel that he had been ill used, was itself a proof of the fidelity of

the emperor of Russia; or, at least, of a persuasion on his part, that he had acted with fidelity in his engagements, and that his conduct was not dictated by the petulant feelings of the moment. And, even this note was concluded with an offer of mediation, accompanied not merely with a belief, but with an assurance that it would be accepted by France. He did not mean to say that lord L. Gower was empowered to accept of this mediation, or that he was wrong in not accepting of it. He only wished the house to observe, that this offer was made before the peace of Tilsit was concluded; and that it was an offer proceeding from a sincere wish, on the part of the emperor of Russia, to facilitate a pacific arrangement between this country and France, accompanied with a moral certainty of France being ready to meet us half-way in the proposed negotiation. This, then, was one of those golden opportunities, which, when once lost, are irretrievable. But it had been said, that "no intimation of the basis on which France proposed to treat had been given:" on which Mr. W. observed, that if it could ever have been a matter of doubt whether the previous settlement of a basis was necessary to the hope of a successful negotiation, the experience of the last negotiation with France, would have placed that question beyond controversy. Mr. W. proceeded to animadvert on lord L. Gower's dispatches of the 2d September; and on the dispatches in answer to them by Mr. secretary Canning; and on a review of the whole, contended that ministers, instead of smoothing, had been assiduous only in raising difficulties, and acted not only contrary to

form, but to common sense. They seemed also to have confounded the character of a mediator with that of an umpire. He next proceeded to an analysis of the correspondence with Austria. If ministers had had a disposition towards peace, they would have accepted the proffered mediation of Austria, with that confidence and good-will towards her, which her former conduct towards us had merited. But here, too, they had manifested a disposition to start instead of smoothing difficulties. The petulance of Mr. secretary Canning, he said, the difficulties which he was constantly raising, the obstacles he threw in the way, and the false constructions he was apt to fall into, proved clearly that no negotiation could be conducted by him with any reasonable chance of success. The ruler of France had, at three distinct periods, made offers of peace to this country, in terms unobjectionable. The first was rejected. The second was not absolutely rejected; but lord Mulgrave had written a contemptuous letter, informing him, "that his majesty had consulted his allies." We had then an opportunity of selling a recognition to him; and we might have sold many before he had established himself as he had now done in defiance of us. Notwithstanding, however, the manner in which his former offers had been treated, another offer, and that after his power had been greatly increased, had been made through the intervention of other powers. That offer had been accepted; and what did gentlemen on the other side mean to do? Were they, as was stated in the king's speech, looking about for an impartial mediator? There was no such mediator now

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to be bad, and nothing remained but a direct communication. But it would appear as if a personal hostility to Buonaparte existed: and why? because the people were told that he was ambitious and cruel, and a violator of all rights human and divine. The political conduct of princes was that alone with which other nations had to do; and of the effects of that, nations and not individuals. It was not the power of France that was formidable, but that of the French emperor. It was the talents of the emperor that consolidated the present mass. We had forced him to try the experiment of contending with all the European armies, and they had been defeated; and in proportion as we went on with the war, we were consolidating his power more and more. If another character arose, new interests, new views, and new treaties would be formed; and this would happen sooner or later. In the mean time, it was impossible to subdue Buonaparte by war; that was now obvious. Mr. W. after exposing the delusive hopes of conquering France through her finances, proceeded to shew the futility of another delusion, namely, that Buonaparte would be hated by the people and the army, and that the mass of the population of the different countries he should enter, would rise against him. All this had been proved to be completely unfounded. The last point he would touch upon was the allegation, that Buonaparte had sworn the destruction of this country. He asked, where and when he had done so? Was it during his Consulate? Was it after he became emperor of France? No. For then, also, he had made an offer of

peace; yet it might be said that in all this he was insincere. This might be the opinion of some; but before that opinion could be rendered general or universal, it would be necessary to enter into a negotiation to prove it. Mr. Whitbread concluded a long and elaborate speech, by moving the following resolutions:

“That it is the opinion of this house, that the conditions stipulated by his majesty's ministers for the acceptance of the mediation offered by the emperor of Russia, were inexpedient and impolitic.

“That it is the opinion of this house, that the conduct of his majesty's ministers on the subject of the mediation of the emperor of Austria, was unwise and impolitic, and not calculated to ascertain how far the restoration of the blessings of peace might or might not have been attainable through the means of such mediation.

“That this house feels it incumbent on itself to declare, that there is nothing in the present circumstances of the war, that ought to preclude his majesty from embracing any fair opportunity of acceding to, or commencing a negotiation with the enemy, on a footing of equality, for the termination of hostilities, on terms of justice and honour.”

Mr. Ponsonby concurred with his honourable friend as to his two first resolutions: and in the third, likewise, he agreed in the letter, but differed as to the spirit and effect, and as to the propriety of passing such a resolution at the present moment. The third proposition, if adopted, would bind ministers immediately to take steps towards a negotiation; which must produce

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one of these two results. Ministers having tried the inclination of the enemy, would come back to the house and say, "We have tried him, and find him averse to negotiation; or, in such a state of irritation, that it is in vain to expect him to treat on anything like honourable terms."

This, of course, they would assert, and was the effect of the passing of this resolution. Or, again, if they did enter into terms, and a dishonourable peace should be the consequence, they would say, "the reproach does not lie on us, blame yourselves, you were too impatient. There was another reason which operated strongly with him. The house was every day receiving petitions for peace, stating the pressure under which the petitioners laboured, from the markets on the continent being shut against them. If we were, in consequence of agreeing to the present proposition, to send an ambassador to France, might not Buonaparte say, "It is not six weeks since you sent away the Austrian ambassador, whose mediation you rejected. You talk, however, of a pressure on your manufactures. Is it so? Then I will persevere in following up the measures I have adopted; and, taking advantage of this pressure, will force you to accept any sort of peace I chuse to grant you." If it were once to be laid down as a maxim, that on account of a pressure on any one branch or part of the community, the whole nation must give way, he could not look on England in any other light than as a conquered country. If his honourable friend, therefore, would not withdraw his motion, he should move the previous question.

Mr. Wilberforce agreed entirely

with Mr. Ponsonby in his opinion on the last proposition of the honourable mover, but for different reasons. He did not see that the house was called on to interfere in the conduct of the executive power, unless it appeared that the servants of the crown had misconducted themselves in regard to what was passed. The third proposition could not be agreed to without agreeing also to the two former. But he was so far from agreeing to these, that he thought ministers acted with becoming circumspection in doubting that the mediation of Russia and Austria would have been impartially exerted towards this country. It by no means followed that, because neither of these powers could be supposed to hold France in a higher regard than they did this country, they might not, to serve their own purposes, have sacrificed our interests.

Lord Milton, though he agreed to the two first propositions, could not go the length of the third; not being satisfied that there was yet ground to address his majesty to remove his ministers, as being disinclined to peace, which must necessarily accompany that proposition.

Mr. J. W. Ward gave his decided support to the whole of the resolutions of his honourable friend. Among other remarks, he said, there was now no point of contact where war could be carried on. We had destroyed all the fleets that had been opposed to us. Buonaparte had discomfited all the armies that had been sent against him. The war, in fact, had died a natural death. It had been like a fire going out for want of fuel. The propositions were also supported

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by lord Mahon and Mr. J. Smith, who spoke with great enthusiasm in praise of the talents and independence of Mr. Whitbread.

Mr. Canning, giving Mr. Whitbread full credit for being sincere in the opinion he had expressed, contended that, admitting negotiation to be desirable and good when there was a prospect of its leading to peace, it was a mischief when it did not afford that prospect. It tended to excite deceitful hope, and to paralyze exertion. The honourable gentleman was satisfied, that when Russia said we might have honourable terms, the fact was so. But why, in that case, did not Russia state those terms? What Russia might have looked upon as honourable terms, might not be so looked upon in this country. The manner in which Russia acted respecting Prussia; that in which she surrendered the guaranteed republic of the Seven Isles; the phrase of "maritime peace," always used by France in a sense wholly inconsistent with the maritime power and strength of Great Britain; and in that sense forced into all the diplomatic papers of the powers reduced under the controul of Buonaparte; the apparent compromise of the independence of Sicily;—all these were grounds for suspecting that the terms which Russia described as honourable, might, in fact, be very far from being so on the principles that a British government was bound to act upon. A very material fact, tending to shew the disposition of Russia, and her devotion to France, was, that the inclination of the Russian government to complete the commercial treaty with Britain, ceased on account of the influence of France, and was not concluded.

He had himself no doubt that the declaration on the subject of Copenhagen, was forced on Russia by France. It was thought strange, that while the mediation of Russia was deemed suspicious as between Britain and France, the mediation of that power was solicited as between Britain and Denmark. But this application was perfectly consistent with the character of Protector of the north; and by preserving any part of the independence of that state, there might yet be room to hope that all was not irrecoverably lost. The first offer of mediation from Austria was immediately subsequent to the battle of Eylau, described in the gazette, published by the late ministers, as a complete victory on the part of the allies. It was accepted without any other condition, than that it should be accepted equally by all the belligerent powers. The offer was made accordingly, but accepted by France in terms so offensive to Britain, that it would have been a question whether any negotiation upon it could have been instituted. But before this question could be brought to an issue, the battle of Friedland had totally destroyed the hopes of the allies; and when lord Pembroke mentioned the matter at Vienna, he was told that things were so changed that nothing could be done. A second offer of mediation, on the part of Austria, was afterwards made, 28th November, by prince Staremberg. But the whole of the proceedings, on the part of Austria, respecting this second offer, wore evident marks of French dictation.

Mr. Sheridan was determined to support the whole of the three resolutions; which he would have done had

had they been conceived in stronger terms. With regard to petitions for peace, he was decidedly of opinion that the way to put a stop to them, would be to satisfy the country that the house was strongly disposed to peace, when peace was fairly attainable. As a great deal still remained to be said upon this important question, particularly on the third resolution, into which it was now too late to enter, he moved an adjournment of the debate till to-morrow.

Mr. Adam requested his right honourable friend to withdraw his motion, and let the house decide upon the resolutions; for every one of which he meant to vote affirmatively. His opinion was, that ministers, by their conduct, had put a bar to any expectation of peace being proposed by them, or to them; and until that bar should be removed by a declaration of the sentiments of that house, he very much feared there could be no hope of peace for the country. Mr. Sheridan withdrew his motion; and after a few words from Mr. J. Smith and Mr. Wilberforce, and a reply to the latter by Mr. Whitbread, the house divided upon each of the resolutions.—Upon the first the numbers were, Ayes 70—Noes 210.—Upon the second, Ayes 67—Noes 211.—Upon the third, Ayes 58—Noes 217.

To the debates concerning our relations to the northern powers, several resolutions moved in the house of commons by Mr. Adam, 4th of March, respecting the law of parliament, formed a kind of natural episode. Before stating the terms of his motion, he found it necessary to enter into some discussion of general principles, and to state

the facts on which he pretended to found it. His object was, to prevent the repetition of a practice which the house had witnessed on the 3d of February last, and which stood recorded on the journals of the house on the 8th of February, he hoped for the last time. On the 3d of February, certain papers had been moved for by a right honourable friend of his, Mr. Ponsonby; and in the debate which took place, the discussion embraced not only the motion for papers, but the conduct of the individuals to which those papers referred. On that occasion, the secretary of state for the foreign department read extracts from two of those papers which had been moved for, for the purpose of putting the house in possession of the information necessary to enable it to form a judgment respecting the propriety of the hostile proceedings which government had adopted against Denmark. On the 8th of February, another honourable friend of his, Mr. Whitbread, moved for the production of those very papers, from which the secretary had read extracts on the 3d of February, on the ground that the extracts conveyed a different impression from that which the writers of those dispatches, lord Howick and Mr. Garlicke, intended to convey. On the 3d of February, the reason given for not producing the whole of the papers was, that their contents could not be disclosed without detriment to the public service. And on the 8th of February, the secretary persisted in opposing their production, on the pretence that, in the extracts he had made from them, he had not misrepresented the opinions of lord Howick and Mr. Garlicke. On the
26th

26th of February, however, the right honourable secretary had come down to the house himself, for the purpose, as he stated, of vindicating his own character, and moved for the production of those very papers, which, on the 3d of February, he contended could not be disclosed with safety, and the production of which, on the 3th of February, he had resisted on another: so that, according to Mr. Canning, the public convenience and safety were not to be put in the balance with his personal feelings and interests! The reading of extracts on the 3d of February, was not preparatory to a proceeding, but on the very model of a proceeding that was to terminate in adjudication. And it was upon this ground that he pronounced the secretary Canning's conduct to be wholly irregular and highly censurable. If a libel was published on any member of the house, he might move that the libel should be read in the house; but the house would not grant any proceedings upon the libel till it was on their table. That this practice had been invariably adhered to, and that it was irregular in debate to quote any paper which had not been regularly submitted to parliament, Mr. Adam proved by many precedents, and a uniform analogy. But if there were no precedent for what he was about to propose, he reminded the house, that the circumstances were also altogether novel, and on this ground he hoped, that that the house would create a precedent. Mr. Adam having pointed a great variety of prejudicial consequences that might arise from the practice of quoting partial extracts, if not checked,

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concluded with moving the following resolutions:

"That it appears to this house, that one of his majesty's principal secretaries of state did read to this house dispatches and other communications to and from the accredited ministers of this country at foreign courts, relative to the subjects of their mission; and that he has stated and read other matters respecting the transactions of this country with foreign powers, none of which were communicated to this house by his majesty's commands, and some of which this house has determined to be unfit to be produced.

"That such conduct is subversive of the ancient and approved usages of parliament, is destructive of fair discussion and decision, and has a direct tendency to injure the public interest, by making the resolutions of this house proceed on inaccurate statements, which it cannot correct by reference to the documents from which those statements are made; or to force on the consideration of this house, papers which, in its wisdom, it may deem unfit for public production.

"And further, that such conduct is contrary to the trust reposed by the constitution in the confidential servants of the crown."

Mr. Canning spoke at considerable length in his own defence. The substance of his speech was, a statement of precedents for quoting partial extracts on the part of former ministers; an inquiry into some of the statements that had been made by Mr. Adam; and a claim to the right of using, as one of his majesty's ministers, a discretionary power. Was the honourable

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able and learned gentleman, who had moved the resolutions, prepared to say that no information was given to parliament, but that which came in the more regular and authentic shape of a message from his majesty? In this case, no minister could ever afford satisfactory information to either house of parliament. But, it might be said, the question might be fair, but the answer not correct! How was correctness, or incorrectness, in such a case, to be judged of? Was it proper to tell whence you borrowed the intelligence? Through what channel it came? Was it to be communicated by extract or in detail? To all these modes of communication objections were started, yet no reason had been started, why one should be preferred to another. By partial statements, it was said, great mischief might be committed, and much injury done, to our diplomatic agents. To a detail of the information, equally strong objections were offered. What, then, could be the guide of a minister's conduct, but his own discretion? And where could that discretion reside, but with the very person whose discretion the learned and honourable gentleman moved resolutions to criminate? Mr. Canning, having concluded his speech, withdrew, not thinking himself competent to vote when a criminal charge was brought against his own conduct. A debate ensued, in which Mr. Adam's motion was supported by Mr. Windham and Mr. Whitbread; and opposed by the chancellor of the exchequer, lord Castlereagh, and Mr. Sturges Bourne. Mr. Adam replied to all the arguments that had been used against his motion, and insisted that the conduct of the

right honourable secretary, which he called in question, was against the usage of parliament: that this was proved by its never appearing to have been the practice of the house, and by its being checked each time when it was resorted to. As to modern practice, whatever it might be, he cared not, because that did not defeat the ancient usage founded on the principles that formed the common law of the country, the practice of the house, and the acquiescence of the people. And he contended, that his doctrine was confirmed and established by the entries of the 8th of February, which he had read to the house, the only entries of the sort to be found on their journals. He was perfectly satisfied that he had discharged a most important duty in bringing this most important law and constitution of parliament into discussion; both to counteract the entries on the journals, and to check a course of proceeding which placed the means of swaying the decisions and acts of that house, by misrepresenting facts, and by withholding and detaining the evidence of them entirely in the hands of the ministers of the crown. On the previous question, which had been moved by the chancellor of the exchequer, the house divided; Ayes 168—Noes 67.

While the great question respecting our seizure of the Danish fleet, and in consequence of this, as was alleged by the members of parliament in opposition to the present ministers, the alienation and hostility of the emperor Alexander to this country, was the grand topic; the attention of parliament was also called to the late unfortunate expedition to the Dardanelles, and to

Alexandria.

Alexandria. This subject, however, was not brought into discussion as a party measure, or a movement of either ministerial or anti-ministerial tactics; but by a gentleman who appears to have been unconnected with any party. Though the expedition to the Dardanelles was thought by Mr. Canning, and other speakers on his side of the house, an excellent *Argumentum ad hominem*, and had become a kind of standing joke, neither the justice nor the policy of an attack on Copenhagen, could possibly be evinced by the injustice, impolicy, or bad management of the expedition against Constantinople. Still less disposed, it may be presumed, were the late ministers to recall that miserable attempt to the attention of the legislature and the public. Yet they were not altogether displeased that it was brought under review, because it afforded an opportunity of shewing clearly in what it differed from the attack on Copenhagen, with which ministerialists affected to confound it, in every respect, except its want of success. In the debate of February 8th, on the subject of the Baltic expedition, Mr. Whitbread expressed great satisfaction and gladness, that the business of the Dardanelles was soon to come on, when he feared a great source of Mr. Canning's drollery, always laughable, if not always very dignified, would be entirely removed. Other gentlemen expressed, on different occasions, the same sentiment.

House of Commons, Feb. 15.—Mr. Taylor rose, pursuant to notice, to move for papers necessary to convey a proper understanding of the particulars connected with the expedition to the Dardanelles

and to Alexandria. The frequent references to these transactions in the discussions on the affair of Copenhagen, to which they had been assimilated in principle, rendered a more particular investigation of them necessary. But it was not merely to estimate the right and propriety of these attacks on neutral powers, that the papers he was about to move for ought to be before the house. By these attacks we were involved in a war with Turkey, and no communication whatever had been made to parliament on the subject. It was no private or party motive that had induced him to bring forward this motion. He was not connected with any party, and he had communicated with only one or two members on the subject. Having for a short time been resident in Turkey, and conversant with the manners of the people and their political attachments, his attention was naturally engaged by the dispatches of his majesty's ambassador and commanders in the Dardanelles; and with every attention that he was able to give, he could neither discover why the armament went, nor why it had come away. Whatever might be the morality, or the policy of the Copenhagen expedition, it at least afforded a conspicuous example of judicious management, and able execution. When a transaction of that kind was thought by some to call for inquiry, he could not think that a transaction, in which the character of the navy, the favourite service of the country, was brought in question by ill success, ought to be suffered to pass without investigation. These were the motives which induced him to bring this subject before the

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house. He would abstain from pronouncing any opinion till the papers, which were to guide his judgment, as well as that of the house, should be properly considered. He would, however, enumerate briefly the circumstances of the transaction. The British fleet appeared at the entrance of the Dardanelles, on the 29th of January, 1807, while the British ambassador was still at Constantinople. The British fleet attacked the castles and forced its passage, burning a Turkish frigate. The British fleet remained twelve days before Constantinople, and then came back the same way, without doing any thing further. This situation was one, in which no British officer would wish to remain, or ought to be suffered to remain, without inquiry. The papers he should move for would tend to shew why the British squadron had gone to the Dardanelles, why it had come away, and what had been done there. He moved, that there be laid before the house, a copy of the treaty of alliance, offensive and defensive, between his majesty and the Ottoman porte, signed at Constantinople January 5, 1799, by his majesty's ministers, sir Sidney Smith, and Mr. Spencer Smith; also a copy of any secret article of the said treaty, regulating the passage of the Dardanelles by British ships of war; a copy of a dispatch of lord Elgin, relative to the exchange of the ratifications of the said treaty; a copy of any treaty existing between the Porte and Russia on the 19th January, 1807; copies of the letters of the secretary of state to Mr. Arbuthnot, his majesty's ambassador at Constantinople at the time of the British squadron's proceeding to

that place, and of Mr. Arbuthnot's dispatches after the arrival of the squadron; copies of the instructions issued to lord Collingwood, and of those issued by him to sir John Duckworth, relating to the burning of a Danish ship in the Dardanelles; and copies, generally, of all the correspondence of lord Collingwood, and the officers sent by him on this service.

The earl of Temple seconded the motion.

Mr. secretary Canning, after waiting a few moments to see if any one on the opposition benches, the side of the house most interested in the present question, would rise to deliver his sentiments, considered himself as called on, in consequence of their silence, to state what he thought necessary on the present motion. The motion, as he had observed on a former occasion, was brought forward without his concurrence or knowledge, as had also been stated that night by the honourable mover himself, with whom he had not the honour of an acquaintance. He had no means of ascertaining the nature of the information he meant to call for, till the honourable gentleman transmitted to him that morning a list of the papers he meant to move for. Having gone over the list, and stated for the satisfaction of the honourable gentleman who had made the motion, how far it was possible and proper to comply with each of the motions, he declared that, for his own part, he saw no ground for instituting an inquiry under the present circumstances. He was not aware of any practical benefit that could arise to the country from the investigation proposed. But, after what had been said on the

the other side of the house, he did not think himself at liberty to dissuade the house from entering into it. A long conversation ensued, about the necessity and propriety of an inquiry on the present subject. The interlocutors were, Mr. T. Grenville, Mr. Wellesley Pole, Mr. Johnstone, Mr. Windham, lord Castlereagh, Mr. Tierney, the chancellor of the exchequer, Mr. Crocker, and Mr. Wilberforce. To the second motion, the object of which was, to produce all the papers that might serve to shew the causes that led to our present hostility with the Ottoman Porte,

Mr. Johnstone proposed an amendment, which, after a few words from Mr. Canning, was put thus and carried :

"So far as those causes are connected with the expedition to the Dardanelles."

The other motions, comprehending all letters from lord Elgin, Mr. Arbuthnot, sir Sydney Smith, and the admirals Collingwood, Duckworth, and Lewis, were also put and agreed to. — In addition to these papers, Mr. Grenville, February 18, moved, "That there be laid before the house, the substance or extracts of the instructions under which his majesty's minister at the Porte was acting, at any time since the commencement of the present war, with respect to the aid to be given to Russia, in any discussions that might arise between that power and the Porte; and especially so far as relates to the instructions, under which he acted, after the formation of the continental confederacy in the year 1805."

Mr. Canning agreed with Mr. Grenville, that the production of that paper was necessary, in order

that the house might be enabled to take a clear view of the subject. — The motion was then agreed to.

House of Commons, May 20. —

Mr. Taylor rose, to move his promised resolutions respecting the expedition to the Dardanelles. In order to prove the injustice of that expedition, he reviewed the nature of the connection between this country and the Porte. The only ground, he maintained, that we had for interference, was the treaties between Russia, England, and the Porte, the obligations of which treaties had become void by the peace of Amiens. The Russians had only acquired a right to pass from the Black Sea in single ships, for the purpose of throwing supplies into the Ionian republic, which right was to be at an end when that republic should be settled. And it did end when the whole fell into the power of Buonaparte. With regard to the policy of the expedition, he thought it was extremely unwise to alienate from us the minds of the Turks, who had been extremely well disposed to us; the truth of which proposition he proved by reading a variety of documents. By passing the Dardanelles, we had commenced hostilities before negotiation. The attack on the Turkish ships was an useless object; the number of ships not being equal to the enterprize. And lord Collingwood ought to have been allowed to choose any officer he pleased for conducting the expedition. — With respect to the expedition to Alexandria, he had not been able to discover its object and policy, and it had been so mismanaged as to bring disgrace on the British arms. He concluded by moving a resolution, "That his majesty's fleet

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fleet under sir J. Duckworth had, on the 20th February, 1807, appeared before Constantinople, and continued there for ten days, without doing any thing. And that it was the opinion of the house, that arrangements had not been made by the then ministry, adequate to the occasion."

Mr. Grenville expressed great satisfaction that the accusations against the late ministers, had at length been made in a manner that rendered them tangible. It was impossible, he said, for any one to read the papers on the table, and to say that either the justice or the policy of interfering in the dispute between Russia and the Porte, was questionable. This right of interference was not founded on the triple alliance of the 5th January only. This treaty respected a long course of negotiation for peace and alliance between Great Britain, the Porte, and Russia. With this object in view, the peace of Jassy had been concluded between Russia and the Porte, under the influence of Great Britain. We had, therefore, a right to support Russia, and the late ministry had exercised it in pursuance of that wise policy that had been adopted both by their predecessors and successors, viz. the maintenance of a connection between Russia, the Porte, and this country. They saw the growing influence of France, and the decreased influence of this country and Russia with the Porte, and wished to give a check to so unfortunate a change of sentiment. As to the quantum of force sent to the Dardanelles, it was suggested by lord Collingwood. The late ministers took the opinion of some of the first naval characters on the

subject, and all of them agreed that a considerably smaller force than what was dispatched, was considerably more than adequate to the undertaking. They were fully justified, too, in expecting co-operation and assistance from the Russians, by whose fleet our squadron was joined four days afterwards. The situation, however, was such, and so capable of defence, that instead of three sail of the line, which admiral Lewis had at first declared to be sufficient, the same gallant admiral had estimated the force necessary to succeed, at ten sail of the line. Troops were also talked of as being necessary to the success of such an expedition. But he asked the house if it was at all likely that such a body of troops could have been sent as would have been equal to encounter 200,000 men, who had appeared in arms along the coast previously to our ships leaving the Dardanelles? With regard to the expedition and occupation of Alexandria, this was a post of the utmost importance: for though not intended to be used as the first step towards the conquest of Egypt, the capture of it, was in this point of view, an object of the highest importance. Let it not be forgotten, of what moment it was regarded by Buonaparte, no bad judge in those matters. While matters were growing daily and hourly worse and worse at Constantinople, nothing seemed more to be dreaded, than that Alexandria, and probably, in consequence, Egypt, should fall into the hands of the French. The sole object of the expedition was Alexandria, and this was accomplished in a creditable, not a disgraceful manner. If attempts were made to carry the conquest farther, that

that was done without any instructions from government. There was no scarcity of provisions in Alexandria. One thing only seemed disastrous and unaccountable, namely, the gratuitous abandonment of the place by the present government. They found it taken, and why did they give it up? While the whole military force of the enemy did not exceed 6000, and the garrison of Alexandria was fully equal to that number, there could be nothing that could render that step a measure of imperious necessity, unless, indeed, it could be said that this was a great waste of the public force, and that it was proper that part of it should be let loose. At the very time when government was treating with the Porte for a state of neutrality, to lay the possession of so important a place at the feet of their opponent, seemed to be an unaccountable mode of proceeding. But what had become of the troops so set at liberty? He believed that, from that moment to the present, they had not been engaged in any enterprize of advantage to the country, and that they had scarcely been heard of.

Mr. secretary Canning, in reply to Mr. Grenville, said, if any gentleman would but look into the treaty of triple alliance in 1798, he would perceive that the argument of the right honourable gentleman could not be sustained. It referred to the situation and existing circumstances of the contracting parties, all equally at that period at war with France. The treaty contained a stipulation, limiting its operation to eight years; after which it was to undergo a revision, and such alteration as the respective situations of the different countries

might then render necessary. It was so understood in this country, and the circumstances to which it was applied, were mentioned in the preamble. Could it be asserted, that a treaty negotiated with a view to existing hostilities, in which all the parties were engaged, and followed, not by a joint peace, but by separate pacifications, must necessarily survive? Or that, if it did not, it was necessary to be viewed on the renewal of another war, into which any of the parties might afterwards enter? But this had never been the understanding of any of the parties, nor had the treaty been so acted upon. It had been asserted, that the refusal of the passage of the Dardanelles to the Russians, had given us a right to assume an armed mediation. But as the passage was granted by a subsequent convention, to which this country was not a party, we had no right, in virtue of an anterior treaty, to insist on the fulfilment of that convention, to which we were not a party. The interference at Copenhagen was not more decisive in principle than the forcing the passage of the Dardanelles, and appearing, in a hostile attitude, before Constantinople. Here a force was sent to bombard the capital, not of a neutral, but of a triple ally. If the late ministers could lay upon the table a copy of a treaty of defensive alliance with Denmark, the cases would be parallel, except that the Danish expedition was crowned with success, while the other was attended with defeat and disgrace. It was impossible that the Turkish fleet, passing the Dardanelles, and the Straights of Gibraltar, should attack any of the British

British possessions. On the other hand, the Danish fleet, if once launched with a hostile view, might be on our shores without a moment's notice. An intervention to procure, by pacific means, the arrangement desired by Russia, he did not condemn; but to interfere, first by threats, and afterwards by violence, violence inadequate to its object and unsuccessful, was what he did condemn. It was known that the passage of the Dardanelles would be regarded as an act of hostility; at least, it was quite as natural to suppose, that the approach to Copenhagen, the landing of troops, and the investment of that capital, would be received without resistance or a feeling of hostility, as that the appearance, in a menacing posture before Constantinople, would be viewed with calmness and indifference. But the estimate of the strength of the castle; and the appointment of the British force, shewed clearly that there was an idea that the object of the expedition was likely to be regarded as hostile, and to be met with resistance. But it was said, the expedition appeared before Constantinople purely for Russian objects. The restoration of the Hospodars was, indeed, a Russian object. But how was this demanded by the British commander? With the alternative of giving up the Turkish fleet! If the fleet had been given up, could the restoration of the Hospodars have been

still insisted on? If not, where was our attention to the interests of Russia? As to the policy of the expedition, Russia ought to have been induced by all means to concentrate her whole force against the most dangerous enemy, Buonaparte. This ought to have been our policy also. Then, as to the force, it was so inadequate to its object, that if sir Thomas Lewis had not come away with the utmost expedition, his passage would have been totally cut off. It was asked, what 5 or 6000 troops, required by the naval commanders, could have done, when Constantinople had 200,000 men of military age among its inhabitants? They might have destroyed the castle of Abydos by a *coup de main*, and they might have held the castle of Sestos, where the 200,000 men from Constantinople could not have got at them. But the troops were sent to Alexandria to commit a double breach of alliance, and to incur a double failure*. He did not think that 5000 men could achieve miracles. He could hardly conceive that 5000 men could open a communication from Chili to Buenos Ayres, over the highest and most impracticable mountains in the world†; but he did think they might have destroyed one small castle by a *coup de main*, and taken and held another in which no attack could have been made upon them. With regard to the troops that had been ordered to evacuate Alexandria, they had
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* For an account of the expeditions to Copenhagen, the Dardanelles, and Alexandria, with reflections, see last volume of this work, being the 49th, Chap. XI. and Chap. XIV.

† Allding, in his usual style of sarcasm and recrimination, to the instructions given by Mr. Windham, as secretary for the colonies and for war, to brigadier-general Craufurd, who was sent with a force from 4 to 5000 men to Chili, October, 1806.—See last volume Hist. Europe, p. 214.*

set free a part of the force in Sicily, which was brought to Gibraltar with a view to co-operate in securing the retreat of the royal family of Portugal from Lisbon, though that object was happily effected without the necessity of employing them. Neither he nor his colleagues, he observed, had been forward to take a part in the present discussion. He did not see what practical benefit could result from a censure on persons who were no longer in his majesty's councils. And he thought it would be injurious to have on the journals a resolution reflecting on the honour of the country. He thought, there-

fore, he should best do his duty by moving the order of the day.

Mr. Windham considered a treaty as binding only with respect to what was in the purview of that treaty. A friend might become our very worst enemy.

Col. Mark Wood endeavoured to proceed in a speech against the expedition; but the question was so loudly called for, that he was obliged to sit down. The house, however, gave way to the reply of Mr. William Taylor.—After which, the question that the other orders be now read, was put and carried without a division.

CHAP. IV.

Commercial Warfare.—Orders of Council, a Subject of unusual keenness and pertinacity of Debate.—Motion for referring the Orders in Council respecting Neutral Trade to the Committee of Ways and Means.—Reiterated Debates in both Houses concerning both the Justice and Legality, and the Policy of the Measure.—Charges in the House of Commons of Injustice, Oppression, and Cruelty in the Conduct of the Marquis of Wellesley towards the Nabobs of Oude and Arcott, declared to be unfounded; and the Thanks of the House to the Marquis.

THE commercial warfare, or the war of passivity and privation (a novelty in the history of the world) in which Great Britain and France were now engaged, was traced in our last volume*, to the decrees of the emperor of the French, declaring the whole island of Great Britain to be in a state of blockade. A protecting and self-defensive system was interposed by our orders in council; and trade began again to flourish: yet there was no measure of administration discussed in the present session that occupied so great a portion of the time and attention of parliament, or occasioned such keen and pertinacious debate, the Baltic expedition alone, perhaps excepted. On both these subjects the members in opposition had the advantage of standing not only on what they maintained to be political expediency, but the plausible ground of justice and the law of nations; though there was not now in *fact*, any law of nations; or at least any such law in force. Buonaparte, who swayed a sceptre of iron on the continent, acknowledged no law

but that of superior force. It was very generally remarked, that during the present session the opposition to ministry was unusually keen, vigilant, and persevering. The present ministers were not supposed to possess much ability—on the whole, there was allowed to be a superiority of powers, of both reasoning and oratory among their opponents: who, fully sensible of this, seized every opportunity of hanging on the skirts of ministers, and distracting and worrying them with incessant debates. Those concerning orders of council possessed very little interest, were universally accounted dry, and at length became tiresome at the time. They cannot appear more interesting now.

The great question to which they refer is to be decided not by arguments, but by facts. Though, therefore, there was scarcely a week when there was not some debate or conversation about French decrees, British orders in council, foreign licences, or American treaties of commerce, it will not be expected that our account of those proceedings

proceedings shall be other than summary.

House of Commons, Feb. 5.—The chancellor of the exchequer, having moved, that the orders of his majesty in council respecting neutral trade be referred to the committee of ways and means,

Lord H. Petty said, that as doubts were entertained of the legality of those orders, it was the duty of ministers to have those doubts removed by showing to the house in the first place their necessity, and then by applying for an indemnity bill against the unconstitutional exercise of them. Lord Petty contended that the orders in council violated both the law of nations and the municipal law of this country, and farther, that to enforce them was a measure of great impolicy.

The bosting decree of Buonaparte, declaring England and its ports to be in a state of blockade, had never been acted upon; nor, as had been declared by the French minister of marine decrees to general Armstrong, the American envoy, was it ever intended to be acted on, with regard to neutrals. It was part of a liberty of the subject that he should have free access to strangers. The orders in council were a violation of *Magna Charta*.

Mr. Perceval in reply, maintained that the late orders in council were founded on the same principle as the order of the 7th of January 1807, issued by the late ministers, with this difference only, that they were more efficient. The noble lord wished now to discuss the legality of these orders in council, and to reserve the question of policy to another stage of the business.

But as the legality of the measure was in the opinion of the noble lord, as far from being defensible as the policy—the policy might as well be discussed first, and the legality afterwards. The measures now in force were suggested by the propriety of retaliating the aggressions of the enemy. All trade in English goods was prohibited, and all such goods, wherever found, were declared lawful prize. Lord Petty had said, that this was of no moment, as the internal execution of the decree in France was all that was intended. It was rather singular, however, that the first news of the publication of the decree at Berlin was accompanied with an account of its having been most rigorously enforced at Hamburgh. Was this confining the operation of the decree to French territory? In what manner did Buonaparte himself explain the decree in answer to the remonstrance from the merchants of Hamburgh, who stated, that a great deal of the goods seized actually belonged to them, and that the measures he was pursuing were pregnant with greater ruin to himself than to his enemy? “To destroy the commerce of the vile English,” said he, “in every possible way is my object. I have it in my power; and wish to ruin Hamburgh: for that would promote the destruction of English commerce.”

The sanctity of every neutral flag was, forsooth, to be most ceremoniously respected at sea: while every principle and every right of neutral territory was to be invaded and violated by land!

Mr. Perceval, on the contrary, maintained, that we had a complete right to retaliate on the enemy his

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own measures; that if the enemy declared we should have no trade, we had a right to declare that he should have no trade; that if the enemy proclaimed British manufactures and colonial produce good prize, we had a right to declare French manufactures and produce good prize.

With respect to the nature of the retaliation, was it to be confined exactly to the course pursued by the enemy? If the principle of right to retaliate were admitted, it must also be admitted that we had a right to choose our mode of retaliation: otherwise, in many instances, retaliation would only enforce the destruction of the power retaliating. It was an unfounded assertion, that though we had a right to injure the enemy, we had no right to do so by means that would be prejudicial to neutral powers.

The question in the present case, was, is the injury to neutral powers only consequential on measures directed against the enemy, or was the measure originally directed against neutral powers? The conduct of the last administration, in blocking up a whole river, one side of which was occupied by neutral powers, proved that they admitted the justice of this doctrine. It had been contended that we should have waited to see the effect of the French decree on neutral powers; or whether France intended to put it in force. That the decree did not alter the practice of neutral navigation, nor affect the American convention with France, nor alter the existing mode of maritime cap-

ture, had been stated by Monsieur Decres as his opinion only, his unauthorized opinion, not his knowledge. If his majesty's present ministers had violated Magna Charta and the statutes of Edward III. the had been violated by lord Pett himself and his friends. But the fact was that they had not been violated by either party: for the related to a state of peace, and not of war.

As to the policy of the orders in council, previously to the issuing of the orders of council, France enjoyed, by the assistance of neutrals, as great advantages of trade, as we possessed with our triumphant navy. Our navy, indeed, as belligerent, was neutralized, and rendered useless, by neutral ships carrying to France all that was important for France to obtain. This had been the case for so long a period, that even prior to the decree of the 21st of November, it might have been matter of delicate inquiry, whether this country ought not to have resorted to the measure of 1756*. But after the decree of the 21st of November, a much stronger measure became necessary. Otherwise French property conveyed in neutral bottoms would have been safe: British property in danger. It had been declared that the French decree was a dead letter, and that it was easily evaded. He was well aware that the certificates of origin gave opportunities, by the assistance of forgery and perjury, for the introduction of our goods into the continent. Such practices, however, were

* The coasting trade of France was prohibited in 1756, on the ground that neutrals had no right to carry on that coasting trade for France in war, which France would have carried on for herself in peace.

were not to be encouraged. And so far was the French decree from being a dead letter, that new provisions were, from time to time, supplied for making up its deficiencies. The different coasts had been lined with troops, and other means of improvement from time to time resorted to.

Among the arguments which had been urged against the orders in council, it had been said, that they were the cause of the distress suffered by our manufacturers: that France had shut the door against our commerce, and that we had bolted it. But this distress existed antecedently to the orders in council. It originated in the French decree. It was impossible to say to what extent the arbitrary power of France might compel the countries under her dominion to consent to their own ruin. If France could exclude our goods from the continent, they would have been excluded had our orders never appeared. If they should be excluded, we must look to the rest of the world: of the trade with which we had, by those very orders, secured a monopoly.

With regard to the effect which the orders in council might have on our relations with America, loss to America was loss to Great Britain. The prosperity of America was the prosperity of Great Britain, and he was as anxious to preserve peace with America, consistently with the rights and interests of this country, as any man. As he hoped that peace might be preserved, so he believed that it would be preserved; for it was impossible that any candid and enlightened American should consider the principle of the orders in council as a cause of war.

It was impossible that the Americans could look at the orders in council without perceiving in them many instances of caution not to injure America.

Dr. Lawrence contended, that though Buonaparte might have been guilty of injustice, that would not be a justification of the house in imitating his acts. Such an enemy ought to be resisted not by acts of violence, but by determined courage. It behoved the legislature, before the orders could have any effect on foreign nations, to ascertain whether they were right. The orders of council could not be considered as measures of retaliation, because the French decree of the 21st November, 1806, had never been acted upon so as to require such a retaliation.

With this doctrine the master of the rolls (Sir William Grant) agreed in part. But, when the enemy departed from justice, we were justified in retaliating in substance, and not bound to adhere to the form. It was matter of astonishment to him, to hear any one who had uttered a syllable in support of the order of 1807, object to the orders under consideration. The very preamble to the former order was a confutation of Lord H. Petty's arguments, and those of his learned friend, Lawrence. That preamble stated the gross injustice of the French decree to be the foundation of the order. The orders in council only declared the ports of France and her allies, to be in a state of blockade, and their produce contraband of war; and France had done the same by this country. He considered the French certificates of origin as a prohibition of neutrals from carrying British goods, and

and contended that this was a breach of the law of nations; and that neutrals, by thus admitting that France had to legislate for them, made themselves instruments of France against us. If France could continue to enjoy all the advantages of commerce through neutral trade, whilst we were suffering every injury that can result from her decrees, she would have no motive for peace; and this country would soon be reduced to the alternative of either submitting to peace upon any terms, or of continuing the war to an endless period. But he thought Europe might be made to feel that a maritime power is much less dependant upon Europe, than the continent is upon the maritime power. He would not suffer his country to perish, merely because the measures which were necessary for its preservation might press upon neutral commerce, which Buonaparte had before violated.— There was no contract without a reciprocal obligation; and, if neutrals did not oblige the other party to adhere to the law of nations, they could not complain of us for not adhering to it. Upon these grounds he saw no reason to question the propriety of those orders of council, which would impeach the order of January 1807, issued by an administration, — which certainly claimed to possess a great proportion of the wisdom, consideration, and learning of the nation.

Mr. Windham admitted that the master of the rolls was right in the position, that if neutrals acquiesced in restrictions imposed by a belligerent, the other belligerent would be warranted in considering such neutrals as a party to those restrictions. Even then,

however, it would become a question on the score of policy, how far neutrals, so acting, should be identified with the enemy, or treated hostilely. A good deal was to be said on this head, particularly respecting America. Mr. Windham proceeded to make several animadversions on what he conceived had been expressed by the master of the rolls. But here it would be nugatory to enter at all into these, as that honourable gentleman had declared, that he had not uttered a syllable that could justify the right honourable gentleman in imputing to him the doctrines which he was said to have laid down; and that no such ideas had ever entered his mind. Mr. Windham concluded with declaring, that the measure before the house required much reconsideration; and the question of the legality or illegality of the orders in council, should be decided upon before they entered on a discussion in a committee, of the measures by which it was proposed that they should be followed up.

Sir Arthur Pigott said, that the right of retaliation was an incidental right, growing out of an injury previously received. If that injury, the injury of blockade, had not been actually suffered, it was impossible that we could, according to any law either of nations or of reason, or even according to the obvious meaning of the word, *retaliate*, by blockading the enemy's ports. And if not done as a measure of retaliation, the act was committed in violation of all law whatever. But it was said, that a similar measure had been adopted by the late administration. That, if it had been so, would not have been any justification. But the contrary, in

in fact, was seen by the explanation given by lord Howick, to Mr. List, the Danish minister. "It is not our intention that our orders should affect the general trade of neutrals; but only to prevent the coasting trade of France and her dependencies from being carried on by neutrals, as that species of trade was such as properly belonged to France herself, and to which neutrals were to be considered as lending themselves unfairly."

The question, that the orders in council be referred to a committee of ways and means being put, was carried without a division. The chancellor of the exchequer then stated, that it was his intention to propose to the house, on a future day, that a certain amount of duty be laid on almost every article of commerce to be exported from this country, except the produce of Great Britain, and her colonies. For the present, he stated merely his general object. A resolution expressive of general approbation, was then passed, *pro forma*.

The question of both the legality and the policy of the orders in council was brought into discussion in the house of peers, on the 15th of February, by lord Auckland; who, in calling their lordships' attention to this subject, wished them to bear in mind five points. He must suppose, in the first place, that ministers, previously to their issuing these orders, had satisfied themselves with respect to their legality, both as relating to the law of nations, and statute law; secondly, that there was a justifiable ground for issuing these orders; thirdly, that it was expedient to apply that ground; fourthly, that the manner and time of issuing them were pre-

cisely those which were proper: the fifth point was of a more trifling nature; but one on which their lordships might have a great deal of trouble; he meant the intelligibility of the orders. The injustice and illegality of the orders, his lordship maintained on nearly the same grounds that were taken by opposition in the house of commons. He concluded by moving, that the house should resolve itself into a committee, to consider of the orders of council. The same arguments, also, though placed in a variety of lights, were made use of by the lords who followed lord Auckland on the same side of the question.

Lord Erskine admitted, that the violent decree of the French government, gave us a right to retaliate; but to retaliate on the enemy, not on neutrals. We had no more right, he maintained, to alter the law of nations, on our own authority for our own convenience, than a judge here had to alter the law of the land without the authority of parliament. But after all, what was the value of this decree which Buonaparte, intoxicated with his victories, had issued? What was the use to talk of blockading Britain, when he had scarcely a ship on the ocean to enforce his orders? He might as well have talked of blockading the moon.

Lord King contended, that France had not put her decrees in execution, and that we had no proof that neutrals would submit to them.—As to the argument that we had a right to hurt our enemy, though a neutral might be injured consequently, he denied that we ought to do a great injury to a neutral, in order to hurt our enemy a little. With regard to the policy of the measure

measure, Buonaparte could never have put his decrees in execution, if we had not assisted him by stopping our own goods while finding their way to the continental markets. Commerce was much more necessary to us than to France; and therefore it was folly in us to act upon these orders, which only secured the attainment of the objects of France.

Lord Grenville said, if a neutral power granted certain advantages to the enemy, then we had an undoubted right to insist on being admitted to the same advantages; or, if a neutral power acquiesced from weakness, in the demands of the enemy, all that we could in justice require, was, that in consequence of this demand, the enemy should not be placed in a better situation in regard to her than we were. But we had no right, because the enemy violated the rights of one neutral, to violate the rights of all neutrals; for if this principle were once admitted, it would lead to an extension of hostilities over the whole civilized world. The foundation of the orders in council was stated in the preamble to be, that neutral states had not obtained the revocation of the French decree; a circumstance which he considered as of no importance whatever; for if it was not executed, it was the same thing as if it had never been published. It could not be asserted that America had acquiesced in this decree. Having then mentioned several facts in proof of this, he said, that if any thing, after all the circumstances which he had enumerated, was necessary to evince the determination of America not to submit to an invasion of her rights on the part of

France, the embargo lately laid on her shipping, not after receiving the British orders in council, but after the receipt of advices from France, would be amply sufficient for that purpose. The old arguments which were used in favour of the dispensing power of raising ship money, &c. were, like the present measure, justified on the plea of necessity. He had always thought, however, that our ancestors had set these questions, and all of a similar nature, to rest, at the time of the revolution. Lord G. contended, that in many instances the orders were unintelligible. He would undertake to prove, that in four clauses of the same paragraph, they contained four direct contradictions. Lord G. proceeded to shew the extreme impolicy of the orders. They tended to effect a fundamental change in the whole commercial relations of the country, both with belligerent and commercial powers. They tended to subject this country to a loss in the same proportion that they distressed the enemy. This principle of forcing trade into our markets, would have disgraced the darkest ages of monopoly. The orders were calculated to defeat their own object. No ship would submit to the ignominy of touching and paying tribute at a British port, merely for the purpose of exposing itself to capture and confiscation by the French.

Lord Auckland was replied to, and the orders in council defended, by the earl of Bathurst. The order of the 7th of January, 1807, he observed, did distinctly assert the right of his majesty to adopt farther measures of retaliation, if France did not, in the mean time, recede from the violent pretensions on which

which the decree of the 21st November 1806, was founded. France had not receded; but on the contrary, the head of the French government had ordered a more rigorous execution of the decree; and, therefore, the British order of November 11, 1807, and the subsequent orders, became necessary. It was found expedient to regulate that trade, which could not be prohibited. With this view the orders in council were issued; which were, in fact, a compromise between belligerent rights and commercial interests. In making the enemy, however, feel his own acts of violence, every possible attention had been paid to the commercial interests of the country. Lord Auckland had expressed his wonder, that neutrals were allowed to trade with the enemy's colonies, whereas an opposite policy would have tended to relieve our own West India planters and merchants, from that pressure which affected them, in consequence of the superabundance of the produce beyond the demand.

To this remark, lord Bathurst replied, that this, in fact, was intended as a boon to the Americans, and must be to them of great value; because, when intelligence arrived in America, of the intention of the French government rigorously to execute the decree, and the embargo was in consequence resorted to, the general impression there was, that we would resort to measures of retaliation, which would amount to a prohibition of their trade with those colonies. It was intended, that all American domestic produce should be allowed to pass through this country without the payment of any duty, except the article of cotton. As it

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was found that the surplus produce of our own colonies, beyond our own consumption, was not above a third of what was wanted for the supply of the continent, it was thought expedient to admit of the trade with the enemy's colonies: with the intention, however, that the produce of such colonies should, in the circuitous trade through this country, be subjected to a duty, sufficiently high, to prevent its having advantages over our own colonial produce; and also for embarrassing the commerce of the enemy.

The legality and justice of the orders in council, was also maintained by the lord chancellor and lord Hawkesbury. From the preamble to the French decree of November 21, the chancellor contended, that Buonaparte must have meant not only to exclude British produce and manufactures from his ports, but also to prevent all trade whatever in British commodities. Whoever traded with Great Britain, was to be considered as an enemy to France: which was a flagrant violation of the rights of neutrals and the law of nations.

Lord Hawkesbury predicted, from the orders of council, a great many commercial advantages. With regard to the point of legality, he insisted chiefly on the old *argumentum ad hominem* taken from the order of council, Jan. 7.

The earl of Lauderdale wished the orders to be considered, not on their comparative, but their own positive merits. He believed that they had been infinitely mischievous. They injured neutrals much more than the enemy; and were, in his opinion, tantamount to a declaration of war against America.

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Lord

Lord viscount Sidmouth was desirous, that the orders might be referred to a committee, that he might have an opportunity of fully investigating this important subject; on which he had not yet been able to form a decided opinion.

The house then divided. For lord Auckland's motion 48—Against it 106.

On the same day, in the house of commons, Mr. Ponsonby, who had moved for some papers relative to America, but which were not yet ready to be laid before the house, said, that he hoped the chancellor of the exchequer would agree to postpone the second reading of the bill, relative to the orders of council, for three or four days, as the subject was not only momentous but intricate.

The chancellor of the exchequer could not see the necessity of the papers called for.

After some little debate on this point, Mr. Whitbread moved, "That the second reading of the said bill be now read, for the purpose of being discharged."

After some observations on both sides, the house divided. For discharging the order 81—Against it 113. But it was finally agreed, that the second reading of the bill should be postponed till Thursday the 18th, upon a mutual understanding, that there should be no delay required beyond that day: when, accordingly, the order of the day was moved for the second reading of the orders of council bill.

The motion was opposed by Mr. Eden, the earl Temple, Mr. Hibbert, Mr. William Smith, and lord H. Petty; and supported by the advocate general, (sir John Nichols) Mr. Rose, and lord Castlereagh.

In the preceding discussions on the orders in council, in both houses, the debate was confined almost solely to the justice, or legality of the measure. The question of policy seemed to have been industriously avoided; or when brought forward, it was touched on but slightly. In the debate of this night, and in subsequent debates, the question of policy was fully as much discussed as that of legality.

Lord Temple observed, that there was now only one neutral, by whose means our commerce might be carried on, and why did we assist the views of Buonaparte, by closing up this outlet? By these orders we were distressing our own colonies, by bringing so much produce into competition with theirs, as far as exportation to foreign markets was concerned. We were preventing the Americans from carrying off the surplus of our Indian commodities, and by stopping up their channels of trade, rendered them less able to purchase our own manufactures.

Mr. Hibbert denied, that in these orders there was any particular view to the interests of the West India trade. The great quantity of goods which would be brought here for exportation would interfere, whatever the duty might be, with the exportation of our own commodities.

Mr. William Smith, having observed, that it was not expected to be able to compel Buonaparte to rescind his decree, and that all that could be done, was, to press so heavily on the people, as to force them to smuggle; said, that the question came to this: whether we should run the risk of provoking the hostility of America, or continuing her embargo,

embargo, in order to try how much we could smuggle into the continent! If we were determined to smuggle, we ought to consider how we could smuggle most successfully. In this view, the policy of these orders was most extraordinary; for it appeared that ministers expected to smuggle more, by having all vessels excluded from France, than they could have done if certain vessels had been freely admitted.

Lord Petty observed, that when an American captain, finding himself in a British port, should discover, that the grand figure of the king's prerogative was changed into the appearance of a custom-house officer, he might say, "I thought I was seized in right of the king's prerogative." "Oh! yes:" says the officer, "but I will agree to sell you the king's prerogative. I keep the king's shop, and if you pay me 25, or 30*l.* you may proceed to your original destination." This was so very contrary to the avowed intention of the bill, that it brought into his mind the idea of something foreign to that avowed intention getting into any other parliamentary proceeding.

In defence of the orders in council, the advocate general said, that the French government falsely assuming that the British government had declared ports under the dominion of France to be in a state of blockade, without placing armed ships to exercise and enforce that blockade; and claiming a right to retaliate on the same principles, declared the British islands in a state of blockade. But the fact was, that in the most extensive blockade, published by this country, which extended from the Elbe to Brest, a particular inquiry had been

made, whether there was a naval force sufficient to execute that blockade according to the terms of public law. The result of that inquiry was, to shew that there was an ample force, and that force was employed accordingly. The retaliation on the French decree was gradual, moderate, and dignified. If by our retaliation, France should be deprived of many of the necessary articles of daily consumption, the French would, in the course of a little time, be forced to become the violators of the prohibition of their own government. — There were French houses established in America, to facilitate, by means of American ships, the colonial trade of France, Spain, and Holland. And it was from these French houses, that a great part of the late groundless outcry against Great Britain proceeded. It should be recollected, that in all engagements, express or implied, between belligerent and neutrals, there were neutral duties as well as neutral rights; and that belligerents had direct obligations towards themselves, as well as collateral obligations towards their neighbours. If a neutral power allowed its territory to be violated by one belligerent, it was bound to allow an equal latitude to the opposite belligent. The same principle held at sea; and if America submitted to the intervention of France, the intervention should be permitted on the part of Britain.

Mr. Rose said, that these orders were not intended as a measure of finance. The duties were imposed in order to distress the enemy. Even all our cruisers could not prevent smuggling. It might be easily conceived then that the

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French

French could not possibly prevent our commodities from being smuggled into the continent.

Lord Castlereagh assured the house, that he and his colleagues were extremely anxious to avert the interruption of peace and amity with America. But we were not, from the mere apprehension of a war with America, to shrink from the assertion of those maritime rights, which are so essential to our national strength and prosperity: our means of shutting up the produce of America in her ports, in consequence of our vast marine, were far more extensive than her means of excluding us. And consequently, a considerable portion of what this country now exports to America, would find its way into that country, notwithstanding a war.

On a division of the house, there appeared—For the second reading 214—Against it 94.

Next day, the chancellor of the exchequer, in consequence of an amendment he intended to introduce into the orders of council bill, proposed that it should that night go through a committee *pro forma*; that the report should be received on Monday, and that on Tuesday, a recommitment should take place, when the bill might be discussed. The principle of the alteration, was, to limit the operation of the bill, by rendering the duties imposed by it applicable to articles imported in such vessels only as sailed from their own ports, after they had received notice of the measure.

On a motion for the speaker's leaving the chair, after a little conversation among Mr. Perceval, Mr. Davy Giddy, Mr. Brand, and

Mr. H. Martin, the house divided. Ayes 113—Noes 32.

February 24.—The House of Commons in a committee on the orders in council bill.

A bill for intercourse with America, had been introduced into parliament, and went hand in hand with the orders of council bill. Between these two bills, it was observed by certain members in opposition, that there were some glaring inconsistencies, which made it impossible that they should both be carried into effect at the same time. The American treaty being referred to the committee on the orders of council bill,

Mr. Tierney wished to know, what could possibly be the object of this absurdity—what could be the propriety of carrying on two bills at the same time, directly contrary to each other?

Mr. Rose said, that there was a seeming incongruity; but in the American treaty bill there was a clause to allow its being altered or repealed, if necessary, at any time during the present session. In the present bill America was placed on the footing of the most favoured nation.

Mr. Tierney thought it quite improper to carry on two inconsistent bills at the same time. He thought it would be much better to delay the present proceedings till it should be ascertained, whether we could come to any arrangement with America.

The chancellor of the exchequer observed, that what was called contradiction was no more than this; that there were certain provisions in this bill which altered those of the other. The intercourse bill

was

was not a new arrangement with America. It was the continuance of an old one, an act of the 23d of the king, which we might alter as to us seemed proper. It was judged advisable to continue it a short time longer, in order to shew a different spirit from that of America, and leave her time to consider coolly of the measure she had adopted in a moment of spleen. No inconvenience would result from passing both together.

On the reading of the second clause, Mr. Whitbread rose to move, that the words " Jesuits bark" be omitted. There was no reason whatever to suppose, that the pressure from want of common bark would be such as to induce the enemy to apply for peace. The continent was supplied with bark as well as sugar for two years consumption; so that it must be a long time before the right honourable gentleman's scheme could operate. It was, in fact, in the view that Mr. Perceval had of the subject, the most childish and sugary that could be conceived. In another point of view, it was detestable, inhuman, atrocious, and might occasion severe retaliation.

If the committee agreed to the proposition of endeavouring to prevent bark from reaching the continent, instead of throwing the odium of a want of humanity on the character of Buonaparte, a reflection would be cast on the character of our own country, where as much might be gained by mitigated rigour towards an enemy, exclusive of all ideas of principles of humanity.

The chancellor of the exchequer said, that the present bill only imposed a duty on bark. The pro-

hibition was to be the subject of a separate bill. But as the honourable gentleman was of opinion, that no inconvenience would be felt from this on the continent, there appeared in his own view to be no good reason for his motion. He observed, however, that he had good information that the want of both bark and sugar was severely felt on the continent. In the bill for the prohibition, there was to be a provision to enable his majesty to grant licences for the exportation of bark under certain circumstances. It was intended thereby to prevent the bark from being exported, unless the enemy chose to admit other articles at the same time. If, therefore, they felt any great distress for the want of it, they had only to take it on the prescribed conditions. As to the fine sentimental view that had been given of a war of this kind, he should be glad to know the distinction between this and the privations in a besieged town.

Mr. Wilberforce observed, that the general of a blockading army might fairly hope, that he might be likely to make some impression on the besieged army, or of making the general of the garrison sympathize with the feelings of the suffering inhabitants; but could it be supposed that a similar impression could be made on the feelings of that general who at present commanded the great garrison of the French nation? The measure might possibly excite a more general union of hatred against the English nation, amongst all ranks of the French people. It might add to the ferocity, or unfeeling character of the contest; but it could not possibly be the means of putting an end to it.

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On

On a division of the house, the amendment proposed by Mr. Whitbread was negatived. For the original motion 167—Against it 76.

House of Lords, Feb. 26.—On the third reading of the American intercourse bill, lord Auckland objected, as he had done on sundry occasions before, to this bill, as being in many of its provisions in direct contradiction to the bill now before the other house, intended to carry into effect certain parts of the orders of council; and he urged the tendency of those orders to irritate America, and particularly remarked on the warning to be given to neutrals; and the object of which appeared to be to force them into our ports.

Lord Bathurst observed, that the warning was intended only for the purpose, that the neutral should refrain from going to a blockaded port; but the vessel so warned would be at liberty to proceed to a port not blockaded to the ports of this country, or to return to its own ports.

Lord Hawkesbury said, the object in passing the present bill was, to give time for making arrangements respecting American commerce; which if the former act was suffered to expire could not be carried on to this country in American vessels. The bill was read a third time and passed.

House of Peers, Feb. 29.—Lord St. John rose, in pursuance of notice, to move certain resolutions respecting the orders in council. After reviewing the explanations given by the French government, of its decree of the 21st November, and of the documents tending to shew that the Americans had neither acquiesced, nor meant to acquiesce in

that decree, he read the following resolutions:

“That previous to the 11th of November last, his majesty’s government was not in possession of any proof, nor supposed ground of belief, that the United States of America had acquiesced in or submitted to, or intended to acquiesce in, or submit to the execution of such parts of the decree of the 21st of Nov. 1806, as purported to impose on neutral commerce restraints inconsistent with the law of nations.

“That it does not appear, that the said decree, in so far as it may have been supposed to relate to captures at sea, was in any one instance carried into execution by the prize courts of France, or her allies, previous to the 11th of November last.

“That on the 18th of October last, the ministers of the United States at this court, officially apprized his majesty’s secretary of state, that their government had received from that of France, satisfactory explanations and assurances; and that, in fact, the same never had been enforced against the neutral commerce of the United States.

“That no official denial of the facts so asserted by the American ministers, appears to have been made on the part of his majesty’s secretary of state; nor any grounds alleged by him, on which the declaration of the American ministers could be questioned.

“That under such circumstances, the issuing the orders of council of the 11th and 25th of November last (which orders purported to compel the trading vessels of the said United States, in all their voyages to and from the continent of Europe, to touch at the ports of this

this country, and to be there subjected, by the authority of the British government, to many and grievous restrictions), is a manifest violation of the law of nations, and of the rights and independance of a friendly power."

On the first motion being read, the duke of Montrose contended, on the usual grounds, that the orders of council were proper, just, and necessary, and concluded by moving the previous question.

A short debate ensued, into which (consisting mostly of the repetitions of what had been said again and again) we shall not enter any farther than to notice a shrewd argument, brought forward by the earl of Galloway, who contended, that the justification of ministers might be drawn from the speeches of noble lords on the other side of the house, who all of them, without exception, made the reservation, that the maintenance of our maritime rights ought to be paramount to every other consideration. The orders of council he considered as both a just and a wise measure, which should therefore have his support.

On the previous question, that the motions be now put, the house divided. Contents 47—Non-Contents 66.

House of Commons, March 3.—Lord H. Petty, after adverting to the importance of every topic connected with a subject of so great magnitude as the orders of council, said, that the house must be desirous of obtaining as much information respecting them as could be given. Their object was to impose duties on the re-exportation of certain articles, which were to be imported into this country before

they could be carried to the continent; but without the co-operation of our allies this object could not be attained, and the orders would be as completely nugatory as if they had never been issued or acted upon. The Americans, for instance, might carry cotton, and the other articles on which it was proposed to impose a duty, to Sweden; and what assurance had ministers, that the government of Sweden, instead of imposing corresponding duties, would not avail themselves of the opportunity, afforded by the system which we were adopting, to convert that country into a commercial depôt, for supplying the continent with those very articles, which it was the object of ministers to prevent from reaching the continent.

On this ground, lord Petty moved, that an humble address be presented to his majesty, for ordering to be laid before the house, the substance of all communications which have passed between this government and the powers at enmity with this country, in Europe, on the subject of the orders in council, of the 11th of November last, previous or subsequent to their being issued.

The chancellor of the exchequer informed the house, that there was no disinclination whatever on the part of his majesty's allies, to concur in the system which government had found expedient to adopt in the present period of the war; and that assurances had been received from Sweden in particular, of the willingness of that government, to give every facility for carrying that system into full effect. Besides, the measure itself was not, as had been stated, dependant for

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effect

effect upon the co-operation of Sweden, or of any other power; for its principle extended to a declaration, that all the ports subject to the control or dominion of the enemy were held in a state of blockade; and this blockade might be enforced with regard to the allies of this country, as well as neutrals. The difficulty, therefore, which the noble lord had started, was in the first place unfounded in point of fact; and, in the next place, if it did arise, we had the remedy completely in our own power.

A debate took place, in the course of which Dr. Lawrence wished to know, whether any communication on the subject of the orders in council had been made to the Dey of Algiers, who, of all foreign potentates, was the one to whose general policy the present measure was most consonant.

On a division of the house, there appeared—For the question 71—Against it 139.

General Gascoigne stated, that he had in his hand a petition against the regulations of the orders in council, from some hundreds of the most respectable merchants in Liverpool, not more respectable for their extensive dealings than their excellent characters in private life. One half of the whole trade of Liverpool would be endangered by the new regulations.

The speaker asked, whether it was a petition against the *duty bill* under the orders in council.

General Gascoigne could only say, that the prayer of the petition was not particularly against the duties.

The speaker stated the usage of the house to be not to receive any petition against a duty-bill.

The chancellor of the exchequer

too stated, that according to the established rules of the house, it was impossible that the petition could be received.

Mr. Ponsonby observed, that when the chancellor of the exchequer was first asked, if duties were his object, he answered, "Oh, no! it is all matter of regulation—it rests entirely on the king's prerogative. The duty is not the object of the bill." But now, it seems, the chancellor of the exchequer is driven to another shift, and says the duty is every thing; and, for that reason, as it is a money bill, the people of England must not be allowed to petition against it; and it was supposed that they would rest satisfied with this quibbling sort of argument.—The whole substance and design of the petition, as might have been collected from the speech of the honourable gentleman who made the motion, was directed against the orders in council and not against the paltry duties.—Then how could it be objected to on the ground of its being a petition against the raising of duties?

After a good deal of farther debate, the house divided. For receiving the petition 80—Against it 128.

Next day, Mr. Tierney, at the request, and in the absence of general Gascoigne, offered a petition against the orders of council, framed in consequence of the rejection of the petition from the merchants of Liverpool. The petition being incompatible with the forms of the house, the present was framed to suit those forms; and this was the reason why it was signed only with the names of the three gentlemen who acted as delegates, instead of the

the four hundred merchants who had signed the other.

The chancellor of the exchequer, having heard the prayer of the petition read, feared it still militated against the forms of the house, as adverting and being applicable principally, if not exclusively to the duty bill.

Mr. Tierney said, it was applied simply to the orders of council, and that he had the authority of the petitioners to state, that they did not petition against the bill, but against the orders of council.

After not a little farther debate, in which other speakers took a part, on the opposite sides of the question, the house divided. For receiving the petition 57—Against it 111. Other petitions were presented against the bill, with no better success.

House of Commons, March 10. —After a long debate, the question, that the bill be now read a third time, was carried by 140 against 67.

Many were the petitions presented, and repeated and long the discussions that took place on the subject of the orders of council, in the house of peers, which discussions were the same in substance with those that had so often and so zealously occupied the house of commons.

The principal opponents of the measure, were the earl of Lauderdale, lord Auckland, lord Erskine, lord Vassal Holland, and lord Grenville.

The principal supporters, the lord chancellor, the earl of Bathurst, and lord Hawkesbury.

On the 25th of March, the orders of council bill was read and passed, by 52 against 19.

It was not a little curious to observe the difficulties to which both the opponents and the supporters of the orders of council bill were reduced; while the former endeavoured to reconcile a strict adherence to the principles of justice, honour, and the law of nations, to the interests and exigencies of the state in any situation; and the latter, at the same time that they did not hesitate to exercise the greatest severities against unoffending neutrals, contended that they still respected and obeyed the law of nations. There would have been no difficulty on either side, if the ministerialists had boldly asserted, with Mr. Hobbes, that mankind, or at least that nations (and this last position seems to be pretty near the truth) are by nature in a state of war; and if their opponents had maintained with the stoics, the principle of *Fiat Justitia Ruat Cælum*. This sublime doctrine was not, indeed, altogether inconsistent with that of lord Erskine, who, when the orders in council were brought into discussion in the house of peers, on the 23d of March, recommended, instead of domineering at sea, a *circumnavigation of charity*, like that of the late Mr. Howard; and maintained, that an adherence to the orders of council would subject Great Britain to the final, everlasting curse of "I was sick and ye visited me not*."

This doctrine of lord Erskine's must be very agreeable to Buonaparte:

* Lord Erskine is a religious man. See his lordship's declaration on this point in the house of lords, April 13, 1807. ANN. REG. Vol. XLIX. p. 161.

parte*: on the other hand, all the subtle argumentation of those who attempted to reconcile measures of oppression towards neutral nations with the principles of good faith and justice, amounted to little more than this, that the British government would observe the law of nations to such states as were willing and able to enforce that law in their own behalf.

House of Commons, Feb. 22.—The order of the day having been read, for taking certain papers relative to the connections between the East India company and the nabob of Oude into consideration,

Lord Folkstone moved, that these papers should be now taken into consideration.

Mr. Creevey rose, to give his negative to the proposition. Were parliament to come to a decision upon the conduct of the marquis of Wellesley, (which was the object of the motion) by that night's vote, he asserted that it would commit an act of injustice towards that noble person, and be wanting in its duty both to itself and the country; and in proposing some farther delay, he fully expected the support of those gentlemen who had not made themselves masters of the papers, who, he was convinced, formed a large majority of the house.

Sir John Anstruther called the attention of the house to the proceedings in question. Three parliaments ago, a charge had been brought against the marquis of

Wellesley, by an honourable gentleman (Mr. Paul) who was no longer a member of that house. All the evidence for supporting the charge, had been moved for and granted. An inquiry had been challenged by the friends of the noble marquis. The charge originally brought forward had been abandoned: but upon the papers that had been produced, other accusations had been founded by a noble lord, and that night had been fixed for the house to pronounce on the justice or injustice of these accusations. Several members were of opinion, that the house ought not to hurry a proceeding of such importance; but a large majority declared for coming to an immediate decision. The debate was accordingly opened *pro forma*. But as it was allowed that it was impossible to enter into the merits that night, the house was adjourned to the 9th of March; when the order of the day being read, and the question put and carried that the debate on the Oude papers should be now resumed,

Lord Folkstone rose, and in a speech of great length as well as animation throughout, arraigned the conduct of lord Wellesley, in his transactions with the nabob of Oude. There was a treaty entered into in February 1798, between the nabob of Oude and the East India company, abrogating all former treaties, and regulating the grounds of all subsequent dealings between the two parties. By that treaty the nabob was certainly deprived of all political

* Had the British government, amidst the general havoc of property, and subversion of all rights, taken a pride in still paying homage to the law of nations, Buonaparte would have encouraged them, if his admiration could have availed any thing, still to maintain their moral rectitude; like the Portuguese boys, in a story told in the Spectator, who accompanied a poor unfortunate Jew, condemned for heresy, to the place of execution, crying, "STA FIRME MOYESS," being afraid lest he should renounce his faith, and they lose their sport.

political power, but as certainly guaranteed in the exercise of all authority in the control of his household affairs, and most relations of the internal œconomy of his empire. The nabob's punctual performance of the treaty was placed beyond controversy, by the fact, that colonel Scott was commissioned by lord Wellesley to give his thanks, for his great punctuality in the payment of the kists, though it was in general said, that there had been before great arrears. In the earliest period of that noble lord's government, his design upon the territory of Oude betrayed itself. There was a letter before the house, in which his lordship lets himself, at great length, to show the great advantages likely to result to the company, from the annexation of that territory to their possessions; and also of the policy of compelling the nabob to reduce his military force, prospectively to his more easy subjugation.

On the 5th of November, 1799, lord Wellesley wrote a letter to the nabob of Oude, in which he declared it to be the undoubted right of the East India company, to increase, according to their discretion, the number of British troops in the nabob's territory. The pretence was, the danger which was threatened by Zemaun Shah, a Persian prince. This danger, however, was very remote, and the company were bound to assist only in case of actual and immediate danger. Thirteen thousand troops were sent in; and it was agreed, that if a greater number should be added, they should be paid by the nabob: but it was insisted on by lord Wellesley, that with a view to this very distant danger, it was ne-

cessary that an extraordinary force should be at all times maintained within the territory.

Lord Folkstone proceeded to detail the various oppressions and exactions practised on the nabob, while he was compelled, not only to receive an extraordinary foreign force but to pay them. By various arts his expences were rendered so great, that he was at last worried into a proposal of abdicating the government, on condition of his son succeeding him. The Bengal government jumped at this proposal, but the late condition stipulated was absolutely and sternly rejected. Lord Wellesley required of the nabob to give up all into the hands of the East India company; and when the nabob prefixed the condition on which the proposal was founded, he was charged by lord Wellesley with having made the proposal for the mere purpose of vexatiously deferring the reduction of his battalions, and ultimately defeating the proposed system of reform; and he was expressly given to understand, that if he refused to make the territorial cession required, the company could not do their duty if they did not take his country entirely into their own possession.— Lord Folkstone then proceeded to give a detailed account of the establishment of a police and a president at Oude, with the consequent remonstrance of the nabob, and the hardships that produced them.— Lord Folkstone concluded with moving a number of resolutions: the first of which contained a statement of the treaty to which he had adverted.

This question concerning the transactions of lord Wellesley with the

the nabob of Oude, gave rise to a very long debate; which was continued by adjournments to the 15th of March.

On the side of the prosecution, there appeared Mr. Charles Grant, Mr. Lushington, Sir Thomas Turton, Lord Milton, Mr. Sheridan, and Mr. William Smith.—On that against it, and in defence of the marquis of Wellesley, Mr. Whitshed Keen, sir John Anstruther, colonel Allan, Mr. Wallace, Mr. Henry Wellesley, lord Castlereagh, and sir James Hall.

Colonel Allan (member for Berwick), in a maiden speech, of considerable length, defended the marquis of Wellesley with ability and with spirit. The other members also spoke warmly in his praise; but that which made the greatest impression, and probably decided the vote, was, the speech of sir John Anstruther, who to the weight of his own character and abilities, added the advantage, on the present question, of having resided for many years in a high and important situation in Bengal. Sir John entered fully into the subject, and in a speech clear and convincing, shewed, that the conduct of lord Wellesley was in perfect conformity to the wishes, intentions, and tenour of that kind of conduct approved by his employers; and, that the security of Bengal imperiously required, and demanded it.

The question being put on the first resolution, the house divided. For the previous motion 31—For the previous question 182.

Sir John Anstruther then moved, "That it appeared to that house, that the marquis of Wellesley, in his arrangements in the province of

Oude, was actuated by an ardent zeal for the service of his country, and an ardent desire to promote the safety, interests, and prosperity of the British empire in India."

On this motion the house divided: For the motion 189—Against it 29.

Notwithstanding this decision of the house of commons, the same question was again brought forward, in another shape, on the 31st of March, by lord Archibald Hamilton, who moved a series of resolutions; the purport of the last of which, was, "That it appeared to the house, that the British government was bound in honour to reconsider and revise the treaty of 1801, with the nabob of Oude, with a view to an arrangement more favourable to the nabob."—A short debate ensued.

Mr. Robert Thornton was not fond of renewing debates on the same question; but he thought there was better ground for renewing the debate on the present question than any other he had ever known. The treaty now under discussion, he declared, did not deserve that name; for to a treaty, the assent of two parties was necessary. The treaty was said to have originated in friendship; but if it began in friendship, it had ended in injustice and cruelty. The noble marquis seemed to have carried to India, a sample of French fraternization. The treaty was really a sort of Gallican hug, in which the marquis had squeezed the nabob to death. The conduct of lord Wellesley was also arraigned by Mr. Martin and Mr. Howarth.

Mr. R. Dundas observed, that it would be difficult to rescind the treaty.

treaty. The noble lord had not stated to the house, how he intended that the nabob should be indemnified. If he meant that the territory, which had been taken from him should be restored, he would find it very difficult to transfer the people of India from the East India company to their old masters. If the noble lord meant, that the compensation should be made in the form of a subsidy, he ought to have stated the form of doing it; and to have shewn himself prepared to solve all the difficulties which must present themselves to every one, as to the manner of giving effect to his resolution. The noble lord had passed over in silence the force kept up on the frontiers of Oude at the expense of the company, and the wars which, in defence of the nabob, the company had entered into against the Mahrattas; which certainly ought not to be set out of view, when the justice or the policy, which was observed in regard to him, was under consideration. On a division of the house, there appeared for the first resolution 20—Against it 80.

A question of a similar nature was brought before the house of commons, May 17.—Sir Thomas Turton rose, to move his promised resolutions, respecting the deposition of the nabob of the Carnatic. He had every disposition to think well of the politics of the marquis of Wellesley, who had been educated in the same school with Mr. Pitt, and had for some time followed his steps; but at the same time, he had no hesitation to declare, that if he was guilty of the acts detailed in the papers before them, he was a most improper mi-

nister for this country. When sir Thomas came into parliament, he found the Carnatic question still floating, and did every thing in his power to induce some other member to bring it forward, preferring to be the seconder rather than the mover. No choice, however, was left him. The right honourable gentleman (Mr. Sheridan) to whom he had particularly looked, had found himself, after the change of ministry, in circumstances that prevented his urging the question, as it might have greatly embarrassed those with whom he acted. He had no doubt, however, that that honourable gentleman was convinced, that he had just grounds for what he had done in the business.

The honourable baronet gave a brief historical view of the progress of the company's interference with the Carnatic, from the beginning of the war that ended in 1754, when they supported one candidate for the Musnud, in opposition to another supported by the French, down to the treaty of 1796, with Omdut Ul Ounrah, by which the payment of a certain kist was secured to the company. That treaty continued till the death of Omdut Ul Ounrah in 1801, when those disgraceful transactions commenced which the honourable gentleman opposite (Mr. Sheridan) had not coloured more strongly than they deserved. Sir Thomas having also painted them in glowing colours, concluded with moving a series of resolutions, containing a recital of facts, relative to the assumption of the Carnatic, reprobating the deposition of the nabob, and declaring, that the British parliament will never countenance an act
of

of injustice and oppressions in India; and stating the propriety of appointing a committee, to inquire into the best means of indemnifying the family of Mahomed Aly, and of ensuring the safety of our Indian possessions.

A very long debate ensued, which was continued by adjournment to the 1st of June. The defence of lord Wellesley, made with great ability and eloquence by col. Allan, Mr. Lushington, and Mr. Wallace, consisted chiefly of three points: that the nabob was not an independent prince, but our vassal; that the government of the Carnatic was badly managed; and that a treasonable correspondence had been carried on by Wallajah and Omdut Ul Omrah, with our enemies. All the resolutions moved by Sir Thomas Turton were negatived by vast majorities. The house having divided on the 4th resolution, directly criminating the conduct of the marquis of Wellesley, the numbers for the resolution were, Ayes 15—Noes 124.

Sir Thomas Turton, on his return into the house, after this dis-

cussion, observed, that the numbers on his side were so few, that he should not now proceed to move his other two resolutions, but would be content to postpone them, if Mr. Wallace would consent to postpone his resolution of approbation.

Mr. Wallace said, that after the complete defeat which the cause of the honourable baronet had sustained, he might well forbear moving any resolution of approbation: for what approbation could be stronger, than that testified by the majorities with which the resolutions had been rejected? He saw no reason for entering into any farther discussions on a future day; but would now read the resolution, with which he intended to close the business. "Resolved, that it is the opinion of this house, that the marquis lord Wellesley and lord Olive, in their conduct relative to the Carnatic, were influenced solely by an anxious zeal and solicitude to promote the permanent security, welfare, and prosperity, of the British possessions in India." Which resolution was, of course, agreed to.

CHAP. V.

The Budget.—The Irish Budget.—Mr. Perceval's New Plan of Exchanging Stock in the Public Funds for Annuities for Life.—Conditions on which a Sum of Money was advanced to Government, by the Bank of England.

THE proceedings in parliament, of which we have given some account in the preceeding chapters, were retrospective. We come now to give a summary narrative of the most important among those that were of a prospective nature; the most generally interesting to the present, and, it may be presumed, to succeeding generations.

House of Commons, April 11.—The chancellor of the exchequer rose, pursuant to notice, to bring forward the BUDGET*. Having gone through the various items of supply, which had been voted in the present session, under the various heads of navy, army, barracks, commissary general's department, extraordinaries, ordnance, miscellaneous services, and Swedish subsidy, he stated, that the whole of the sums voted amounted in the aggregate to 48,653,170*l.* from which was to be deducted the proportion to be furnished by Ireland, viz. 5,713,601*l.* which would leave a sum to be defrayed by Great Britain of 42,933,601*l.* These sums he stated upon a rough estimate, which, however it might vary from perfect accuracy, would yet be found to correspond pretty exactly with the actual state of the ac-

counts. Having gone through the supplies, it next became necessary for him to state to the committee the various ways and means, which had hitherto been provided for covering these supplies. The house had already voted upon malt and pensions three millions. The sum usually voted was 2,750,000*l.*; but it was thought more expedient to take the amount of the tax at the round sum of three millions, which it produced; the effect of which would only be to reduce the surplus of the consolidated fund by the sum of 250,000*l.* the difference between the vote of three millions and the usual amount at which the malt and pension tax was estimated.—The advances from the bank amounted to 3,500,000*l.* The unappropriated surplus of the consolidated fund, was on the 5th of April 726,870*l.* Upon the rough estimate he was warranted in taking the war taxes at twenty millions. The committee would be aware, that the duties to be levied under the orders of council were applicable to the war taxes, and therefore he felt the more confidence in taking their amount at twenty millions. The lottery he should state at the sum of 950,000*l.* It would be in the recollection of the committee, that

* A budget of papers relative to the public income and expenditure.

that the sum of four millions of exchequer bills had been funded in the course of the present session; and that in submitting that measure to the house, he had stated that it was intended to issue four millions of exchequer bills in place of those funded, as part of the ways and means for the year. By adding to these different items the sum of eight millions, which was the whole of what he apprehended would be wanted for the service of the present year, the aggregate amount would be 39,576,870*l*. To this aggregate was to be added the surplus of the consolidated fund, which he proposed to take at the amount voted last year, viz. 3,750,000*l*. which would carry the ways and means to 43,076,000*l*. yielding a surplus of ways and means above the supplies of 137,000*l*. The surplus of the consolidated fund, the committee would recollect, had been taken last year at 3,750,000*l*. but had produced a further sum of 726,870*l*. making all together 4,476,870*l*. But the increased vote upon malt and pensions would diminish the produce of the consolidated fund, to the amount of 250,000*l*.; and however sanguine his views might be of the state of the trade of the country, he could not but admit that, from the measures of the enemy, and the consequences of the course in which that trade was now to be carried on, some reduction might take place, though not to any material extent. He was of opinion that the surplus ought to be taken at the same amount as last year, though he was confident that would be found below what it would produce.

Having stated the supplies, and the ways and means by which they

were to be covered, it was, in the next place, his duty to state by what means he purposed to provide for the interest, charges, and sinking fund, of the exchequer bills funded, and of the proposed loan, which amounted to a sum of 750,000*l*. There existed at present a sum of 380,000*l*. applicable to that purpose, being the amount of the short annuities which had fallen in. There was likewise a saving upon the management of the public debt, of 65,000*l*. By the new arrangement with respect to the assessed taxes, a sum of 125,000*l*. would be produced; and the arrangement which he meant to propose, for an improved mode of collecting the duties on stamps, would be calculated to yield 200,000*l*. The whole of these sums would amount to 770,000*l*. being a small excess above the sum actually required.

He came next to state the view upon which he grounded the arrangement he had to propose with respect to the stamp duties. The committee were aware that, in the course of the last year, a principle had been recognized by parliament, founded upon the suspension of all taxation for three years, and for resorting to the war taxes to cover the necessary charges of loans. The policy, of this principle had met with the concurrence of all sides of the house, though some of the provisions of the measure founded upon it had been canvassed. Having stated this, he was bound to explain to the house why he had thought it necessary to depart from the principle in the present instance, by proposing to lay on additional taxes to the amount of above 300,000*l*.; and it certainly was not because he

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had considered the principle laid down by the noble lord who preceded him unwise. He had felt how desirable it was to consolidate the different acts relative to the assessed taxes and the stamp duties, and considered that a good opportunity, when making improved regulations for the collection of both, to make a small addition in certain items. He had already done so with respect to the assessed taxes, and he was now to propose a similar course with respect to the stamp duties. If, by these means, without adding considerably to the burdens of the public, they could contrive to provide for the present year, they might in the next and following years resort to the principle which had been so generally approved of; unless upon a review of the state of the taxes, whoever might fill the situation he occupied, should be of opinion that, by regulation or modification, a supply could be obtained without increasing the pressure upon the public, and to relieve the war taxes.

The addition to the amount of the stamp duties, he said, would arise from an application of the *ad valorem* principle to other instruments than those to which it at present applied. It had on a former occasion been in contemplation to apply that principle to all conveyances of real property, by making the instrument invalid if the stamps were not of the legal amount; but, as it would be hard to render an instrument of no effect merely because of the stamp not being of the legal amount, the design was abandoned. He did not mean to carry his provision to that extent, but that a specification should be made of the amount of the consideration,

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and that the duty on the stamp should be in proportion. And he proposed to apply this principle, not only to all conveyances of real estates, but to the admission to offices of courts and government. At present the duty was 20*l.* upon all offices of the courts, without regard to the income. He should propose to reduce the duty upon the lower offices, and to raise that upon the higher offices. Upon all offices, the income of which should not exceed 60*l.* no duty would attach; upon all over 60*l.* and under 150*l.* the duty would be 8*l.*; upon all over 150*l.* and under 300*l.* it was to be 20*l.*; and so in proportion upon higher incomes. It was also proposed to make some alteration in the duty on indentures, but not to carry it higher than it was before the year 1804, and in some cases to reduce it lower. There was likewise some addition expected from the duty on attorneys' indentures. The duty at present on articles of indenture, to an attorney of the superior courts, was 110*l.*, and of the inferior courts 55*l.* The same duty which applied to indentures to solicitors in chancery, should also apply to proctors, for he could not see why, when the advantage was equal, the parties should not be subject to similar duties. He proposed that the duty of 55*l.* should extend to indentures to the writers to the signet in Scotland. In the duty on collations and donations, a small alteration was to take place; for where they gave the right as fully as induction and institution, the duty, which did not at present attach, was to apply. With respect to infeoffments, a small addition was to be made, the duty being at present only 1*l.* 10*s.*: it was proposed

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posed to raise it to 3*l.*, the duty applicable to another mode of conveying real estates by lease and release. An addition was also proposed to the duty on the grant of honours and preferments; the duty was at present but 20*l.* in all cases. In Ireland, the duty on the creation of a duke, marquis, or earl, was 200*l.*; on the creation of a viscount 150*l.*; and on the creation of a baron 100*l.*; and he could see no reason why this country should not adopt the same rate of duty which existed in that. Some slight alteration was to be made in the duty upon the grant of leases of crown lands; at present it was 20*l.* and where the lease was beneficial, that was not an improper duty; but as under the present regulations, the leases of crown lands were not more beneficial than those of any private individual, the duty ought not to be levied unless where the lease was beneficial. The public would not be a loser by this reduction, because the party always paid less in proportion to the amount of the duty.

Upon the grants of money and pensions, it was proposed that the duty should attach upon the *ad valorem* principle, on the higher grants, though it would apply on a reduced scale to the lower. A duty was also to apply to policies of insurance on lives, which had been exempted in 1804, though there was no reason why they should be so exempted. Another head to which he wished to call the attention of the committee, was the case of promissory notes re-issuable, issued by persons calling themselves bankers. He proposed that every person issuing such re-issuable notes should pay twenty pounds a year

for a licence. The duty upon such notes was at present three-pence each, and he proposed to raise the duty upon all to fourpence each; but when the notes were payable only in one place, the duty was to be sixpence each. Another alteration was intended relative to the manner of transferring the shares of joint stock companies. At present the duty was collected only in proportion to the nominal value, but it appeared to him that it should be in proportion to the real value. As to law proceedings, they were already so highly burthened, that no addition could possibly be made to them. There were only some small instances, which we could scarcely consider but as omissions in the year 1804. Thus he proposed a duty of one shilling on all summonses before a master in chancery. With respect to probates of administration in Scotland, the duty was to apply in the same manner as in England. As to legacies, the duty applied on all above twenty pounds, except a residue, and then the duty did not attach till the residue amounted to 100*l.* It was proposed that the duty should apply indiscriminately to residue and legacies. It remained for him only to explain how the principle be stated was to apply to conveyances. The duty at present was thirty shillings on all conveyances of land. This duty he proposed to lower on conveyances of smaller property, and to raise it in proportion to the value on the higher degrees of property. In all cases where the consideration should not exceed 150*l.* the duty was to be one pound; between that and 300*l.* one pound ten shillings; between 300*l.* and 500*l.* two pounds ten shillings; between 500*l.*

500*l.* and 750*l.* five pounds; between 750*l.* and 1000*l.* seven pounds ten shillings; but in no instance to exceed one per cent. on the consideration. Upon these instruments and the re-issuable promissory notes, he calculated for an advance in the amount of the stamp duties, to the extent of two hundred thousand pounds. And he had brought this forward before the recess in order that gentlemen might have the longer opportunity of considering the different parts of the measure by referring to the schedule which they would have in their hands. The chancellor of the exchequer concluded with moving his first resolution, stating the unappropriated surplus of the consolidated fund, on the 5th of April 1808, to have been 726,870*l.*

On the question being put,

Mr. Biddulph declared his opinion, that the arrangements for the service of the present year might and ought to be made without any additional taxes. He recommended the creation of a contingent fund by the sale of crown lands, to which the public might become tenants. The sums for which crown rents might be sold were almost inconceivable. One hundred pounds had been demanded of him for a rent of 8*s.* 9*d.* Such parts as might be sold to advantage, might be disposed of, and the sum of 600,000*l.* might easily be created, so as to be available after the first dividend; the surplus of the consolidated fund to be brought in aid, whenever any deficiency should require it.

The resolutions moved by the chancellor of the exchequer being agreed to, bills were drawn up for carrying them into effect, and having gone through the usual stages in

both houses, were passed into laws by the royal assent 2d of July.

House of Commons, June 8.—Mr. Foster moved, that the house should go into a committee of ways and means.

Mr. Foster briefly stated the different heads of the sums required for the service of Ireland for the year 1808, amounting in all to 9,767,000*l.* remarking that this was a very large sum indeed for that country. To meet this he enumerated the following items: the ordinary revenue four millions eight hundred thousand pounds; the loan for Ireland contracted in England two millions seven hundred and eighty thousand pounds Irish currency; loan from the bank of Ireland, one million and a quarter; loan proposed to be raised in Ireland, seven hundred and fifty thousand pounds, making together the sum of 9,768,000*l.*

With respect to the loan raised in Ireland, it had been contracted for in the three and half per cents. and at an interest not exceeding the interest of the loan raised in Great Britain, viz. 4*l.* 14*s.* 6*d.* per cent. The charges of interest and sinking fund on the three loans would be per annum as follows:

Loan raised in Ireland	£ 45,562
Irish bank loan	- - 75,900
Loan raised in England	
for the use of Ire-	
land	- - - 59,900

Total - - - 181,362

In order to answer this, he would be obliged to impose new taxes; but he hoped the committee would go along with him in thinking that it would be better to raise the sum, not by a number of small taxes, but by one large one, imposed

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posed in a way that would be least felt by the community in Ireland. It was well known that in Ireland, as well as in England, distillers evaded the malt duty in a considerable degree by using raw corn instead of malt. He therefore proposed to extend to raw corn used in distillation the duties at present imposed on malt. It was also his intention to propose an additional duty on foreign spirits imported into Ireland. These sums, together with a saving in the management of the Irish national debt, would more than cover the charges of interest and sinking fund of the three loans, viz.

Extension of the malt duties to raw corn, &c. - - -	£333,000
Duty on foreign spirits	225,008
Saving in management of the public debt	7,500
<hr/> Total - -	565,508

There were certain arrangements dependent upon the measure now before parliament, relative to the distillation from sugar, with which he would not then trouble the committee. He then moved several resolutions correspondent to his statement, which were agreed to, after some discussion on the terms of the Irish bank loan, which were objected to by sir J. Newport and Mr. Parnell, and defended by Mr. Foster and Mr. Perceval.

The consolidation of the stamp duties was not the only financial scheme proposed by Mr. Perceval.

May 13. The house of commons resolved itself into a committee to consider of enabling hold-

ers of 3 per cent. stock to transfer that stock to the commissioners for the reduction of the national debt, with the view of receiving in its stead equivalent annuities. Mr. Perceval rose to propose certain resolutions to the committee for this purpose*. All, however, that he intended for the present was, after having briefly explained the nature of his proposition, to move the reading of the first resolution, *pro forma*, and then to propose that the committee should report progress. The committee, he observed, must be perfectly aware that the operation of the sinking fund had recently very much increased the price of stocks. There was every reason to believe, that by the continuance of that operation, they would still further increase in price. It was not to be doubted that, if the measure were consistent with public faith, it would be extremely desirable to give the nation an opportunity of discharging the whole of the national debt at the present price of the stocks, because that would preclude the effect which any future advance in the price of stocks must have in retarding the operation of the sinking fund. — There were two objects which the sinking fund had in view: the one to provide for the final redemption of the national debt; the other to keep up the price of stocks in the market, so as to enable government, whenever the exigencies of the state might require it, to make an advantageous loan for the public. These objects, however, were in some degree inconsistent. In some degree they counteracted each other.

Whatever

* The whole of these resolutions the reader will find in the Appendix to the Chronicle, p. 223.

Whatever measure raised the funds, and thus enabled government to borrow on the best terms, prevented the commissioners for the reduction of the national debt, from reducing that debt on the best terms. Now the measure proposed would combine both these objects. It would tend to increase the price of stocks, and it would at the same time secure the redemption at a low price, of so much stock as might be transferred antecedently to the rise produced. Every person who transferred his stock to the commissioners would be entitled to such an annuity as would be equivalent to the value of the stock and of his life; the calculation proceeding on the principle that the sum which he would have otherwise received as interest, the additional sum granted as an annuity, and the compound interest on the whole, would redeem the sum originally transferred, within the period to which his life will be calculated as likely to extend. Now if the stocks continued to rise, the redemption of that sum could not be effected without this measure. The whole merit of this plan, therefore, rested on the justness of the expectation that the stocks were likely to rise. And Mr. Perceval was ready to admit, that if the contrary should take place, the measure would have a tendency directly opposite to that which he expected. A great deal of conversation ensued about the principle and mode of calculating the value of lives, and the probable rise or fall of stocks; and apprehensions were entertained by some of the members, that the price of the funds, instead of rising, would fall in consequence of a defalcation of revenue arising from a stagnation

of trade. But besides the objections to the measure proposed, drawn from the calculations of political arithmetic, there was one much insisted on of an ethical nature.

Mr. Windham, disclaiming all intention of entering into any detailed observations on the plan in the present early stage of its appearance, observed, that there was this obvious and fundamental objection to it, that it tended in a greater or less degree to vitiate the morals of the lower orders of the people. He was afraid that too many parents would be found who would be very willing to sacrifice the future interests of their children to their own immediate gratification. The system of annuities was too generally attended with such consequences, and he saw nothing in the plan now proposed, to obviate such effects in the present instance.

Sir John Newport, too, deprecated the holding out any inducements to the lower classes to speculate in annuities. If there were vices in a country, government ought not to partake of them. In France, in the time of the *rentes viagères*, there had been many instances of persons who sacrificed the interests of their posterity for their own immediate gratification. This was not consonant to the feelings of the people of this country, and he should deprecate any measure that would have the effect of assimilating the habits and morals of this country, to those of France. Neither could Mr. W. Smith abstain from bearing his testimony to the immoral tendency of this plan. He looked upon these annuities as a moral poison, which should not be circulated.

But Mr. Huskinson defended the plan
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plan of his right honourable friend. It gave no *bonus* to persons for investing their capitals to the prejudice of their families. The scale was calculated upon the usual principles of the probabilities of life. And, as to the effect it might have on the morals of the people, it should be recollected that the short annuities which had lately fallen in, to the amount of 4 or 500,000*l.* per annum, had been in the market without producing any such effect, though upon the principles of the gentlemen opposite, they were much more dangerous, as they required a greater proportion of capital to be sunk.

The chancellor of the exchequer admitted, that for parents to purchase annuities for their own lives to the prejudice of their children would be wrong, and ought to be discountenanced. But would it not be proper for a parent to purchase an annuity for his child, or for his widow, if the circumstances of his property would not admit of any other provision? It would be idle to provide small annuities, suppose for servants, or widows, on the security of land, when the expences of settlement, and perhaps of recovery, would render the provision of no avail.

The first resolution being read, was agreed to, and the chairman having reported progress, the committee was ordered to sit again on a day appointed.

House of Commons, May 27.—The house resolved itself into a committee on the resolution of the committee respecting the transfer of 3 per cent. stock for life annuities. Mr. Tierney made a variety of calculations intended to shew the inefficacy and inutility of the plan.

He objected to it as interfering with the sinking fund, and with the faith of the country, pledged in consequence of that measure; of which faith he considered it as a direct infraction. He dwelt particularly on the extravagant inducement which this measure held out to a man of 70 years of age, to leave his family and relations destitute; seeing he could thus raise his own income in the proportion of 12 to 3; or instead of 100*l.* could procure for his own life 400*l.* per annum.

The chancellor of the exchequer had no expectation that the progress of the measure would be very rapid. The present was not a plan, which he would have been inclined to propose, as affording resources for the service of the year: but he was convinced from the information, and the applications he had already received on the subject, that it would be one of permanent advantage, and of which, though no question of revenue were connected with it, the advantage would be generally and satisfactorily felt. There was nothing unusual or inconsistent with political economy in allowing persons the opportunity of providing for themselves in this manner. What were friendly societies? Were they calculated for the advantage of either the widow or the children? No. But by them part of the income was laid aside for the benefit of the person himself, without any regard to his family.

Lord Petty thought the plan altogether objectionable in a political, moral, and financial point of view. Would it be proper, would it not on the contrary be dangerous in the extreme, if the great bulk of the

the property of this country were allowed to be thrown into annuities!

Mr. Davie Giddy thought that the plan now proposed would have the effect of encouraging a greater degree of frugality in the lower classes, by affording them an opportunity of applying their savings with perfect security to the increase of their incomes; and that in this point of view the benefit would overbalance any evil that might arise from it.

Mr. Biddulph did not think there could be any sound objection to this plan: on the contrary, he was friendly to its adoption; because in a free country like this, there should be as great a diversity as possible of option, afforded to persons wishing

to lay out their capital with security. And as a proof how much he approved the measure, he proposed that the annuities should be rendered more marketable by facilitating the insurance of the lives of the nominees; which would be effected by taking off the tax on the policies of insurance upon such lives.

The resolutions were agreed to, and afterwards carried into effect by acts of parliament.

House of Commons, June 1.—

The house having resolved itself into a committee, the chancellor of the exchequer recapitulated the various heads of supply, and of the ways and means for the year, viz.

SUPPLIES.

Navy	£17,496,047
Army	19,439,189
Ordnance	4,534,571
Miscellaneous	1,750,000
East India company	1,500,000
Swedish subsidy	1,100,000
Vote of credit	2,500,000

Total joint charge 48,819,807

SEPARATE CHARGES OF GREAT BRITAIN.

Deficiency of malt, 1806 ..	275,845
Interest on exchequer bills, 1808 ..	1,400,000
Exchequer bills part of vote of credit, 1807, not funded ..	4,024,200
Five per cents, 1797, to be paid off ..	153,696
	<hr/> 5,853,741

Total supplies 54,173,548

Induct Irish proportion of supply and civil list 5,868,515

Total to be defrayed by Great Britain 48,305,033

WAYS AND MEANS.

Duty on malt and pensions	£3,000,000
Bank advances	3,500,000
Unappropriated surplus of the consolidated fund at 5th April	726,876
Estimated surplus of ditto to 5th April, 1809	3,500,000
Surplus of ways and means 1807	2,253,111
War taxes	20,000,000
Lottery	300,000
Exchequer bills to be issued to replace bills not funded	4,500,000
Do. for the East India company	1,500,000
Exchequer bills, part of 10,500,000 <i>l.</i> charged on aids 1809, to replace the like amount on aids 1808, which has been funded	1,161,100
Loan	8,000,000

Supplies 48,441,087
48,305,033

Surplus of ways and means 136,054

He then proceeded to state to the committee the terms on which he had contracted for the loan. The sum borrowed for England and Ireland was ten millions and a half, of which eight were for the service of this country. The whole sum was to be funded in the four per cents, and the contractors for every 100*l.* advanced to the public were to receive 118*l.* 3*s.* 6*d.* stock: so that the public paid for every 100*l.* capital 4*l.* 14*s.* 6½*d.* interest. In consequence of the loan of ten millions and a half, there was a capital of debt created to the amount

of 12,408,375*l.* from which, after deducting a proportion of two-seventeenths for Ireland, making 2,954,375*l.* there would remain, as a permanent burden upon Great Britain, 9,454,000*l.* and an annual charge for interest of 475,536*l.* In addition to this, in consequence of the measure of funding four millions of exchequer bills, there was a capital debt created of 4,239,215*l.* and an annual charge for interest, including the sinking fund and management, of 253,247*l.* So that the sum to be provided for by taxes was:

For the interest of the loan	£475,536
For the interest of exchequer bills funded	253,247

Making a total of 728,783

For this annual charge he meant to provide in the following manner:

Short annuities fallen in	375,000
Annual saving on the management of the debt	65,000
Increase upon the assessed taxes	120,000
Stamp duties	170,000

Carried over..... 730,000

Brought forward.....	£730,000
Sum to be provided.....	728,783

Surplus provided	1,217
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The chancellor of the exchequer next proceeded to state the effect which had been produced by the financial measures which he adopted in the course of the year, and concluded, that from funding four millions of exchequer bills, when stocks were at 63½, and by borrowing ten millions and a half in the four instead of the three per cents, there had resulted a saving to the public of four millions of capital debt; and that by the single measure of contracting for the loan in the four per cents there was a saving of 3,100,000*l.* capital debt; and also a saving in the annual charge, of 2000*l.*; besides the advantage of being able to redeem the debt at comparatively a very inconsiderable loss. He concluded his statement with moving a resolution, that it is the opinion of the committee, that towards providing the ways and means for the year, it is expedient to enable his majesty to raise eight millions by way of annuities for Great Britain, and two millions and a half for Ireland, which was agreed to.

The attentive reader will perceive among the different articles of ways and means one that needs explanation; namely, *bank advances*. The resolutions of the court of directors, on which a resolution of the company of the bank of England was founded, had agreed to lead to the public 3,000,000*l.* without interest, during the war, on the condition that the balances of the public money should be continued in the bank in the usual man-

ner, though they should even exceed 10,000,000*l.* This arrangement was first suggested by the committee appointed in the last year to enquire into the means of reducing the public expenditure: whose second report turned upon the management of the public debt by the bank, and the manner in which the bank was connected with the public revenue, and the public expenditure.

This subject resolved itself into three heads: 1st, the management of the public debt; 2dly, the balances of the public money in the hands of the bank; and 3dly, the unclaimed dividends. On all these heads the committee had brought to light such facts as afforded opportunities of considering how those matters might be conducted with a saving to the public. The committee that had suggested the improvements that were now to be carried into effect, had shewn one principle on which advantage might be reasonably claimed for the public.

Mr. Pitt, in his arrangement with the bank, had asserted the right of the public to participate in the advantages derived by the bank from the management and balances; and that, whether this participation should be in the proportion of one third, one fourth, or one half, it would be greatly to the advantage of the public. This shewed, that not more than a participation was intended, and therefore, as the proportion of one third, being the middle rate, was what

what was most looked to, and probably considered as most equitable, that proportion was agreed to. As to the unclaimed dividends, this, like the other parts of the present arrangement, originated in the report of the committee of finance. The unclaimed dividends, according to the report of the committee, amounted on the 8th of July, 1807, to 986,573*l.* and at the lowest period of some antecedent years, they had not fallen below 900,000*l.* This calculation, however, had been taken on the day before payment,

whereas it ought to have been taken the day after. But on demanding 500,000*l.* of the unclaimed dividends for the public, in addition to 376,739*l.* formerly advanced under the act of 1791, provision was made that the balance ready for the payment of the public creditor, should not be reduced below 100,000*l.* and according as any reduction below that sum should take place, a proportion of the 500,000*l.* should be refunded from the exchequer to make up the deficiency*.

* This arrangement with the bank was stated to the house by the chancellor of the exchequer so early as the 10th of February. But as we do not wish to jumble a number of heterogeneous facts together, in the mere order of time, but rather to classify the subjects of our narrative according to their nature, it seemed proper to introduce this measure, not by itself, but as forming a part of the ways and means for the service of the year.

CHAP. VI.

Flourishing State of the British Navy.—Army Estimates.—The Mutiny Bill.—Clause introduced for allowing an Option of enlisting into the Army for Life.—Debates on the comparative Advantages of enlisting for limited and unlimited Service in the Army.—Other new Clauses.—Establishment of a Local Militia.—Debates thereon.—Reversion Bill passed in the House of Commons.—Rejected by the Lords.—Another Reversion Bill moved by Mr. Banks in the House of Commons.—Passed in both Houses.—Bill brought into the House of Commons by sir Samuel Romilly, for amending the Criminal Law respecting private Stealing in Contradistinction to Robbery.—Passed in that House.—Act for the better Administration of Justice in Scotland.—Annuities to the Judges of the Court of Session justiciary, and Exchequer of Scotland upon the Resignation of their Offices.—Act for regulating the augmentation and modification of the stipends of the clergy in Scotland.—Acts for making more effectual Provision for the Building and Re-building of Churches, Chapels, and Glebe Houses; and for the Purchase of Glebe Lands, Glebe Houses, and Improvements in Ireland; and for enforcing the Residence of spiritual Persons in Ireland, on their Benefices.—Curates Bill.—Catholic Petition.—Grant to Maynooth College.—An Act to prohibit the Distillation of Spirits from Corn or Grain for a limited Time.—Debates thereon.—Affairs of Spain.—Prorogation of Parliament.

THE transactions of government, for whose service the supplies just stated were provided, naturally fall into two general heads, namely, the relations of government external and internal: the defence and security of the country against danger from abroad; and its internal tranquillity and general improvement. Under the head of foreign relations and the defence of the country, our first attentions are due to the navy and the army. The flourishing state of the British navy in 1808, sufficiently appears from the immense sum voted for its support. A particular statement of the navy, according to the returns made up to the first day of

the year, will be found in the first page of the Chronicle. The number of seamen, including 1400 royal marines voted for the service of 1808, was 130,000.

House of commons, Feb. 16.—
—The house having resolved itself into a committee of the whole house to consider of the army estimates,

The secretary at war stated, that there were two alterations in the form of the estimates for the present year. The one was, that more contingencies were ranged under one general head of service than had been done in former cases; and the second was, that a number of heads of expence, which it had been the custom to range among

among the extraordinaries of the army, were now reduced to estimates. Having premised these two observations, he was happy in being able to state to the committee, that at no former period had the army of this country been superior in spirit and discipline; and at no former time equal in numbers; the whole establishment amounting to no less than 300,000 men. The difference also between its actual numbers, and its supposed establishment, was less than it had ever been before. The regular infantry establishment of 1807, was 109,000, and that of the present year was 132,000; and the difference between the actual numbers and this establishment was now only 13,000 men, whereas last year it had been no less than 53,000. In cavalry there was a slight reduction, but it was hardly worth mentioning. The royal wagon train was reduced to 500 horses; and though last year it was intended to reduce the whole of that corps, yet when it was recollected that these horses were actually employed in the public service, in the works carrying on about the different royal palaces, and on the military canals, and that the service which they performed was performed at a cheaper rate than could be done by hiring horses, he did not think that any reasonable objection could be made to the maintenance of this body. The militia was nearer to its establishment than it was last year, notwithstanding that 24,000 men had been drafted from it into the regular army. In the staff there was a small variation, from the increase that had taken place in the staff

abroad. The volunteer corps were nearly in the same state in which they were last year. The foreign corps were somewhat increased, from an addition that had been made to the German Legion. The royal military college and the compassionate list were both somewhat augmented. After stating the different heads of service, the secretary proceeded to compare the estimate of expence of each for the present year, with the expence of the same head of service for the last year; the general result of which comparison was, that the estimates for the present year exceeded that of the last by 592,000*l.*; but after deducting from the estimates now before the committee the various items of expence which used formerly to be introduced among the extraordinaries of the army, the real difference was reduced to somewhat less than 100,000*l.* He concluded with moving his resolutions conformably to the estimates.

Lord Castlereagh stated that, of the two great military measures brought forward last session, the success had been most remarkable indeed. By the militia balloting bill, which was to continue in operation until May, it was proposed to raise 47,000 men for Great Britain and Ireland; and of these, according to the last returns, no less than 37,000 were already raised. By the militia transfer bill, which was to continue in operation until August next, it was proposed to raise 27,620; and of this number, according to the last returns, 23,689 had actually volunteered into the line. So that a force of above 60,000 men had been raised within the last year, in that country,

try, respecting the capacity of which to produce men, the house had heard such gloomy predictions.—He stated the whole amount of our regular military force at nearly 300,000 men, which exceeded by 40,000 any force this country had ever possessed; and this excess he alleged to have been produced through the operation of the measures so violently opposed by the right honourable gentleman, during whose stay in office only the

small number of 8,000 men had been added to the line; and even that addition was, he contended, owing to the legacy which his predecessors left him in the additional force act. The number of battalions now in the service, he stated at 277, which he averaged at 700 men each.

After a very lengthened conversation among a great number of members, the following items were voted:

	<i>Numbers.</i>			<i>Great Britain.</i>			<i>Ireland.</i>		
				£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.
Land forces including various contingencies	200,831			5,892,922	9	1	1,385,057	11	6
Regiments in the East Indies	80,884			691,525	8	9			
Troops and companies for recruiting ditto	437			27,281	12	9			
Embodied militia	108,384			2,236,462	0	4	846,498	17	6
Staff and garrisons				363,902	6	5	69,502	1	4
Full pay to supernumerary officers				32,213	2	8	778	1	9
Public departments				188,680	19	6	8,921	1	—
Half pay				209,750	—	—	26,732	8	1
In-pensioners of Chelsea and Kilmainham hospitals				40,960	13	10	16,942	17	7
Out-pensioners of ditto				329,619	9	2	46,878	8	6
Widows' pensions				40,495	10	6	6,000	—	—
Volunteer corps				652,000	—	—	611,437	—	—
Foreign corps	22,125			795,647	3	2	70,911	3	10
Royal military college				21,525	17	—			
Royal military asylum				19,903	9	3			
Allowances to retired and officiating chaplains				16,000	—	—	2,852	5	3
Medicines and hospital expenses				100,000	—	—	18,676	8	9
Compassionate list				13,500	—	—			
Barrack department (Ireland)							442,262	13	5
Commisariat department (Ireland)							190,253	7	4
Total	362,661			11,672,390	2	5	3,743,704	5	10
Deduct the regiments in the East Indies	30,884			691,525	8	9			
Remained then to be provided	331,777			10,980,864	13	8	3,743,704	5	10

Resolutions for making good these sums, moved and agreed to.

House of Commons, March 8.—On the motion of the secretary at war, the house went into a committee on the mutiny bill. Lord Castlereagh said, that to many parts of the military system introduced a short time since by Mr. Windham, he had no objection. The inducement held forth to certain descriptions of men, by the liberty to engage for limited service, and by the creation of limited service, he highly approved of. He had no objection to limited service; and he had formerly promoted, to a certain extent, engagements limited in space as well as in time. But why should limited service be in a manner enforced, to the total exclusion of unlimited service, even when the men were perfectly satisfied and desirous to enter without limitation? On former occasions, the men for limited service were kept in separate battalions. Mr. Windham had mixed them. It was not intended to interfere with this or any other part of the right honourable gentleman's arrangement. That gentleman had complained much of the change about to be introduced in the exclusive form of his measure. But no military system, no measure could claim an exclusive and unalterable sanction. It was matter of very serious consideration, that the 36,000 enlisted this year, would all be entitled to their discharge at the same period seven years hence. It was also very material to consider, how this principle, if exclusively acted upon, would affect our peace and establishment, supposing a peace establishment of 100,000 men, and 36,000 of these to be discharged in one year, and a war to follow in that year or the next, what would be the state of the

country? He maintained that the enlistment for life of those who, on having the option, should prefer engaging for life, would not discourage others from engaging for years. He contended, also, that Mr. Windham's plan would not cover its own waste and that of the army in general. The ordinary recruiting under this plan, was made more productive than it had been by multiplying the number of recruiting parties beyond measure, and also by the threat of reduction held out to the 54 additional battalions, unless they should complete their establishment to 400 men each before six months. One part only of the right honourable gentleman's plan was not speculative, and that was the permanent burthen of 450,000*l.* a year, which it imposed on the country in the shape of additional pensions, an incumbrance which must increase continually. These reasons, he was convinced, would be fully sufficient to satisfy the house of the propriety of not depriving such men as were inclined, of a fair option to enlist for life. He therefore moved, that a clause should be introduced for allowing that option.

Mr. Windham admired the candour and fairness with which the noble lord had introduced into the mutiny bill, a clause subversive of the system which had been already decided upon after long and serious parliamentary investigation! It was certainly very candid in the noble lord to give him (Mr. W.) now, for the first time, intimation of a clause hostile to the existing military system; and that too, in such a way, that this clause was in a manner surreptitiously introduced, and proposed to be made part of a bill which

which must, within a very few days, be necessarily past into a law. The noble lord, however, thought it but decent to affect some kind of opposition to the measure in argument. And what was the object of the noble lord's reasoning? To prove that the system, though sure, was slow in its operation. The noble lord was contented with simply stating this; and perhaps it was well judged, not even to try to prove it. For, what were the facts? The progressive increase of the number of men raised, in four periods, had been in the following proportion: 11,000 in the first period; 13,000 in the next; 21,000 in the third; and 24,000 in the fourth. The noble lord would find it difficult to counteract these statements; and, admitting their verity, still more difficult to satisfy the house, that they were not proofs of the efficacy of the measure resorted to. —To say that if a certain system will purchase within a very limited period a certain number of men, the same will, in a regular progression, be productive in a proportionable period of time, was to say, that because a certain system was effective at first, (no matter how or by what means) therefore it would continue to be so, and that too in an increased proportion, was not just reasoning. But it had been said, that the number of recruiting parties was extraordinary. Mr. W. could only state, that the increased number of such was not at all to be attributed to his system, and that they could not be considered, in fact, as in any great degree productive. No number of recruiting parties, however great, could raise beyond what was required.

General Tarleton said, that in

any other country he would think the principle of limited service a good one; but he thought that it would be dangerous in this country, on account of the extent of its colonies. There was a necessity too, of having at all times a large army in readiness to oppose those schemes of invasion which Buonaparte never for a moment lost sight of, in the prosecution of the present war.

The secretary at war contended, that the house had not been taken by surprise by his noble friend, as nine days notice had been given of his intention to propose the clause which was now under discussion. The secretary likewise insisted on the bad effects which would result from the discharge of a large proportion of our military force at regular stated periods.

Lord Petty observed, that Mr. Windham's measure had been approved of by a majority of the existing members of that house; that it had been tried, and met with the universal approbation of the country.—After some conversation between Mr. Windham and lord Castlereagh, the committee divided on the clause—Ayes, 169—Noes, 100.

The secretary at war then brought up several new clauses, among which was one for enacting that no master in Scotland should be entitled to claim his apprentice from the army, unless he should produce a certificate, and conform to other regulations therein specified. Another clause enacted, that no general court-martial should consist of less than fourteen members, except in Africa or the West Indies; and another, that treble costs should be awarded in cases of action, where the party complaining of a military officer

officer should be nonsuited. The clauses were all read and agreed to. The mutiny bill was reported, and passed through the usual stages.

House of peers, March 13.—The house having resolved itself into a committee on the mutiny bill,

Lord Hawkesbury briefly stated the object of the alteration that had been made in it. It was not intended that those who had enlisted for limited service should have the option of enlisting for unlimited service, until the term for which they had first enlisted had expired.

The duke of Gloucester urged the inexpediency of altering the system of limited service, from the operation of which it appeared, from the returns on the table, the most beneficial effects, with respect to the recruiting of the army, and the prevention of desertion, had been derived. It was a general opinion among military officers, that recruiting for military service was the best mode of obtaining an efficient army. Such an alteration as that now proposed, would create great confusion in regiments, in consequence of the different terms of enlistment; and was in every point of view, in his opinion, likely to be prejudicial, as it would tend to destroy the system now established.

Lord Borringdon thought it was highly advantageous to have different terms of enlistment in the army, which might suit the various caprices of men.

Lord King feared, that if this alteration was suffered to pass, every means would be resorted to to discourage and prevent, as much as possible, enlistment for limited service. As to suiting the various caprices of men, he thought that

most men would like better to have a repeated option, than to be confined to an option once for all.

The earl of Buckinghamshire, taking into consideration the number of troops wanted for colonial service, thought it highly expedient that a part of the army should be enlisted for an unlimited period; as, otherwise, great difficulty and expence would arise in providing that service with troops.

The earl of Grosvenor thought that the objection respecting colonial service, might be obviated, if the present system was suffered to have fair play, by the number of recruits which would then be obtained. The proposed alteration he considered as an attempt to undermine that system.

Lord Melville took a retrospective view of the state of the army, and of the various plans that had at different times been resorted to for recruiting it. He disliked the frequent interference of the legislature in what regarded our military establishment. In his opinion it was best entrusted to the care and management of the chief executive magistrate; and it was found of late to improve and flourish under the auspices of the illustrious personage to whose hands the sovereign had confided it. The country never had an army so numerous and well appointed as at the present moment. And how was that army acquired? Not by any one plan or exertion; not by metaphysical recruiting, and a philosophical investigation of the moral habits and propensities of men; but by a combination of various plans and various exertions adapted to the nature and employments of men as they were to be found, and to the varying situation and

and exigencies of the country. Of all the plans to which the present flourishing state of the army might be ascribed, the additional force bill, and the enlisting from the supplementary militia into the line, he conceived to have been the most efficacious.

It had been said, that the system of limited service would introduce a better description of men into the army; that it would induce respectable farmers to prepare one of their sons to be a soldier; in short, that it would make the military service a trade. The trade of a soldier! There never was and never would be such a trade, in this sense of it. What was meant by a better sort of men? Was it that they would be taller or shorter, broader or thinner? This might be intelligible, but it was not the fact. The men that had hitherto formed the British armies were men of stout hearts and habits; men of spirit and courage; lovers of bold enterprise. These were the materials of which an army must be composed. Give him such men, though not of the better description. The worse men were the fittest for soldiers. Keep the better sort at home. On these grounds he must vote for the clause as it now stood.

Viscount Sidmouth agreed with Lord Melville, as to the advantages derived to the army from volunteering from the militia, but differed from him in opinion as to the present system of recruiting; which had procured a force better in quality, in stature, and in morals.

The earl of Moira compared the different systems as affecting the soldier, himself, and his family; and gave a decided opinion in favour of

Mr. Windham's. Lord Moira entreated the house to weigh the matter well before they discountenanced a system which within less than two years they had approved by so great a majority.

The earl of Westmoreland denied, that there was any intention, by the clause, to put an end to the new system.

Lord Vassal Holland contended, that service for a limited period was very far from being unsuited to our possessions abroad, particularly the East Indies; and shewed from the practice of Spain, that a limited term of service was peculiarly adapted to distant colonial possessions.

The duke of Gloucester replied to the different arguments in support of the clause; which being put, was carried; the amendment negatived without a division; and the other clauses agreed to. In a few days after the bill was read a third time and passed.

House of Commons, April 12.—Lord Castlereagh was happy to congratulate the house, that by the success which had attended the measures which it had been his good fortune to propose to the house last year; no legislative care was any longer necessary for the establishment of a regular army; to which an addition had been made of 40,000 men. It was the duty of government, however, to attend to all parts of the military system; and to provide effectually for the maintenance and discipline, not only of those descriptions of force that had always arms in their hands, but of those that were armed only provisionally, for the purpose of training and discipline, with a view to eventual emergency. An act was passed sometime since for the general

general training of the people. The intention of it was, to enable ministers to advise his majesty to train 200,000 men out of the whole population. But he considered it of little use to have men trained unless they were regimented. If trained in regiments they would be of real utility. Instead of training the whole military classes, a sufficient number might be trained to cover any probable exigency that might be expected to arise. It was proposed to have a regular subsidiary force, amounting to six times the number of the militia, as proposed by Mr. Yorke some years ago. The training of the whole number of 800,000, as proposed by the training act, would have been a very general hardship with very little benefit. Instead of training the whole military classes, a sufficient number might be trained to cover any probable exigency that might be expected to arise. When the gross amount of the effective volunteers was compared with six times the amount of the militia, there was found on the aggregate a deficiency of 30,000. But when this deficiency came to be subdivided, an inequality was discovered; some of the counties being more deficient, and some, among which were the maritime counties, less. In consequence of this inequality 60,000 would be wanted to complete the establishment to the amount required.—He proposed therefore to give to the crown a power to create a local militia, to the aggregate amount of 60,000 in the first instance, to be increased in proportion as the volunteer force should diminish, and to supersede them totally, if, in the event of peace they should withdraw their service. Six times

the number of the militia would be for Great Britain 330,000 men, the number of effective volunteers in Ireland was close on 70,000. Under this plan therefore there would be a depôt of 400,000 men ready at a moment's notice to fall into the regiments of the line and the militia, according as they might be wanted to make them up. This local militia was to be ballotted for in their different counties, in proportion to the deficiency of volunteers in each, from among persons between the years of 18 and 35. Persons might be allowed to volunteer into this force; but no substitutes were to be allowed, nor exemptions to be made but at a very high fine. The officers were to possess the same requisites as to property, as those of the existing militia, except in one instance, namely, that whoever had held the rank of a field officer in the army might hold the same rank here without regard to any such qualification. Volunteer corps might, if they choose, transfer themselves with the approbation of his majesty into this local militia.

The period of service during the year to be 28 days, exclusive of the days for assembling, marching, &c. for which pay to be allowed. The expence would not exceed that of the present volunteer establishment. It would not exceed 4*l.* per man for the year. Having a regimental force of 400,000 men, in addition to a regular army of 200,000, which might, if occasion required, be augmented to 250,000, parliament might rest content, and trust that the empire was secure. Lord Castlereagh concluded with moving for leave to bring in a bill to make better provision for the internal defence

face of the kingdom, which was given.

On the 2d of May, before the order of the day for the second reading of the local militia bill was read, lord Castlereagh begged leave to state two or three additions and alterations, which he meant to introduce bearing upon the principle of the bill. It was proposed, 1st, that those who had served personally in the militia should be exempted from the ballot for the local militia; 2dly, that when any corps of volunteers transferred its services from the volunteer establishment to the local militia, the officers of such corps should retain their rank, and that all men should be admitted into the local militia without any regard to age; 3dly, that when persons changed their residence from one county to another they likewise should be permitted to transfer their services to the local militia of the county in which they should reside; and 4thly, that the families of those men who were drawn, and unable to support themselves, should receive the same allowance which was now granted to the families of volunteers when called out on permanent duty: this allowance to be paid in the first instance by their respective parishes, and to be repaid to the parishes by the receiver general of the army.

Many objections were made to this bill in its progress; the principal of which were stated by colonel Shipley, who, on lord Castlereagh's having moved that the bill be now read a second time, remarked, that every session of parliament some new plan was brought forward connected with the defence of the country; and that every succeeding minister, as soon

as he came into office, set about subverting the system of his predecessor, and introducing one of his own. From these various experiments the country derived little additional strength, and the soldier no benefit at all; but, to the authors of them they were a source of considerable patronage and influence. The plan, indeed, which had been introduced under the late administration, was not liable to this reproach. It was projected solely with a view to the improvement of the army, and the good of the country; and, on this account, he had most ardently wished that it might be permanent, and that it might have prevented in future all new experiments of state empirics. The measure proposed by lord Castlereagh, he contended, would be enormously expensive to the country, most oppressive to individuals, and at the same time totally futile and useless. Was it possible that the public money could be more idly and wantonly squandered, than in being given as bounties to the volunteers to enter into the local militia; by which means, from being an useful, they would become altogether an useless body. The bill before the house was liable to all the objections to the most vigorous measures, without being calculated to produce any one of the advantages of a measure of this description. It would prove injurious to the regular recruiting of the army. It was proposed, that the local militia should be officered in the same way with the regular militia. But if it was found impossible to find a sufficient number of officers properly qualified for the latter service, how could they be procured for the former?

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He also disapproved highly of substitutes not being allowed, and contended that this prohibition would not only give rise to much fraud and imposition, but that it offered a strong inducement to perjury.

The local militia bill having passed through the usual stages in the house of commons, was brought into the house of lords, where, after some discussion it was, 21st June, agreed to.

The principle of the local militia bill for England was extended to Scotland. On the motion for the third reading of the Scotch local militia bill in the house of commons, Mr. Yorke said, that he saw no reason why the training act should not also be adopted in Scotland, as well as in England.

House of Commons, Jan. 25.—Mr. Bankes, agreeably to notice, rose to make a motion, to which he did not suppose there would be any objection, as resolutions to the same effect had been agreed to by the house last session.

After a few observations on the beneficial tendency of the measure, and even its tendency ultimately to strengthen, rather than to intrench on the prerogative of the crown, he moved for leave to bring in a bill to prevent the grant of offices and reversions during life, or with benefit of survivorship. After some conversation, the question was put and carried, with the single negative of Mr. William Dundas, who had not been present when this question was last before the house.

Mr. Bankes then brought in the bill, which was carried through the usual stages in the house of commons, into the house of lords: where, on the second reading, March 10, it was opposed by lord

Arden, lord Reddesdale, the earl of Carlisle, and the earl of Moira; and recommended by lord Boringdon, lord Vassal Holland, the earl Grey, and the earl of Lauderdale. Lord Arden still persisted in considering the bill, as he had done before, when the question was last agitated as an infringement of the prerogative of the crown, and also as an encroachment on the privileges of their lordships' house. He called to mind the measures that were witnessed in this country in the year 1641.

Lord Reddesdale, in like manner, requested their lordships to look to the beginning of the French revolution, and to consider what irreparable mischief followed the advice of Mr. Neckar to increase the number and weight of the *Tiers Etat*, sitting and voting in the same assembly with the nobility. The *Tiers Etat* prevailed; the nobility were soon proscribed, despoiled of their possessions, and driven into beggary and exile. And what was the pretext and cause of that violent change? The reform of abuses; the adoption of an economical system. That the bill was recommended by lord Vassal Holland, and the earl Grey, as the first step of a plan of public economy. If offices were still granted in reversion, it must greatly embarrass the operation of any such plan. The bill was suffered to go into a committee, but on the third reading it was thrown out by a great majority. Contents 28—Non-contents 128.

House of Commons, April 7.—Mr. Bankes moved the commitment of another reversion bill, which had been introduced and gone through some of the usual stages.

stages. Mr. Banks reminded the committee, that by the rejection of the former bill in the house of lords, they were precluded from bringing forward exactly the same measure this session. On this account he had brought in a bill with a limitation in point of time. If this should be carried it would at least secure one object, namely, the prevention of any new grant during the limited period, which might affect the proceedings of the committee of finance. As to the limitation of time, it was his intention that the blank should be filled up with a provision that the bill should be in force for one year from the passing of the act, and from the close of that period to the end of six weeks, from the commencement of the subsequent session of parliament. A long conversation ensued, in which there was a very general concurrence in opinion, that the measure was good, as far as it went, though it was much too limited. This bill was finally passed in the house of lords on the 12th of May.

House of Commons, May 18.—Sir Samuel Romilly rose, to make his promised motion on the criminal law of the country. He, in common with others, had always lamented, that by the criminal law of the country, capital punishments were appointed to be inflicted for so many crimes. He said, “appointed, because, in fact, they were not so frequently executed, although no principle was better established than that the certainty, not the severity of punishment rendered it efficacious. This principle had long been proved, and published to the world by the marquis of Beccaria. But the admiration which his work produced in Great Britain,

had not produced any change in our system, which was directly the reverse of that noble writer's: for with us punishments were most severe and most uncertain. Having illustrated the truth of this proposition, he said, that, for the present, he would confine his observations and his motion to one class of those crimes, which as he had before stated, seldom received the punishment the law had appointed for them; a class on which the law inflicted extraordinary severity of punishment, without any well founded motive to that severity. He meant those charges where the capital part of the charge depended on the amount. By a statute of William and Mary, privately to steal from a person to the value of five shillings, was rendered capital. In queen Anne's reign, to steal to the value of forty shillings in a dwelling house, was rendered capital; and by a statute of queen Elizabeth, a theft of so small a sum as twelve pence, under certain circumstances, made a capital offence.

—As the necessities, the conveniences, and the luxuries of life had become dearer, the severity of the laws occasioned the frequent non execution of them. There was another circumstance to which he was desirous of calling the attention of the house; it was the case of persons, who, being accused of crimes, suffered imprisonment, took their trial, and then proved their innocence: there was no compensation for such persons, unless it could be shewn that the prosecution was malicious. He allowed that under the best system of criminal law, suspicion must sometimes light on the innocent man, and that the good of the public

public might require his confinement until his innocence should be ascertained. But he contended, that when it was ascertained, the sufferer should be compensated as far as it was practicable to compensate him. The merits of the person acquitted, and his right to indemnity might be determined by the judge before whom he was tried. Such a regulation would proceed on similar principles to those of 1802, relative to the prosecutions by which the judge was empowered, taking all the circumstances of the case under consideration, to order the treasurer of the county to make such compensation as justice demanded. He would therefore introduce a similar proposition into the bill, which he intended to propose on the subject. In the first place, however, he would move for leave to bring in a bill to repeal so much of the act of queen Elizabeth, as related to taking away the benefit of clergy from persons stealing privately from the persons of others. Leave was given to bring in the bill, and Sir Samuel Romilly met with great applause for turning his enlightened mind to the consideration of such subjects as those on which he had that evening addressed the house.

Sir Samuel also moved for leave to bring in a bill to provide in certain cases compensation to persons tried and acquitted in a criminal court for the damages sustained by them, in consequence of having been detained in custody and brought to trial. Objections of no inconsiderable weight were made to this proposal; but leave was given to bring in the bill.

In a committee of the whole

house, June 24, the solicitor general proposed a clause, declaring that stealing without a person's knowledge, whether privily from the person or not, as contradistinguished from robbery, should be punished by banishment for life, to be reduced at the discretion of the judge to any period not less than seven years; leaving it, however, optional with the judge, if the case should seem to merit it, to commute the punishment into imprisonment for any period not exceeding three years. The bill was passed with this Amendment.

Sir Samuel Romilly signified, that he did not mean to press the "acquitted person's compensation bill" any further, but that he should bring it forward early in the next session.

The necessity of some alteration in the constitution of the court of session in Scotland, had given birth to lord Grenville's bill relative to that subject, which fell to the ground through the change of ministry, and the prorogation and dissolution of parliament*. A bill for the better administration of justice in Scotland, was introduced in the present session by the lord chancellor Eldon, who, on the question for the second reading of the bill, April 8, explained its object.

It was proposed to divide the court of session into two chambers of seven and eight judges, to give those courts certain powers of making regulations with respect to proceedings, and with respect to interim executions whilst appeals were pending; and also to issue a commission to ascertain in what cases it might be proper to establish a trial by jury. He joined in

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* See Vol. XLIX. HIST. EUROPE, p. 148.

all those eulogiums which had been passed upon the trial by jury, and to which, in England, we felt that we owed our liberty and our happiness. But it did not follow that it was equally applicable to Scotland. Nor was it a politic or proper mode of proceeding to force that mode of trial upon a country where, in civil cases, its benefits were not understood or appreciated.

Lord Grenville still thought it would be better to divide the court of session into three chambers than two. And, with respect to trial by jury, he thought there ought to be a stronger recommendation of it in the bill than there was at present, a stronger indication of the opinion of the legislature in its favour.

Lord Melville referred to an opinion of lord Mansfield, respecting a proposition of lord Swinton, to introduce gradually the trial by jury in civil cases into Scotland; and said, that after the doubts expressed on this subject by that eminent lawyer, he (lord Melville) might well hesitate with respect to its policy. On the 25th June, the bill was read a third time and passed.

A law was also passed for enabling his majesty to grant annuities to the judges of the courts of session, justiciary, and exchequer of Scotland, who might retire after having served in either of these situations for fifteen years, or be disqualified from the discharge of their duty by any permanent infirmity. The annuities to be equal to three fourths of their salary.

Ever since the breaking out of the French revolution, an unusual degree of attention was paid by the higher orders, and all men of great property in Great Britain and Ire-

land, to the exterior of religion, and the ministers of religion. A bill, proposed by the joint labours of the bishop of London (Porteus), and the chancellor of the exchequer, was brought into parliament for the relief and support of the poorer clergy of the established church; the nature and object of which bill was explained by the bishop when he moved the second reading of the bill (which had passed in the house of commons) on the 27th of June in the house of lords. If he were disposed, he said, to take up their lordships' time, he might portray such scenes of distress amongst poor curates, as would make upon their minds a deep and melancholy impression. The present measure had for its object to provide a proper person to reside in those parishes which were deserted by their incumbents, where the living amounted to 400*l.* and upwards, and to allow out of that income one fifth for the support of that person so appointed to do the duty. There were many benefices of 1000*l.* 2000*l.* and some 3000*l.* a year.

But this provision of one fifth was adopted only till it amounted to 250*l.* a year. He considered that the living of every incumbent was conditional. The canons of the church, and various conventions, clearly shewed that bishops had a right to interfere with the whole living, by taking it from the incumbent who neglected to perform his duty, and granting it to another under their own appointment.

The bill was supported by lord Hatrowby and the earl of Suffolk; but opposed by the earl of Buckinghamshire, the earl of Moira, viscount Sidmouth, the earl of Lauderdale,

derdale, lord Hawkesbury, the archbishop of Canterbury, the bishop of Rochester, the bishops of Hereford and Carlisle, and the lord chancellor. The chief grounds on which it was opposed were, that it was a violation of private, and of the security of ecclesiastical property, while it tended to an indefinite enlargement of the power of the bishops, and that it was inadequate to the accomplishment of its object.

Lord Moira observed, that if this bill was to be defended on the ground, that a part of the rector's income had been apportioned to the curate on a former occasion, why, then, at a future time, (since according to what their lordships had just heard from a reverend prelate, bishops claimed in the point in question, an unlimited power) another bill might not be introduced, founded upon the present, to appropriate the whole of the incumbent's living. Even the act of 1796 in his mind, had been the cause of considerable hardships. There were livings as low as 100*l.* and yet 75*l.* out of that must be paid to the officiating curate.

The earl of Buckinghamshire observed, that it was to be recollected that advowsons were now bought and sold in the same manner as any other negotiable property. With what justice, then, could the legislature call upon a beneficed clergyman who had bought his living on a calculation of having the services of a curate at a certain price, to pay a still larger sum.

The earl of Lauderdale said, that perhaps the great origin of the evil proposed to be remedied by the bill, would be found in the frequency of ordination, and in calling

to that profession such numbers of young men, as it was impossible to provide for. It should be attributed to that glut of the commodity which the reverend prelates themselves occasioned. He also opposed the bill as laying a great weight on the possessor of a small living, at the same that it affected the rector with 2000*l.* a year, in a very trifling manner.

The archbishop of Canterbury did not consider the measure proposed as either oppressive in its operation, or a violation of the interests of the church. The power it gave to bishops was only similar to that with which they were invested in the early times of the constitution of the church. He cited the case of a bishop of Worcester, who was rebuked by the pope for not allowing a sufficient compensation to curates or vicars temporal, as they were then designated in his diocese. But though he was perfectly satisfied with the principle of the bill, there were some of the clauses which he thought would be attended with injurious effects, and introduce vexation and mischief. He should therefore vote that the bill be rejected.—The question on the third reading being called for, the bill was thrown out without a division.

Yet the object of the bill was not disapproved, or lost sight of. With a prospective view to some future bill,

The earl of Buckinghamshire moved, June 27th, that there be laid before the house, an account of the number of livings beyond the amount of 400*l.* per annum, distinguishing those where the incumbent resided, and those where a resident curate was employed.

Lord Harrowby proposed an amendment,

amendment, to leave out the words "distinguishing, &c." On the question that these words stand part of the bill, the house divided; Contents 28—Not Contents 19. Next day, June 28,

Lord Harrowby, pursuant to a notice he had given the day before, rose to submit a motion to their lordships, which was suggested to him by some observations that had been made during the discussion of this question. It was agreed, and seemed to be wished on all hands, that something should be done towards improving the condition of the inferior clergy. It had all along been his opinion, that the house was proceeding to legislate on a matter respecting which they had nothing like adequate information before them. This want of due information he was anxious to supply. And the object of his present motion, was to endeavour to ascertain the number of livings which were under 150*l.* per annum; how great would be the sum necessary to bring these small livings up to 150*l.* per annum; and how long the period of time, under the present circumstances, necessary for the attainment of that object. With a view to get at which, he moved an humble address to his majesty, praying he would be graciously pleased to direct that there be laid before the house, an account of the number of livings under 150*l.* per annum.

The archbishop of Canterbury expressed his thanks to the noble baron for the pains he had taken on this subject, and his readiness to co-operate with him in the prosecution of his object.

The earl of Moira also gave his hearty concurrence to the motion. So also did lord Hawkesbury, who assured his noble friend that every thing should be done by him to give effect to his laudable intentions and endeavours.

Nor was the kirk of Scotland forgotten. An Act was passed for defining and regulating the powers of the commission of teinds in augmenting and modifying the stipends of the Scotch clergy.

An act was also passed, for enforcing the residence of spiritual persons in Ireland on their benefices; and another to make more effectual provision for the building and re-building of chapels, churches, and glebe houses, and for the purchase of glebe lands, glebe houses, and impropriations in Ireland.

Though the petition of the Roman catholics of Ireland for complete emancipation from all disabilities whatever, civil or military, after the usual discussions, was rejected; a grant of 9,520*l.* was made for the current year, for the support of the Roman catholic college of Maynooth. In the course of the discussions that took place on this subject, Dr. Duigenan read the oath of the catholic priests, in order to shew that they paid an obedience to the pope, which was inconsistent with the king's supremacy. The provisions for the education of the established clergy, he observed, fell short of those proposed to be granted to the papists. There were in the university of Dublin 30 poor scholars, *who got but a dinner once a day**, and 72 scholars of the house that got a dinner once a day, but no lodgings.

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* The doctor, no doubt, meant one meal a day, which was their dinner. Even the fellows of Oxford and Cambridge, as far as we have been informed, dine but once a day.

The doctor described the catholics as bad subjects and hostile to the state.

Mr. Barham objected to the use of such language in speaking of four millions of his majesty's subjects.

The speaker declared, that the freedom of debate did not preclude such language.

Dr. Duigenan then repeated his former sentiments; and he declared that, if any one would move to withdraw the public aid altogether from Maynooth, he would second the motion.

The original grant to the Roman catholic college at Maynooth, was 8000*l*. In addition to this sum, the last parliament had voted 5000*l*. making in all 13,000*l*.†. Before this vote, however, could be carried into effect, that parliament was dissolved, and when the new parliament met, his majesty's present ministers wished to resort to the former sum. But finding that the trustees had acted upon the faith of receiving the larger sum, they had, for that one year, carried into execution the intention of their predecessors. The sum of 9,250*l*. considerably more than 8,000*l*. but still more considerably less than 13,000*l*. was a kind of compromise between contending opinions.

Mr. Grattan, and other members on the same side of the question, contended, that a provision for the education of 250 students would be insufficient to supply the vacancies, that would occur in the catholic clergy by deaths or casualties. By reducing the grant of 13,000*l*. a year, though some addition had been made to that of 8000*l*. the house

would secure the ignorance and prejudices of a great portion of the catholics.

The chancellor of the exchequer observed, that the memorial of the catholics, which had led to the establishment at Maynooth, claimed no pecuniary aid. The catholics promised to defray the whole expence themselves; and though the government and parliament gave them 8,000*l*. in aid of the object, that was no reason why the country should be subject to constantly increasing demands, for a purpose of which there was no precedent in any age or country, that of educating, at the public expence, the priesthood of a religion differing widely from the established one. He thought it was as much as could reasonably be asked, to educate 250 persons at the public expence; who, with 111 educated in a private manner, were an abundant supply for the catholic ministry. It was no part of religious toleration, Mr. Perceval said, to make provision for the education of the clergy of the tolerated sect. If it were so, the ministers of the methodists, anabaptists, and sandemanians, would on that ground have as good a claim to education as the catholic clergy.—This last observation of Mr. Perceval, is noticed on account of the remarkable reply that was made to it by Mr. Grattan.—“It was true, he said, the ministers of those sectarians were not educated at the public expence; but they were few in number in comparison of the catholics, who formed the great body of the people in Ireland.” To what calamities would not this principle of vesting political rights on the sole basis

* See vol. XLIX. HIST. EUR. p. 86.

basis of numbers lead, if it were pushed into all its just consequences? When the house, in the committee of supply, April 29, divided on the question, there appeared for the larger grant of 13,000*l.*—58,—For the latter of 9,250*l.*—93.

Among the most important and generally interesting laws enacted in this session of parliament, a distinguished place is occupied by the act to prohibit the distillation of spirits from corn or grain for a limited time. It may be recollected by our readers, that in the last session of the last parliament, the earl of Temple moved, in the house of commons, the appointment of a committee to consider of the possibility and propriety of permitting sugar and molasses to be used in distilleries and breweries; not to the exclusion of grain, but on principles of fair competition*. A committee was appointed; and it was stated by lord Binning, chairman of the committee, in the house of commons, May 19, that it had become necessary to ascertain how far the restriction of the distillers to the use of sugar and molasses would affect the agriculture of the country.

This investigation, he stated, had led to the knowledge of facts which established the wisdom and necessity of the restriction, exclusively of all consideration whatever of the interests of the West India islands; though the two questions could not indeed be separated. The committee finding that this country was generally dependent for a sufficient supply of corn and flour upon foreign countries, and

that this supply in the present state of Europe was cut off, without any prospect of a sufficient resource in the last year's crop of this country, thought it right, as a precaution against famine, to stop the distillation of corn, with a view to a ready and immediate, as well as a more ample and satisfactory supply of sustenance for the people. He entered into a variety of calculations to shew, that the saving by the prohibition of the distilleries would cover more than half the deficiency created by the stoppage of importation, and more than the whole importation of oats! Lord Binning concluded with moving, that the report of the committee of inquiry be referred to a committee of the whole house; and he anticipated, from the moderation and good sense of the gentlemen present, that the wishes of the committee would be carried into effect. After a long debate on the question for the speaker's leaving the chair, the house divided.—For the speaker's leaving the chair, that is, for going into a committee, 122.—Against it, 108. A great alarm was excited amongst the agriculturists throughout out the whole country, and many petitions were presented against the bill. In both houses of parliament it was opposed warmly, and not without plausible arguments, the most solid of which, in our judgment, was the tendency of the measure to prevent that accumulation of grain in the hands of the farmers, which in this country supplies the place of the magazines established in so many other countries. It tended, if long continued, or frequently repeated,

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* Vol. XLIX. (1807) Hist. Eur. p. 149.

to deprive the agriculturist of that market, which by creating a demand for more grain than the mere support of the population requires, induces him to raise more : to which superabundance, in case of a comparative failure of the crop, recourse can be had for supplying the extreme and claimant wants of the people. The bill, after a great struggle, was read a third time in the house of Lords and passed, on the 2d of July.

By this time the object that was paramount to all others in the public mind and heart was Spain.—The Spaniards, roused by the perfidious and base conduct of Buonaparte and his agents towards the royal family of Spain, to resentment, indignation, hatred, and revenge, had declared in every province, though without previous concert, simultaneously, and with one consent, their fixed resolution to avenge their wrongs, and free their country from the tyranny and contamination of the French, or to perish in the attempt; and deputies had come from the Junta and states of the principality of Asturias, to solicit the aid of the king and government of Great Britain and Ireland.

Mr. Sheridan seemed to be no more than the organ of the public sentiments and vows, when in the house of commons, June 15, he rose to call the attention of the legislature to the affairs of Spain, and their utmost exertions to the assistance of the Spaniards. "I am far, said he, from wishing ministers to embark in any rash or romantic enterprize in favour of Spain; but, sir, if the enthusiasm and animation, which now exists in

a part of Spain, should spread over the whole of that country, I am convinced that since the first burst of the French revolution, there never existed so happy an opportunity for Great Britain to strike a bold stroke for the rescue of the world. But, sir, it is said, 'if you do not distrust the administration, why discuss this subject in parliament!' Sir, I will tell you why. I am disposed to trust administration. But I wish first to declare, that, in my opinion, we must not deal in dribblets: we must do much or nothing. Why do I make this declaration? Because no cabinet which has hitherto existed in this country—not even excepting that with which I had the honour of being connected—has pursued simply and plainly one clear and distinct object. Instead of striking at the core of the evil, the administrations of this country have hitherto contented themselves with nibbling at the rind. In this censure, I must not include an honourable friend near me, nor Mr. Burke. They would have proceeded directly and completely to the object which they had in view, or they would not have advanced to it a step. But with these exceptions, the ministers of England have pursued a petty policy; they have gone about filching sugar islands, and neglecting all that was dignified, and all that was consonant to the truly understood interests of their country. I wish therefore, sir, to let Spain know, that the conduct which we have pursued we will not persevere in, but that we are resolved fairly and fully to stand up for the salvation of Europe. If a co-operation

tion with Spain be expedient, it should be an effectual co-operation. I repeat, that I am far from prompting his majesty's government to engage in any rash romantic enterprize; but if, upon ascertaining the state of the popular mind in Spain, they find it is warmed by a patriotic and enthusiastic ardour, then, sir, all I ask is, that that feeling should be met here with corresponding energy and enthusiasm. Buonaparte has hitherto run a most victorious race. Hitherto he has had to contend against princes without dignity, and ministers without wisdom. He has fought against countries in which the people have been indifferent as to his success; he has yet to learn what it is to fight against a country in which the people are animated with one spirit to resist him. So far, sir, from bringing forward a motion prematurely to embarrass his majesty's government, I solemnly declare, that, if the opportunity to which I have alluded of a vigorous interference on the part of England should arise, the present administration shall have from me as cordial and as sincere a support as if the man whom I most loved were restored to life and power.—Is this a vain discussion? Let those who think so look at the present state of Europe. Will not the animation of the Spanish mind be excited by the knowledge that their cause is espoused, not by ministers alone, but by the parliament and the people of England? If there be a disposition in Spain to resent the insults and injuries, too enormous to be described by language, which they have endured from the tyrant of the earth, will not that disposition be roused to the most

sublime exertion, by the assurance that their efforts will be cordially aided by a great and powerful nation? Sir, I think this a most important crisis. Never was any thing so brave, so generous, so noble, as the conduct of the Asturians. They have magnanimously avowed their hostility to France; they have declared war against Buonaparte; they have no retreat; they are resolved to conquer, or to perish in the grave of the honour and the independence of their country. It is that the British government may advance to their assistance with a firmer step, and with a bolder mien, that I have been anxious to afford this opportunity to the British parliament, of expressing the feelings which they entertain on the occasion. I move, sir, "That an humble Address be presented to his majesty, that he will be graciously pleased to direct that there be laid before this house, copies of such Proclamations as have been received by his majesty's secretary of state for foreign affairs, and which have been issued since the arrival of the French army at Madrid; whether by the Spanish government, the French commander in chief, or by persons since claiming to act on behalf of the Spanish nation."

Mr. secretary Canning admitted, that Mr. Sheridan's speech, being moderate, called for a general disclosure of the sentiments of his majesty's ministers as might be made without hazard, without a dishonourable compromise, and without exciting expectations, which might never be realized. He declared, that his majesty's ministers saw with a deep and lively interest, the noble struggle which a part of the

the Spanish nation was now making to resist the unexampled atrocity of France, and to preserve the independence of their country; and that there existed the strongest disposition on the part of the British government to afford every practicable aid in a contest so magnanimous. It would never occur to ministry that a state of war existed between Spain and Great Britain. They should proceed upon the principle that any nation of Europe that started up with a determination to oppose a power which, whether insidiously professing peace, or declaring open war, was the common enemy of all nations, whatever might be the existing political relations of that nation with Great Britain, became instantly our essential ally. In that event his majesty's ministers would have three objects in view. The first, to direct the united efforts of the two countries against the common foe. The second, to direct those efforts in a way that should be most beneficial to the new ally. The third, to direct those efforts in a manner conducive peculiarly to British interests: though the last of these objects would be left entirely out of the question when compared with the other two.

To Mr. Whitbread, who considered the third of these as narrow policy, subjecting the interests of the great cause to the minor concerns of Great Britain, Mr. Canning, very consistently indeed with what he had just declared, replied, that in this contest in which Spain was embarked, no interest could be so purely British as Spanish success; no conquest so advantageous for Britain, as conquering from

France; but it was deemed highly improper, not only by Mr. Canning and other ministerialists, but by Mr. Pensonby, and others on his side of the house, to communicate the information moved for to the world at the present moment.

Mr. Sheridan said, that his only object was, to awaken the country to the opportunity, which if the information from Spain was true, might lead to the rescue of Europe, and to the release of oppressed countries from the grasp of a ruthless conqueror. He had no objection to withdraw his motion, convinced that much benefit might accrue, even from the present discussion.

The same interesting subject was introduced into the house of peers, on the 30th of June, by the duke of Norfolk.

On the third reading of the stamp duties bill, the duke rose, not to oppose the bill, but at a moment when parliament was voting supplies for the current year, to avail himself of the privilege of a peer of parliament, and offer some advice to his majesty's ministers, which the present posture of affairs suggested to his mind. It was, however, by no means his wish to draw any answers from the ministers, which they should not deem it perfectly proper and safe to make. The most wanton ambition, the foulest perfidy, the most cruel oppression, had lately displayed themselves in Spain to a degree unparalleled, he believed, in any age or country. These excesses had inspired the Spaniards with becoming indignation and resentment, and they were now endeavouring to

to resist the power which was preparing to overwhelm them. There was no man but must wish success to a generous and gallant people, thus struggling in the glorious cause of national independence. No man, he was sure, could more cordially wish them success than he did, or would more willingly concur in the proper means of promoting and ensuring that success; but what were the most proper conditions, and the best mode of assisting the Spaniards? What part were his majesty's ministers prepared to act at so critical a juncture? They had at present in this country delegates from the brave people of Spain, who seemed determined to stem the torrent by which they were to be swept into servitude. From these and other sources, he hoped they might be able to collect the best information of the real state of that country, and of the probability of success, with which so bold and hazardous a struggle might be attended. With such information before them, what would be their conduct? This was the point that excited his anxiety.—Would they hold out encouragement and assistance to the Spaniards, who were now in arms against the invaders, before they saw any form of government established in the country with which they could communicate? Would they make common cause with the patriots of Spain, before they ascertained the principles on which they were acting, and the end which they were endeavouring to accomplish? He could not think it politic to embark in such a cause, without some previous knowledge of the designs of the Spanish patriots, without some

more definite determination of the grounds on which they were proceeding to act. He hoped ministers would take a lesson from past experience, and recollect the result of the interference of this country in La Vendee. He thought it his duty to throw out these hints, without expecting any detailed explanation of what might be the views and intentions of his majesty's government.

Lord Hawkesbury, after bestowing due praise on the candid and circumspect manner in which the noble duke had delivered his opinions on a point of such delicacy, said, that the people of Spain had manifested a spirit and determination to resist the attempts of their invaders, which would have done honour to the most glorious periods of their history, and which, perhaps, were not to have been expected under the pressure of such formidable difficulties. Such a scene, every man in that house, and in the country, must hail with the liveliest satisfaction. And what every generous heart must wish should be done, in support of so glorious a cause, his majesty's ministers would feel it their duty to do. With regard to what information they had received of the designs or the hopes of those brave and resolute men who, in defence of their country's independence, were exposing themselves to every thing that a powerful and sanguinary tyrant could devise and inflict, it could not be expected that he should now unfold it. His majesty's ministers were fully sensible of the extreme importance of this event; and, he trusted, they would be found to have acted accordingly.

House

House of Lords, 4th July.—By virtue of a commission, the royal assent was given to a number of bills: after which the lord chancellor, having delivered a speech in his majesty's name, to both houses*, prorogued parliament to the 20th of August. The concluding, and,

indeed, the greater part of the speech turned, as was natural, on the Spanish nation, loyally and nobly struggling against the tyranny and usurpation of France, and therefore no longer to be considered as the enemy, but the ally of Great Britain.

* See State Papers.

CHAP.

CHAP. VII.

Buonaparte intent on the Subjugation of Spain, by a combined Plan of Treachery and Force.—Divisions and Distractions in the Royal Family of Spain.—French Troops poured into Spain.—Spanish Ambassador at Paris, returns to Madrid with Instructions from Buonaparte.—A Conference between him and the King and Queen.—Preparations of the Royal Family to emigrate to Mexico.—General Murat advances with his whole Army to occupy Madrid.—Ferdinand VII. solicitous to conciliate the Favour of Buonaparte.—Report of Buonaparte's being on his way to the Spanish Capital.—Ferdinand persuaded to go to Burgos to meet him, and drawn on to Bayonne; whither all the rest of the Royal Family of Spain are also attracted.—Circumstances co-incident in point of Time with these Intrigues.—Description of the Frontier of Spain.—Fortresses and other Positions occupied by French Troops.—On what Pretences.—Report that the King was preparing to leave Aranjuez, with a View to Emigration.—Insurrection at Aranjuez.—The Prince of the Peace arrested and imprisoned.—Charles IV. abdicates his Throne in favour of the Prince of Asturias.—Proclaimed King under the Name of Ferdinand VII.—First Acts of Ferdinand's Reign.—Arrival and Reception of Murat at Madrid.—An Occurrence at Barcelona of a nature most suspicious and alarming to the Spaniards.—Patriotism of Count Espellata, Governor General of Catalonia.—Effects produced by the Journey of Ferdinand to Bayonne on the public Mind.—Interference of Murat, at the Instigation of Buonaparte, for the Release of the Prince of the Peace.—Universal Joy that had been excited at the Imprisonment of this Favourite.—His excessive Elevation contrasted with his Fall.—Arrival of Charles IV. and his Queen at Bayonne.—Visited by Buonaparte.

THE treaty of Tilsit, as observed in our last volume, was hardly concluded when Buonaparte, agreeably to what had been agreed on between himself and the emperor Alexander, turned his eyes to the west of Europe, and resolved on the subjugation of Spain and Portugal. In this, it may be presumed, he was actuated by a passion still more stimulative than his usual lust of conquest. His guilty mind, though perhaps impenetrable by the stings of remorse, could

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never be quiet so long as the sovereignty of a neighbouring, great, and glorious peninsula resided in the house of Bourbon. The reduction of that noble country under his own power, appeared to be necessary to the security of the thrones he had already usurped, and even to his personal safety.

In the combined plan of treachery and force, which he determined to pursue for the attainment of that object, it was his first care to foment discord in the royal family.

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The prince of Asturias had transmitted to his father a sketch of the administration of the prince of the peace, charging him with a notorious attachment and subserviency to France. Buonaparte, apprized of this, stimulated the minister to the proceedings at the Escorial, in the autumn of 1807; and then it was his policy to take the part of the oppressed prince against the ministerial oppressor. He set himself, by nourishing the ambition of the son, to excite the resentment of the father, and rendered them mutual objects of mistrust, jealousy, and hatred; to disarm the father from taking precautions against the son, while he still encouraged the son in his views of immediate succession; to seduce to his side all that was most respectable in Spain, or by infamous propositions and surmises, to subject them to popular suspicion; and, in a word, by striking a mortal blow at the head of government, and getting into his power, or under his influence, or debasing the great lords to whom the public eye might, at a great crisis, be naturally turned, to tear asunder all the bonds of the social compact, and plunge the defenceless nation into anarchy and confusion.

Buonaparte, during his affected journey to Italy*, towards the close of 1807, thought it now time to give an answer to letters he had received from the king of Spain, detailing the particulars of the mysterious arrest, and release of the prince of Asturias. In his answer, he denied his knowledge of that affair, or that he had ever received any letter from the prince: though

this answer did not accord with that afterwards transmitted by Buonaparte to Ferdinand, in which he formally declares, that he had received it. He yielded his consent, however, to the king's proposal of a marriage between the heir apparent and a French princess of Buonaparte's family, well foreseeing that this would afford a pretext for interfering in the private concerns of the royal family; and, at any rate, that it would withhold or withdraw their attention from ulterior measures for the fulfilment of his designs in the Peninsula. By this conduct also he hoped to gain the goodwill of the Spanish nation in general, as it had a tendency to convince them of the sincerity of his friendship for persons to whom they were so firmly attached. It was, further, calculated to give credit to the insinuations of his emissaries in Spain, that Buonaparte was secretly inclined to favour the cause of the prince of Asturias: while, through other channels, the minister, and favourite, Godoy, the prince of the peace, whose ambitious views must soon have been discovered by a person of Buonaparte's penetration, was privately encouraged to look forward to the protection of France, in the accomplishment of his nefarious projects.

By this mysterious conduct Buonaparte threw the king, the queen, the prince of Asturias, and the favourite into extreme disorder. And while they were all of them under this distraction, the French troops were suffered to spread themselves over a great portion of the Spanish territory.

* See Vol. XLIX. HIST. EUR. p. 278.

story. So far did this infatuation prevail in the administration that orders were issued for receiving and treating the French on a more liberal scale than even their own troops.

Many important posts in Spain, as well as the whole of Portugal, being now in the possession of the French, Buonaparte transmitted to the king of Spain a complaint, that no further steps had been taken in the affair of the marriage of the heir apparent with his relation. To this Charles replied, that retaining the same sentiments, he was desirous that the marriage might take place immediately. Some further proceedings were necessary to the maturation of Buonaparte's project, and not being willing to commit these to writing, he thought he could not find a fitter instrument than Don Eugenio Izquierdo, whom he had detained in Paris, in a state of great dejection and terror, artfully impressed upon him, that he might thereby be induced the more effectually to execute his commission, by inspiring the royal parents, and the favourite with the same feelings. Izquierdo was ordered to repair to Spain: which he did in a very mysterious and precipitate manner. According to his verbal statements he did not bring any proposal with him in writing. On his arrival, under these circumstances, at Aranjuez*, the favourite conducted him to the presence of the royal parents, and their conferences were conducted with so much secrecy, that it was impossible for any one to discover the object of his mission. But soon after

his departure from the Spanish capital, their majesties began to shew a disposition to abandon both the metropolis and the Peninsula, and to emigrate to Mexico.

The recent example of the determinations taken by the royal family of Portugal (which, as some have conjectured, was not uninfluenced by secret communications from France) induced Buonaparte to form a hope that the example of the court of Lisbon, in the present perplexing and alarming posture of affairs, might be followed by that of Spain. But scarcely had the first reports gone abroad of the intentions of the royal family of Spain to abandon the place of their residence, a resolution unequivocally indicated by the preparations which were going on, when discontent and fear were exhibited in the most lively colours in the features of all the inhabitants of the capital, and of all ranks and classes of persons. This alone was sufficient to induce their majesties to refute the rumour, and to assure the people that they would not abandon them. Nevertheless such was the general distrust, such the magnitude of the evils which must have ensued, and such and so many the symptoms of a fixed determination to emigrate, that every one was on the alert, and all seemed to be impressed with the necessity of preventing a measure fraught with so many mischiefs. The danger increased, and with this the fears of the people. A popular commotion burst forth at Aranjuez, on the 17th and 19th of March, like a sudden explosion; the people being actuated by a sort

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* One of the royal residences, situate on the banks of the Tagns, twenty-three miles to the southward of Madrid.

of instinct of self-preservation. The favourite who, without the title of king, had exercised all the functions of royalty, and who favoured the scheme of emigration, in the hope of withdrawing himself, and some portion, at least, of his enormous treasures from the vengeance of an oppressed and outraged people, was thrown into prison. Scarcely had this tempestuous scene taken place, when the royal parents, finding themselves deprived of the support of their favourite, the prince of peace, took the unexpected resolution which, according to Cevallos, they had for some time entertained, of abdicating their throne: which they accordingly did in favour of their son and heir the prince of Asturias*. Buonaparte, ignorant of this sudden event, and, perhaps, never supposing that the Spaniards were capable of such resolution, had ordered his brother in law, styled by him prince Murat, grand duke of Berg, to advance with his army towards Madrid, under the

idea, that the royal family were already on the coast ready to embark; and that, far from meeting the slightest obstacle on the part of the people, they would receive him with open arms as their deliver and guardian angel. He conceived that the nation was in the highest degree dissatisfied with their government, not reflecting that they were only dissatisfied with the abuses that had crept into the administration of it.

The instant that the grand duke of Berg was apprized of the occurrences at Aranjuez, he advanced with his whole army to occupy the capital of the kingdom: intending, no doubt, to profit by the occasion, and to take such steps as should seem best calculated to realize the plan of making himself master of Spain.

Meanwhile the mysterious obscurity of Buonaparte's projects, the proximity of his troops, and the ignorance in which Ferdinand VII. was of the real object of Buonaparte's approach, as was given out,

* According to a French newspaper, (and it is to be recollected that no newspaper is published in France not correspondent to the ideas and views of Buonaparte) one party in Spain accused the prince of peace of entering into a project with the queen herself, with whom he was universally believed to be a very particular and most intimate favourite, for the ruin of her son, the heir apparent, under the pretence of his having engaged in a plot for the dethronement of his father. The prince of Asturias, it was added, had been drawn into this conspiracy by the suggestions of his princess, his own cousin, a daughter of the king of the Two Sicilies, by a sister of the ill-fated Maria Antoinette of France. This princess, feeling the degraded situation in which her husband was held through the influence of the favourite Godoy over the sovereign, took, it was said, little pains to suppress her sentiments on the subject.—Her aversion to the French nation cannot be a matter of surprise, when we reflect on the indignities and miseries brought by them on her parents, and many other near relatives at Paris, at Milan, and at Florence. The queen could, besides, discover in the princess of Asturias, only a rising rival and a future mistress; of whose sentiments respecting her own conduct, public and private, she probably was not ignorant. Whatever may have been the cause, it is known that the queen and the princess had been for some time on no very amiable terms: so that when this young princess was snatched away by death in her early years, persons were not wanting to surmise that she had fallen a sacrifice to the arts of the queen, the favourite, and the French partizans at Madrid.

out, to Madrid, induced this prince to adopt such measures as appeared best calculated to conciliate his good will. Not satisfied with his having communicated his accession to the throne in the most friendly and affectionate terms, the king, Ferdinand, appointed a deputation of three grandees of Spain to proceed to Bayonne, and in his name to compliment his imperial majesty. He also appointed another grandee of Spain to pay a similar compliment to the grand duke of Berg, who had already arrived in the vicinity of Madrid.

One of the contrivances to which the French agent had immediate recourse, was, to assure the king, and to spread the rumour in all quarters, that his imperial majesty's arrival in Madrid might be expected every moment. Under this impression, the necessary orders were given for preparing apartments in the palace, suitable to the dignity of so august a guest. And the king wrote again to the emperor how agreeable it would be to him to be personally acquainted with his majesty, and to assure him with his own lips, of his ardent desire to strengthen more and more the alliance which subsisted between the two sovereigns.

The grand duke of Berg had, in

the mean time, entered Madrid at the head of his troops, and begun, without a moment's delay, to sow the seeds of discord. He spoke in a mysterious manner of the abdication of the crown, executed amidst the tumults of Aranjuez, and gave it to be understood, that until the emperor acknowledged Ferdinand VII. it was impossible for him to take any step that should appear like an acknowledgment, and that he was under a necessity of treating only with the royal father. This pretext did not fail to produce the effect which the grand duke intended. The royal parents, the moment they were informed of this circumstance, availed themselves of it to save the favourite, who remained in confinement; and in whose favour Murat professed to take an interest, for the sole purpose of flattering their majesties*, mortifying Ferdinand, and leaving fresh matter of discord between the parents and the son. In this state of things, the new king made his public entry into Madrid, without any other parade than the most numerous concourse of the capital and its environs, the strongest expressions of love and loyalty, and acclamations which sprung from the joy and enthusiasm of his subjects—a scene, says Cevallos †, (whom, with some abridgment, in

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this

* A letter from the queen to the grand duke of Berg, imploring his intervention for preserving the life of Godey, and breathing all the fond attachment and anxiety of an anxious old woman, will be seen in Appendix to the Chronicle, p. 240.

† Exposition of the practices and machinations which led to the usurpation of the crown of Spain, and the means adopted by the emperor of the French to carry it into execution, by Don Pedro Cevallos, first secretary of state, and dispatches to his catholic majesty, Ferdinand VII. There is not a little reason to suspect Cevallos of a versatility of character. After serving Charles IV. under the prince of the peace, he went into the service of Ferdinand, when Buonaparte appeared to favour that young prince. He accompanied his new master to Bayonne. He was there appointed to negotiate with the French agent, when Ferdinand was desired to resign

his

this part of our annals we follow) truly grand and impressive, in which the young king was seen like a father in the midst of his children, entering his capital, as the regenerator and guardian of the monarchy. Of this scene the grand duke of Berg was a witness: but far from abandoning his plan, he resolved to persevere in it with greater ardour. The experiment upon the royal parents produced the desired effect. But whilst Ferdinand, the idol of the nation, was present, it was impossible to carry the plan into execution. It was therefore necessary to make every effort to remove this prince from Madrid. To accomplish this object, the grand duke was extremely assiduous in spreading reports of the arrival of a fresh courier from Paris, and that the emperor might be expected speedily to arrive in the Spanish capital. He set himself, in the first place, to

induce the infant Don Carlos, to set out to receive his imperial majesty Napoleon, on the supposition that his royal highness must meet him before he should have proceeded two days on his journey. His majesty, Ferdinand, acceded to the proposal. The grand duke had no sooner succeeded in procuring the departure of Don Carlos, than he manifested the most anxious desire that the king should do the same, leaving no means untried to persuade his majesty to take this step, assuring him that it would be attended by the happiest consequences to the king and the whole kingdom.

At the same time that the grand duke of Berg, the French ambassador, and all the other agents of France, were proceeding in this course, they were, on the other hand, busily employed with the royal parents to procure from them a formal

his crown on certain conditions. But according to his own statement, being found too inflexible a counsellor, he was dismissed with much insolence from the French government. Nevertheless, when Joseph was nominated king, he went with him to Madrid, in the capacity of his prime minister. Then finding that the national tide of Spain flowed with a strong, and, as he thought, with an irresistible current, counter to the usurper, he returned, immediately, to the service of his former master. We therefore entirely agree in opinion with a writer in the Edinburgh Review, that with regard to Cevallos himself, it is not enough to say, that after all his pretended protestations against the unprincipled violence and insulting usurpation of the French court, he was asked to accept of the place of first minister to King Joseph Napoleon, and that he accepted of that offer. There is no honest man to whom his own statement of these two leading facts will not be quite satisfactory, and perfectly conclusive, as to the personal character of Don Pedro Cevallos. Yet we cannot withhold, any more than this reviewer, "our belief from the story he tells of the insolence and the outrageous usurpations of Buonaparte. It bears upon it the intrinsic character of truth. It corresponds exactly, not only with the general character of the persons represented, but with the visible exterior of the transaction it professes to detail—barefaced and unblushing falsehood, and open ferocious violence."—Edinburgh Review, October 1808, p. 217. The scattered fragments tally with one another, so as to form a regular edifice. It would not be credible of any one but of Buonaparte, of whom it has been said, that he "unites the impetuosity of the French, the treacherous subtlety of the modern Italian, and the ferocious and sanguinary temper of the Corsicans." The circumstances mentioned would scarcely have been introduced into a fictitious narrative, mixing, like other fictions, its credibility by a conformity to what is generally known of human nature.—*Inhumana crudelitas, perfidia, plus quam furia.* Besides, the facts of any importance in the narrative of Cevallos, are too recent and notorious to be disputed.

a formal protest against the abdication of the crown. His majesty, Ferdinand VII. being incessantly urged to go to meet the French emperor, painfully hesitated between the necessity of performing an act of courtesy, which he was assured would be attended with such advantageous results, and his reluctance to abandon his loyal and beloved people in such critical circumstances. Cevallos declares, that in this embarrassing situation, his constant opinion, as the king's minister, was, that his majesty should not leave his capital until he should have received certain information that the emperor had actually arrived in Spain, and was on his way and near to Madrid; and that even then he should only proceed to a distance so short as not to render it necessary to sleep one night out of his capital. His majesty persisted for some days in the resolution of not quitting Madrid, until he should receive certain advice of Napoleon's approach. And he would have probably continued in that determination, had not the arrival of general Savary added greater weight to the reiterated solicitations of the grand duke, and the ambassador Ricasens. General Savary was announced as the envoy from the emperor, and in that capacity he demanded an audience from the king, which was immediately granted. Savary professed that he was sent by the emperor merely to compliment his majesty, and to know whether his sentiments with respect to France were conformable to

those of the king his father; in which case the emperor would forego all considerations of what had passed, in no degree interfere in the internal concerns of the kingdom, and immediately recognize his majesty as king of Spain and the Indies. The most satisfactory answer was given to general Savary, and the conversation was continued in terms so flattering, that nothing more could have been desired. The audience terminated with an assurance, on the part of Savary, that the emperor had already left Paris, that he was near Bayonne, and on his way to Madrid.

Scarcely had general Savary left the audience chamber, when he began to make the most urgent applications to the king to meet the emperor, assuring him that this attention would be very grateful and flattering to his imperial majesty. And he affirmed so repeatedly, and in such positive terms, that the emperor's arrival might be expected every moment, that it was impossible, Cevallos observes*, not to give credit to his assertions. The king at length yielded. The day appointed for his departure arrived. General Savary, affecting the most zealous and assiduous attention to his majesty, solicited the honour of accompanying him on his journey, which, at the farthest, according to the information which he had just received of the emperor's approach, could not extend beyond Burgos.

The king, during his absence, supposed to be only for a few days, left at Madrid a supreme junta of government,

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* From this anxious repetition of solemn assurances, a man acquainted with courts, the world, and human nature, might have been apt to draw a contrary conclusion.

† An assembly or board of commissioners.

government, consisting of the secretaries of state, usually five in number, the president of which was his uncle, the infant Don Antonio.—General Savary, in a separate carriage, followed the king to Burgos. But the emperor not having arrived there, the king, urged by the earnest and pressing entreaties of general Savary, proceeded to Vittoria. The general, convinced that his majesty had resolved to proceed no farther, continued his journey to Bayonne, with the intention, no doubt, of acquainting the emperor of all that had passed, and of procuring a letter from him, which should determine the king to separate himself from his people. At Vittoria, his majesty received information that Napoleon had arrived at Bourdeaux, and was on his way to Bayonne, where, in fact, he arrived with his spouse, on the 15th of April. While the French troops were making suspicious movements in the neighbourhood of Vittoria, general Savary made his appearance in that city, with a letter to Ferdinand, from the emperor of the French, dated at Bayonne, April 16th*. To the contents of this letter, general Savary added so many and such vehement protestations of the interest which the emperor took in the welfare of his majesty and of Spain, that he even went so far as to say, "I will suffer my head to be cut off†, if, within a quarter of an hour after your majesty's arrival at Bayonne, the emperor shall not have recognized you as king of Spain and the Indies.

To support his own consistency, he will probably begin by giving you the title of highness, but in five minutes he will give you that of majesty, and in three days every thing will be settled, and your majesty may return to Spain immediately." The king, after some hesitation, determined to proceed to Bayonne‡.

Scarcely had the king of Spain set foot on the French territory, when he remarked, that no one came to receive him, until on his arrival at St. Jean de Luz, the mayor, attended by the municipality, made his appearance. The carriage stopped, and the mayor addressed his majesty in the most lively expressions of joy, at having the honour of being the first to receive a king, who was the friend and ally of France. Soon after he was met by the deputation of three *grandeess*, who had been sent off by Ferdinand before to meet the French emperor; and their representation, with respect to the intentions of Napoleon, were not of the most flattering nature. He was now, however, too near Bayonne to think of changing his course; wherefore he continued his journey. There came out to meet the king, the prince of Neufchatel, and Duroc, marshal of the palace, with a detachment of the guard of honour, which the citizens of Bayonne had formed to attend his majesty Napoleon, and they invited his majesty to enter Bayonne, where a place had been prepared for his residence; which he did on the 20th of April.

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* See this letter in appendix to Chronicle, p. 227.

† The style of this protestation, which is that of a low bred Russian, strongly marks the contrast between the court of France under the Bourbons, and under the sanguinary Usurper.

‡ Cavallos does not fail to assert here, that this fatal step was taken by his majesty contrary to his counsels, and those of other persons in his train, as well as to the supplications of the loyal city of Vittoria.

The residence prepared for the king appeared to all, and was, in reality, but little suited to the guest who was to occupy it. This remarkable and expressive neglect formed a striking contrast with the studied magnificence with which the king had prepared for the reception of his ally at Madrid. While the king was taken up with doubts concerning the meaning of a reception he so little expected, he was informed that the emperor was on his way to pay him a visit. His imperial majesty arrived, accompanied by a number of his generals. The king went down to the street door to receive him, and both monarchs embraced each other with every token of friendship and affection. The emperor of the French staid but a short time with his majesty, and they embraced each other again at parting. Soon after, Marshal Duroc came to invite the king to dine with the emperor, whose carriages were coming to convey the king to the castle of Marrac, about the distance of a mile and an half from Bayonne, where his imperial majesty resided, which accordingly took place. Napoleon came as far as the steps of the coach to receive his majesty; and having embraced him again, led him by the hand to the apartment provided for him.

Leaving, for a little, the simple and ill-fated Ferdinand in the hands of Buonaparte, like Montezuma in those of Pizarro, we return to notice certain circumstances coincident with the main action in the drama, in point of time, and connected with it by other relations; which circumstances were either altogether foreign to the design of Ovallós, or only glanced at in his

exposition in an incidental and the slightest manner; which was sufficient for his purpose.

From the period of the defection of Spain, in 1796, according to the treaty of Basle, from the general coalition of European powers against France, Spain had shewn herself so entirely submissive to the various rulers of that distracted country, as to appear rather in the light of a subordinate province than an independent state, and that even in the closest bonds of amity and alliance. The loss of fleets and colonies, the complete interruption of all maritime commerce, and of all regular and certain communication with her transatlantic possessions, on which she more immediately depended for revenue than any other European state in similar circumstances, nor repeated demands of pecuniary aid, nor the aggregate of the whole of these considerations, had been able to rouse the Spanish government from this degrading state of lethargic subservience. A government and nation that seemed so devoid of spirit and understanding, naturally tempted the unbounded ambition of the men who, since the end of the year 1799, reigned with despotic sway in France, Italy, and part of Germany. The treaty concluded at Tilsit in the summer of 1807, as has been related in our last volume, had not only terminated the war between Russia and France, but connected the emperor Alexander with Buonaparte, by ties so intimate that, instead of apprehending from him any obstruction or interruption in the execution of his projects, he depended on the watchful exertions of his new ally to avert any hostile attempt, if such could really

really have been apprehended, on his dominions, or those of the confederated states under his protection, and, it may be added, not only his influence but authority. As he had provided for security in his rear, so he had smoothed the way before him. His ultimate projects in the Peninsula were so dextrously concealed or disguised, by professions of the sincerest friendship*, and pretended plans for the partition and settlement of Portugal, thereby to secure to Spain a free communication with her Atlantic possessions, that the prince then on the throne of Spain, Charles IV. was far from imagining that his great ally beyond the Pyrenees could possibly entertain any design hostile to the interests of his crown and dominions. On the contrary, Charles, by a woeful infatuation, was induced to connect himself by special treaties with Buonaparte, for the express purpose of assisting him in seizing the continental possessions of the queen of Portugal, with whom he had been long united by the firmest bonds of intermarriage, consanguinity, and ancient alliance†. Not only the nature and object of such treaties ought to have awakened the Spanish monarch to a sense of his situation, but also the circumstance that they had been conducted by means of a private negotiator sent to the court of France, unauthorized and unknown to that branch of the Spanish administration to which all similar negotiations were wont to be communicated, and entrusted.

Agreeably to the tenour of these secret engagements with Buonaparte, while the flower of the Spanish army had been transferred to the north of Germany‡, with a view, no doubt, to the project now going forward, bodies of French troops were speedily accumulated at different points of the northern frontier of Spain; of which frontier it may be proper here to give a brief description.

The noble Peninsula, comprehending Spain and Portugal, is washed on all sides by the sea, is joined to France by an isthmus 250 miles in breadth, across which the line of demarcation between the countries is formed by the Pyrenees, a chain of mountains the second for elevation in Europe, extending from the angle of the Bay of Biscay in a south easterly direction, to their abutment on the Mediterranean. Across the Pyrenees frequent lateral vallies present communications between France and Spain; of which, however, from political, but chiefly from natural obstacles, none have been made practicable for carriages except two; one at each extremity of the range. At the western extremity the road from Bayonne follows the sea coast to the river Videssos, there separating the two countries, over which a ferry carries the traveller into Spain at Trun, a small open town, a couple of miles below which, at the mouth of the Videssos, stands the town and fortress of Fontarabia, one of the keys of Spain, and a place of importance until the secession

* In a French newspaper, February 1808, is an article, stating, that fifteen superb horses, richly caparisoned, had passed through Bayonne, in their way to Madrid, sent by Buonaparte as a present to the king of Spain.

† See Vol. XLIX. HIST. EUR. p. 278.

‡ p. 22.

cession of the house of Bourbon to the throne of that kingdom. From the Vidassoa, the road leads in a slanting direction to the south-west, gradually ascending the mountains for fifty miles, and then crossing the ridge, descends into the plain of the Ebro, there passed, not either by a bridge or a ford, but by a ferry, although nearly 300 miles from its junction with the Mediterranean. From the Ebro the road bends round to the westward by Burgos, Valladolid, and Segovia to Madrid, distant 300 miles from the frontier of France. The communication from France to Spain at the eastern extremity of the Pyrenees, proceeds from Perpignan, across the plain of Roussillon to the foot of the mountains, there washed by a deep and rapid torrent, then up a winding valley to the summit of the Gorge of Bellegarde, which divides France from Spain, and is completely commanded by the fortress of that name, impending over its western side. The descent on the south, shorter than that on the north, brings the traveller to La Tuniquera, a small village, and the first place in Spain. The mountains there consisting of only one ridge, the distance across from plain to plain, by the road, is only about five miles. From La Tuniquera the road gradually approaches the coast of the Mediterranean, passing by Figueras and Girona to Barcelona, and thence by Lerida and Saragossa to Madrid, distant by this route 360 miles from the frontier.

Another much frequented pass, but fit only for mules and horses, is situated in the road leading south from Bayonne to Madrid by Pam-

peluna, the shortest course to that capital.

In addition to the natural rampart of the Pyrenees, the Spanish government had not neglected, in former times, to strengthen certain positions commanding the most practicable entrances into the kingdom. The fortress of Fontarabia, at the mouth of the Vidassoa, was already mentioned. Twelve miles farther westward, on a low isthmus between two small bays, stands St. Sebastian, a much frequented seaport. It is surrounded with walls, besides which, it is defended with bastions and half moons; and the lofty peninsular, and rocky hill which connects the isthmus with the main land, is crowned with an ancient castle of great natural strength, commanding the town, and the inlets of the sea on each side.

Access to the interior of Spain, by the direct road from Bayonne, across the Pyrenees to Madrid, is barred by the town and fortress of Pampeluna, situated on a slight elevation, partly surrounded by a small river in the midst of a long plain, from two to three miles in breadth. The town is inclosed by slight works, adapted to the form of the ground: but the citadel is a regular fortress, connected with the town, which is well supplied with every thing necessary, and garrisoned; and although, at certain points, perhaps too near to some high grounds, yet not to be carried but by a numerous attacking army, after a long and formal investment.

France, by means of the fortress of Bellegarde, being in possession of the eastern pass of the Pyrenees, Spain has formed at Figueras, a small

a small town eight miles from the foot of the mountains, a very considerable work on a regular plan*, completely commanding all the surrounding country, and qualified to make a long resistance to a very numerous army. About twenty miles to the southward of Figueras stands Gerona, a considerable town, defended by respectable works, on an eminence, washed by the river Ter. From this place the country is open all the way to Gerona, ninety miles distant from the frontier. Barcelona is situate on the margin of an extensive plain, is highly cultivated, and very populous. It had been fortified in the ancient fashion, but the works, during the last century, have been much neglected. A citadel of respectable strength was added at the north east extremity of the town, ostensibly for its protection, but it was imagined at the time, with a view to repress all attempts of the town's people, and the inhabitants of the neighbouring country, to throw off the yoke of the house of Bourbon; against which they had struggled with great perseverance during the war of the succession. At the opposite extremity of the town rises a detached conical hill of considerable height, overhanging the sea, called Montjuich, crowned with an ancient castle, strengthened with additional works of later times. This position is of great natural strength, commanding the town,

the adjoining plain, and the harbour; which is formed by a bending, low neck of land, lined with a noble mole of great extent, enclosing space for a great number of vessels. The water, however, is too shallow for receiving large ships of war, the sand constantly accumulating at the entrance, as happens in all harbours destitute of a river, or other backwater to keep them open. Barcelona contains about one hundred thousand inhabitants.

Ninety miles westward from Barcelona, on the way to Madrid, stands Lerida, on the west bank of the Segre, occupying the eastern slope, and the confined summit of a small detached hill, commanding a rich and well cultivated plain. Lerida, once a place of importance, while Spain was parcelled out among a number of princes, has long ceased to be a place of much consequence, and its ancient fortifications are now fast hastening to decay. Such are the principal points of defence of the northern frontier of Spain against attacks by land.

The French forces assembled on the borders of Spain, remained but a short time inactive. Early in the year, a corps entered Catalonia, and on the 16th of February, obtained possession of the town and citadel of Barcelona, with the impregnable position of Montjuich. It had been industriously spread through Spain, that the French troops were destined to assist in de-

* The fortress of Figueras was overlooked by three hills, two of which were within gunshot, and the third within the reach of bombs. Any other nation would have determined on fortifying these hills; but the Spaniards thought that it would be more simple, and serve the same purpose, to lower them. In 1807, two of them were reduced below the fire of the fortress, and they were proceeding leisurely to level down the third. This is a just exemplification of the Spanish character, which unites enthusiasm with patience, constancy, and perseverance.

sending the coast against any insult from the British army or navy. Advantage had been taken of the national feelings to lull the Spaniards into security, by asserting that one great object of their powerful allies would be the reduction of Gibraltar, and its restoration to its ancient and natural masters. Whispers and surmises too were industriously circulated of an intended invasion of Algiers and Morocco.

The mask was, however, soon thrown aside, and the French army, which had advanced to Barcelona, pretending only to halt for a few days for refreshment, before they should proceed on their march to the southern provinces, availing themselves of the alliance between the two nations, and of the unsuspecting confidence of the inhabitants, and even of the garrison of the place, seized without bloodshed, and without difficulty, the citadel, Monjuich, and every other important post. The garrison of Monjuich, reported to have amounted to about six thousand men, retired, and made way for the French without a struggle; a fascination hardly credible; and indeed the whole conduct of the Spanish commanders at Barcelona remains involved in mystery and suspicion.

The fortress of St. Sebastian and Figueras were seized by the French in a similar way. At Pampeluna, however, they experienced a different reception. On the arrival of a French officer at the head of a body of troops from Bayonne, before Pampeluna, demanding admission and possession of the place, the governor, whose garrison had for different reasons been much reduced, refused to comply with this demand, until orders should ar-

rive from his own government. —The French commander then brought forward a body of three thousand men, and compelled the Spaniards, after a severe conflict, to surrender.

The French armies that had entered Spain, instead of proceeding to their pretended destination, remained inactive on the banks of the Ebro, many miles from Madrid. Messengers passing to and from that place indicated the existence of negotiations, but their object was unknown. The Spanish troops recalled from Portugal, were rapidly advancing towards the capital. The court seemed in the greatest anxiety and uncertainty, the orders of one day being uniformly countermanded by those of the following. The administration of public affairs seemed to be arrested in its course.

While matters were in this state, on the 15th of March a report was disseminated that the king was preparing to leave Aranjuez for Seville, with a view to emigrate to his American dominions, and that the troops recalled from Portugal were destined to cover his retreat; that a numerous council had been assembled on the subject, in which, though the opinions were nearly balanced, it had been decided to undertake the journey; that the queen, and the favourite, Godoy, had avowed their desire to depart, but that the prince of Asturias opposed the design. The troops quartered in Madrid, had at the same time received orders to March.

But when the public alarm was at its height, on the 16th of March the king issued a proclamation, thanking his subjects for the marks they had shewn of attachment

ment to his person, and explained the objects of the French troops, which had entered his dominions with the most friendly purposes, to assist in defending the country against the common enemy. The assembling of his guards it was stated, was solely for the purpose of protecting his person and family, and not for accompanying him on a journey, which none but evil-minded persons could suppose to have been projected. The king closed this very extraordinary publication, with directing the people to conduct themselves as they had hitherto done towards the troops of his great and good ally.

On the following day, March 17th, when the Spanish guards were to leave Madrid, the inhabitants crowded round them, beseeching them not to abandon their native country, for the purpose of securing the flight of a prince who sacrificed his subjects to private considerations.

"Do you think," said they, "we have no more spirit than the people of Lisbon?"

Some of the ministers themselves, who opposed the king's retreat, distributed circular notices in the neighbouring villages, informing the inhabitants of what was going forward, and of the danger to which the country would consequently be exposed.

On the 18th of March, the people poured along the road to Aranjuez. Relays for the king's carriages had been provided on the way to Seville. The village of Aranjuez was crowded with troops; and the baggage of the court lay already packed up in the apartments of the palace. The preceding night had been busily spent in

preparation. The residence of the prince of the peace was protected by his proper guards, (for to such a point of dignity he had been exalted) with a peculiar countersign, while those of the palace had another. At four o'clock in the morning of the 19th, the people rushed in crowds to the favourite's hotel, but they were driven back by his guards, who in their turn were driven back by the king's body guards, that had ranged themselves on the side of the people. Godoy's doors were forced; the furniture was broken; the apartments were laid waste; the princess, his spouse, daughter of Don Antonio, and niece to the king of Spain, appeared on the stairs, and was conveyed by the people with all the respect due to her birth and rank, to the king's palace. The favourite himself had disappeared, and his brother Don Diego Godoy, commandant of the king's body guards, was arrested by his own troops.

Their majesties, who had not retired to rest during the night, were early in the morning visited by the French ambassador, and soon after appeared a proclamation, in which the unfortunate sovereign was made to say, that having resolved to take upon himself the command of his forces by land and sea, he had thought it proper to relieve Godoy of the duties of generalissimo, and permit him to retire to whatever place he might choose.

When this was known in Madrid, the people attacked the houses of Godoy, and of certain ministers of state attached to his party, and destroyed the furniture without opposition, on the part of either the magistrates, or the two Swiss regiments in the Spanish service, then quartered

quartered in the town. The prince of the peace was at last discovered in a garret, where he had been concealed for six and thirty hours, and committed to the closest custody in the common jail.

In the midst of these disorders the king, on the 19th of March, at Aranjuez, published a declaration, signed, as usual, by himself, stating, that on account of his constant infirmities, and of the necessity he felt of withdrawing himself from the burthen of public affairs to a private life, in a climate better adapted than that of Madrid to the state of his health; he had, after the most deliberate consideration, resolved to abdicate the crown in favour of his well beloved son and heir, the prince of Asturias. It was likewise directed, that this decree of his *free and spontaneous* abdication should be instantly and punctually obeyed by all his subjects. Cevallos laboured to shew that this abdication was, in truth, free and unconstrained. But this has very reasonably been made a question.

The first act of the new king Ferdinand VII. was to publish a manifesto, declaring his own innocence and that of his ministers, and stating the nature of the papers and cyphers found in his apartment at the Escorial, in the month of October last. Among his first acts also, was one confiscating all the property of every description, belonging to the prince of the peace.

At the same time, he appointed the duke of Infantado, a wealthy and popular nobleman, of the first class, and particularly attached to the interest of the new sovereign, and of England, to the important station

of the president of the great council of Castille, the first tribunal of the kingdom. To him also he committed the command of the Spanish life guards. Many salaries and pensions, which had long remained unpaid, were instantly discharged out of the funds of the late favourite.

On the 25th of March, Ferdinand, already proclaimed king, made his public entry into Madrid, which was by this time under the power of the French.

The circumstances that induced Buonaparte to order Murat, who commanded the French forces in Spain to advance from the line of the Ebro to the capital, have already been stated in our abridged account of the exposition of Cevallos; as well as the means by which the grand project of getting possession of the royal family of Spain was effected.

The grand duke of Berg had, March 23d, entered Madrid, at the head of his army. The cavalry and a division of infantry were quartered within the town, whilst other divisions were encamped on the rising grounds in the neighbourhood. A corps under general Dupont was stationed at Segovia and the Escorial. This army, which amounted to 54,000 men, according to the French newspapers of that day, was received by all ranks of people with the greatest joy. "Above all things, the Spaniards admired the fine condition the French troops were in, and particularly the beauty of the regiment of cuirassiers. The grand duke descended from his carriage at the Admiralty. The governor of Madrid, the *grandees* of Spain, and the troops in garrison at Madrid, presented themselves before him to pay

pay their respects. The duke received them with *much affability*. Tranquillity is completely re-established at Madrid."

While the governor and garrison of Madrid, and the grandees of Spain, submitted to this act of self-degradation: the mass of the people felt with pain the state of humiliation into which their country had fallen. They could not rest, but moved about in groups from place to place, in dejection and anxious consternation, insomuch that the new government deemed it necessary, for preventing tumults, and preserving the tranquillity of the city, to issue orders, April 3d, to the patrols, that had been established on the 20th of March, to continue their rounds. All keepers of public houses were ordered to shut them up before eight o'clock at night. Manufacturers and commercial people, were ordered to continue their people in their usual employment, to keep them constantly at work, and to send the names of all absentees from their usual offices to the police magistrates*. Masters of families were earnestly enjoined by their advice, and above all, by their example, to restrain their children and domestics from mixing with crowds, and joining in any uproar.

A second decree assured the public, that the recent resolution was calculated to cement and strengthen the alliance with France, and enjoining all persons to treat the French troops with the greatest respect. Another edict expressed the utmost satisfaction at the friendly

manner in which the French troops had been received by the Spaniards; but the greatest regret and sorrow, at the conduct of certain individuals, which had a tendency to interrupt the good understanding that happily subsisted between the nations, and to excite an *unjust and ridiculous distrust* of the designs of the French troops in Spain. Such sentiments either expressed by words or deeds were to be severely punished.

It has been uniformly the policy of Buonaparte, to reconcile the public mind of individual nations, and of Europe, to the execution of his projects, by preparing it to expect them, and to consider things as matters of course, and not to be avoided. The *Moniteur* and other French newspapers represented the Spaniards not only as over-joyed at the presence of French troops, but in letters pretended to have been received from inhabitants of Madrid, state it as the opinion of the most sensible Spaniards, that in the present situation of affairs it was the interference of the French emperor alone, (whose speedy approach had been publicly announced by the grand duke of Berg, in general orders to his army) that could save them.

At the desire of Buonaparte, intimated to the first secretary of state, Don Pedro Cevallos, the sword that Francis I. king of France, surrendered in the famous battle of Pavia, in the reign of the emperor Charles V. of Spain, which had been kept in the royal armoury since 1525, was by order of

* It has been conjectured, with great probability, that it was a contrivance of this sort for maintaining order in critical times, that gave rise to the famous division of the people into casts, in India.

of Ferdinand, on the 5th of April, remitted to his imperial and royal majesty Napoleon, at Bayonne.—

"In consequence of the royal order, (it was stated in the *Madrid gazette*) which was given to his excellency the marquis of Astorga, groom-major to his majesty, the conveyance of the sword to the lodgings of his imperial highness the grand duke of Berg, was arranged with great pomp and ceremony."

This surrender of the sword, formed a presage, and was indeed a kind of emblem of that of the crown. All the civilities, compliances, and submissions of the Spanish court did not long secure a suitable return of civility and complaisance, on the part of their French allies, guests, and invaders.

The altercation and sparring, and even some encounters that terminated in death, which, notwithstanding all the anxious precautions of the Spanish government, took place between many individuals of the different nations, might have been accounted for from the natural levity and arrogance of the French character, and the pride of the Spaniards, awakened by jealousy and suspicion.

But, about the middle of March, an occurrence took place at Barcelona, which if the hostile designs of the French government could possibly have appeared unequivocal before, rendered them as plain as noon day. General Duhesme, commander in chief of the French army of observation, of the Eastern Pyrenees, had been for some time busily employed in throwing great quantities of ammunition and provisions into the forts of Barcelona and Monjuich. The count of

Espellata, captain general of Catalonia; in a letter dated at Barcelona, 18th of March, remonstrated with the general on this suspicious and alarming movement. "The troops," said he, "that occupied the citadel, and the fortress of Monjuich, might have considered all the houses of Barcelona as so many magazines, and the provisions they contained as their own. There was no enemy to excite apprehension; nor any thing to be expected in which the inhabitants of the town were not as much interested as the troops in garrison. Your excellency occupied the fortresses in the name of the emperor and king as an ally; and it was only on the faith of this that the Spanish government consented to its occupancy. It was under the same impression, that the town opened to you and your people its treasures, and resources of every kind, which you have received in the bosom of our families. The city gave you an honourable reception, and shared with you the provisions destined for their own use. Military law prescribes the mode of provisioning garrisons when engaged in actual hostilities, or besieged, or when the country is threatened with famine. In such cases the general is under a necessity of taking measures of precaution for the subsistence of his troops, by the formation of magazines. But, where circumstances of this kind do not exist, such measures are calculated only to excite suspicion and mistrust. Neither my conduct, nor the constant moderation of my troops, nor the favourable reception accorded to the French army, is calculated to give any ground of alarm.

"The town is provided with necessaries

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cessaries of every sort, as you will see by the official statements signed by the intendant; and, even if we should fall short of some articles, your excellency has given me the strongest assurance that preparations are at this moment going on in the ports of France, for supplying this place with provisions free from all duties. When his majesty the emperor and king, whose great name inspires us with confidence, at the same time that our fortresses are occupied by his troops, shall be informed of our pliability and honourable principles, it will not be with pleasure that he will be told, that this city, in return for its deference and conduct, has been alarmed by terrible menaces and preparations. Your excellency will be pleased to learn from his imperial majesty, what he thinks of your design before you carry it into execution, accompanying your request with this explanation of my sentiments on the subject; as I also, on my part, shall lay the whole of this matter before the king my master, without whose orders I cannot accord to your excellency what the forts occupied by the Spanish troops have not themselves.

"If, before receiving orders from the emperor, your excellency should see any reason for living with precaution, and under the influence of fear in fortresses to be considered, at present, as forming part of the city, then indeed it may be proper to have recourse to the measures you propose. But as, at present, there was no necessity for any such measure, I wish to impress your mind with a conviction, that to

establish magazines, and form considerable depôts of provisions in the forts cannot serve any good purpose; that such an intention is remarkable, calculated to rouse attention, and offensive; and that it may not perhaps be in your excellency's power, nor mine, to remedy the consequences which such a fermentation must excite among the inhabitants."

This letter of count Espellata, copies of which were handed about in Madrid, and over all Spain, met with general sympathy and applause, and contributed very much to raise and heighten the national sentiment of resentment and indignation against the French and the French party.

It is one among the numerous instances of a striking contrast between the spirit and energy of the Spanish people, and the listlessness, and blind imbecility of government, and too many of the higher orders, which have hitherto been apparent in the course of the Spanish revolution.

This is the letter to which Buonaparte particularly alludes, in his letter of the 16th of April, to the prince of Asturias, in which he has the effrontery to say:—"I see with pain that some persons at Madrid have disseminated certain letters of the captain general of Catalonia, and done every thing to excite disturbances among the people*."

The state of affairs at Barcelona, must have been known to the Spanish court a considerable time before the departure of Ferdinand from his capital to meet Buonaparte!

The

* See Appendix to the Chronicle, p. 228.

The journey of Ferdinand towards Bayonne, excited in all the villages and towns through which he passed, the greatest discontent and liveliest indignation; which were not appeased by the proclamations that preceded his progress, declaring that he had the most positive and satisfactory assurances, that nothing but the most profound respect would be shewn to his person; without which assurances he would never have accepted the emperor of the French's invitation, and that within four or five days, with the assistance of his good brother and ally, the affairs of Spain would be settled to his own satisfaction, and also to that of his subjects.

At Vittoria, when the people learnt, even from the authority of the king, that Buonaparte was suffered to interfere in those affairs, there was a general fermentation among the inhabitants, who, April 19, crowded about the royal residence, in the most tumultuous manner, giving vent to their sentiments without restraint.

A new proclamation was issued, and the duke of Infantado endeavoured to impress the assertions contained in it, in harangues to the people. He assured them, that the intention of the new king was, to represent to the French emperor, the antipathy of the Spanish people to the French troops that had been sent among them, and to demand their immediate recall. The tumult was somewhat assuaged; but voices were heard here and there, muttering, "That both the king and the duke of Infantado

might do with Napoleon what they pleased; that Spaniards would never be slaves; and that the nation would maintain its independence without them."

From the moment that Murat set his foot on the Spanish territory, he did all in his power to impress the Spaniards with a conviction, that he had come among them for their good, by bringing about certain reforms in the government, giving it to be understood withal, that he was on the side of the prince of Asturias, and in opposition to the prince of the peace, who was universally detested; nor did he fail to throw out hints and allusions to the influence of the queen in the great affairs of the nation; thereby to ingratiate himself with the people: but, true to his purpose of division and distraction, he was no sooner informed of what had passed at Aranjuez, on the 19th of March, than he made a shew of taking a very warm interest in the fate of Don Manuel Godoy, with whom, though personally unacquainted, he had kept up a confidential and intimate correspondence. On the imprisonment of Godoy, the queen besieged, as it were, the grand duke of Berg, with one letter after another, imploring the intervention of the duke for the safety of the favourite's person*: nor could a person of Murat's information, as well as penetration, be ignorant that his interference in behalf of this favourite, would be most acceptable to her majesty, and also, which may appear to future generations not a little singular, to the king.

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Whilst

* See Appendix to the Chronicle, p. 241.

Whilst Ferdinand halted at Vittoria, he was informed by the supreme junta, that the grand duke of Berg had made a formal and even an imperious demand of the release of Godoy. This application Ferdinand, who had solemnly promised to bring Don Manuel to judgment according to the laws, directed the junta to resist. Buonaparte had himself, by letter, made a similar application to Ferdinand; who, in reply, represented the invincible necessity he was under of bringing Godoy to trial. But if his imperial majesty should continue to take an interest in the life of Don Manuel Godoy, he gave him his word, that if the prisoner should, after mature examination of the charges laid against him, be condemned to death, that punishment should be remitted, in consideration of his majesty's intercession.

When the French emperor received this answer from Ferdinand, he flew into a great passion, and, with his accustomed falsity, immediately wrote to the grand duke of Berg, that the prince of Asturias had placed the prisoner at his disposal, and ordered him to demand the release of Godoy, in the most energetic manner. The grand duke, who was naturally violent and impetuous, sent a very haughty note to the junta, in which he reminded them, that the emperor of the French, at the same time that the authority of the prince of Asturias was stated as a ground of procedure to them, acknowledged no other king of Spain than Charles IV. He demanded anew the per-

son of the prince of the peace to be sent to France. To this note Murat added many verbal threats of force, which, being reported, so intimidated them, that they ordered the release of Godoy, who was immediately conveyed to Bayonne.

The junta, to cover their own weakness, gave out in two gazettes extraordinary, that Don Manuel had been released by order of Ferdinand VII. They attempted, by disguising and garbling, to justify such an interpretation of his letter; though nothing could be plainer than that it was the king's intention not to screen Godoy from trial, but from the last punishment in case of condemnation*.

The joy that was excited by the imprisonment of the prince of peace, with his principal officers, in all the provinces of Spain, is not to be described. At Salamanca, and several other towns, the bells of the churches were rung; and at Salamanca six hundred monks and as many licentiates, danced in the market-place; young women, married women, and old men, mixed with the monks in this extravagant demonstration of their joyful transports. The Spanish newspapers, which had begun to assume a tone of great freedom, styled Don Manuel, the prince of injustice, the generalissimo of infamy, the grand admiral of treason, and the ruin of the nation.

Although the history of all absolute monarchies presents many instances of sudden and surprising elevations to great power and wealth, and as sudden and unexpected falls, there is perhaps none

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* See Documents subjoined to the Exposition of Cevallos, No. XII.

so striking as that of Don Manuel Godoy. His story is not unlike that of Don Roderigo Calderona, the favourite of the duke of Lerma, prime minister to Philip III. of Spain.

The prince of the peace was accounted by far the wealthiest and most powerful subject in Europe. Indeed he had all the power, and in a great measure all the wealth of the Spanish monarchy, at his command. While several of the old imposters had come to be alienated from the crown, and were imprisoned by certain great families, through the improvident and profligate favour of the court, the people were oppressed with new and arbitrary taxes, burthensome in themselves, and rendered more so by the mode of their collection. But the odium of the common people against the prime minister and the favourite would never have wrought his fall, if there had not been a very general combination against him among the nobility, whom he so greatly eclipsed in splendour, patronage, and favour, and to whom a predominant favourite at court is a greater nuisance, perhaps, than to the nobles of any other country in Europe. It is in like manner that the fall, imprisonment, and tragical end of Don Roderigo Calderona is traced to a combination of the nobility, by all the historians.

Don Manuel, in his retreat, was accompanied by an escort of two hundred horsemen, which appeared necessary for his protection from the fury of the people. He arrived at Bayonne, April 26. A castle in the environs of Bayonne was appointed for his residence; and he was in all respects treated

by Buonaparte as a person of distinction and consequence.

The determined interference of Buonaparte for the liberation of the prince of peace, was owing to the resolution of the king and queen not to quit Spain for France, though called thither by Buonaparte, unless the favourite should be permitted to do so also, and to proceed on his journey before them.

King Charles IV. and his queen, Louisa, arrived on the 27th of April at Burgos, and on the 28th at Vittoria. A detachment of the body guards, to the number of one hundred, who had accompanied the prince of Asturias to Bayonne, happening to be in this town, placed themselves, according to custom, in the palace to be occupied by their majesties. But when the old king set his eyes on them, with a degree of energy that surprized every one, he ordered them to be gone—"You betrayed your trust at Aranjuez, I want none of your services, and I will have none."—The guards were obliged to retire.

On the 29th of April, their majesties remained all night at Tolosa; on the 30th they came, about noon, to Irun, where they received letters from Buonaparte, and two hours after entered the walls of Bayonne, where they were received with all public respect and honour.

When the roaring of cannon announced the arrival of the old king and queen of Spain, Ferdinand, with his brother, Don Carlos, went to meet them. All the Spaniards that were at Bayonne also waited on their majesties, and went through the ceremony of kneeling and kissing hands. It was a scene of constraint and awkwardness on both sides; the king seemed as much

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dissatisfied

dissatisfied with them as he had been with his body guards at Vittoria. He did not speak a word to any one but count Pignatelli of Fuentes, an unprincipled and supple courtier, whom Buonaparte had appointed to insinuate himself into the confidence of the prince of Asturias, for the purpose of watching and betraying him.

When the ceremony of kissing hands was over, their old majesties, being fatigued, retired to their apartments; the prince of Asturias was going to follow them, but the king stopt him, saying, "Prince, have you not yet sufficiently outraged my grey hairs." The prince and the Spaniards who had accompanied him to Bayonne, at these words were thunder-struck, and withdrew in great perturbation. At five o'clock, P. M. their majesties were visited by the emperor Napoleon, who remained with them a long time. The conversation turned on the injuries that had been done to the king and queen, the perils in which they had been involved, the ingratitude of men on whom they had lavished favours; and above all on the ingratitude and rebellion, as they said, of their son. The officers of king Charles's household, were appointed by Buonaparte, all of them Frenchmen.

On the 1st of May, the king and queen of Spain dined at the castle

of Marrae with Napoleon and his spouse Josephina. May 2d, at four o'clock, P. M. Josephina went to pay a visit to the king and queen, and staid a long time with their majesties.

The newspapers printed at Bayonne, under the immediate inspection of Talleyrand and Buonaparte himself, and which came every day under the eye of the prince of Asturias, took the side of the dethroned king and the prince of peace. The Bayonne gazette of the 25th of April, the day of Ferdinand's arrival, contained various statements in contradiction of the reports that had been spread of the prince's having immense treasures in foreign funds, extenuated the instances of his mal-administration, adverted to many benefits that resulted from his ministry, and above all, entered into elaborate arguments to shew that the abdication of Charles IV. was not voluntary but compulsory. In this manner Buonaparte endeavoured to prepare the mind of Ferdinand and his party, for the catastrophe that awaited him. At the same time it was the common talk at the court of Bayonne, and re-echoed from thence by the numerous emissaries of Buonaparte, in every province in Spain, that a strong hand alone could save the monarchy.

CHAP. VIII.

Message from Buonaparte to Ferdinand VII. requiring him and all his Family to renounce the Crown of Spain and the Indies.—Conference between Cevallos, the Minister of Ferdinand, and Champagny, Buonaparte's Minister for foreign Affairs.—Interrupted by Buonaparte.—Ferdinand made sensible that he was in a state of Arrest.—Charles announces to Ferdinand his Determination to renounce all his Rights and those of his Family to the Crown of Spain.—Conditional Renunciation of Ferdinand in favour of his Father.—Correspondence between Charles and Ferdinand on this Subject.—The Queen of Spain bastardizing her own legitimate Son, and proclaiming her own Infamy.—Absolute Renunciation by Ferdinand, of all his Rights to the Crown of Spain.—Action and Reaction of Transactions at Bayonne and at Madrid.—The public Mind in a state of Agitation.—Insurrection and dreadful Massacre at Madrid.—The Grand Duke of Berg appointed Governor General of all Spain, and President of the Supreme Junta.—Proclamation to his Army.—Circular Letter from the General Inquisition to all the Courts of Inquisition in Spain.—Decree for Assembling the Notables of Spain.—Deputies from these to a National Junta at Bayonne.—Excuse of the Bishop of Orense for not attending, in Quality of a Deputy from the Notables, this Assembly.—The Junta at Bayonne take the Oath of Allegiance, prescribed by Buonaparte.—The Royal Family of Spain carried into the Interior of France.—Renunciation of the Spanish Crown.—Journey of King Joseph to Madrid.—POLITICAL MORALITY.—Buonaparte asserts his Right to the Crown of Spain, on the Score of both Policy and Justice.—Indignation of the Spaniards, and Defiance of the Tyrant.

THE prince of Asturias, as he was still styled by the French, or Ferdinand VII. according to the general voice of the Spanish nation, had no sooner returned from dining at the castle of Marrac to his residence, than general Savary came to inform him, that the emperor of the French and king of Italy, had irrevocably determined, that the Bourbon family should no longer reign in Spain; that it should be succeeded by his; and, therefore,

that his Imperial majesty required Ferdinand, in his own name, and that of all his family, to renounce the crown of Spain and the Indies in favour of the dynasty of Buonaparte. That such a proposition should be made, and that the bearer of such a proposition should be the identical Savary, who, until that moment had given such solemn and repeated assurances to the Spanish prince, of the honourable and friendly sentiments of Buonaparte

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towards

towards him, struck the new king and the Spanish chiefs, who had accompanied him, with a degree of surprize and consternation not to be described, and opened their eyes to the horrors of their situation,

Buonaparte, having now thrown off the mask, proceeded without delay to carry his project into effect. On the following day he summoned to his palace Cevallos, who, as already observed, had been first secretary of state to king Charles, and now occupied the same station with Ferdinand, and was much in his confidence. In the palace Cevallos was received by M. de Champagny, Buonaparte's minister for foreign affairs. Cevallos began the conference with complaints of the perfidious artifices practised on his royal master to inveigle him into France, and added that he had been instructed to declare, in the most formal manner, that he neither would nor could renounce his right to the crown of Spain, in favour of any individual or family whatever to the prejudice either of himself, or of the other branches of his house; and that no person could be called to the throne, but by the voice of the nation itself, in virtue of the national right it possessed to select a new family in the event of the extinction of the family then on the throne.

The French minister, in return, insisted on the necessity of the required renunciation, chiefly on the ground that the abdication of king Charles had not been spontaneous. Cevallos protested against the opinion, that Buonaparte had any right to interfere in the internal arrangements of Spain, and cited the ex-

ample of the French government itself, which in the beginning of the revolution, had positively rejected as inadmissible, the request tendered by the king of Spain in favour of his unfortunate cousin, Lewis XVI. Having stated various circumstances in proof that the late king, in his abdication, had acted entirely from his own free choice, Cevallos was told, that while the house of Bourbon reigned in Spain France never could be secure, in the case of war again breaking out in the north of Europe.

In opposition to this argument, Cevallos reasoned with Champagny, or might have reasoned, as in fact he does in his exposition, as follows:—Ever since the restoration of peace between the two countries, Spain had adhered to her engagements with France with unshaken fidelity. The political conduct of Charles IV. since the treaty of Basle, afforded a recent proof that sovereigns had little regard to family interests, when these were in opposition to the interests of their dominions; that the friendship between France and Spain was founded in local and political considerations; that the topographical situation of the two kingdoms was of itself sufficient to demonstrate, how important it was for Spain to preserve a good understanding with France, the only state on the continent of Europe, with which she had direct and very extensive relations. The only circumstance by which this fidelity could be staggered, would be an attempt on the part of France to assail the independence of Spain, or the honour of her sovereign. Such an attempt might re-open an intercourse with England, which had already endeavoured

devoured to effect a reconciliation, necessarily to be followed by measures essentially prejudicial to France. What confidence could Europe place in treaties with Buonaparte, were it discovered that he had broken through the sacred engagements contracted by him but six months before, with Charles IV. in the secret treaty of Fontainebleau?

The conference between the French and Spanish ministers was interrupted by a command from Buonaparte, who had secretly heard their discourse, to attend him in his cabinet. There, Cevallos tells us, he was treated by the French emperor, as a traitor to his former master Charles; because he was now in the service of Ferdinand, and reproached in the most insulting manner, for having maintained, in a former official conference with General Mouthion, that however necessary the recognition of Ferdinand's title to the throne of Spain might be to the preservation of amity between the two countries, still that his title was not to be invalidated by the withholding of any such recognition.

Finding, however, Cevallos inflexible in the principles he professed, as we are told by this minister himself, Buonaparte put an end to the interview with these characteristic expressions; "I have a system of policy of my own; you ought to adopt more liberal ideas; to be less rigid on the point of honour; and not to sacrifice the prosperity of Spain for the interests of the Bourbon Family."

Despairing of success in a negotiation with Cevallos, Buonaparte required Ferdinand to entrust his concerns with some other minister. That no difficulty might arise on

this score, Don Pedro Labrador, who had been minister at the court of Florence, was selected to conduct the negotiation on the part of Ferdinand, and instructed to declare that his master neither would nor could consent to the renunciation of his rights, or those of his family, to the throne of their ancestors. Labrador's demands of the production of the French ministers full powers to treat with him, and for an authenticated statement of the proposals of Buonaparte, were evaded by Champagny, as matters of merely official form. Champagny added an insinuation, that Labrador might, by falling in with the emperor's views, secure the prosperity of Spain, and at the same time promote his own private advantage. Labrador required that Ferdinand should be instantly permitted to return to Spain. But he was told, that matters could be arranged only by the two sovereigns, either by letters or in a personal interview.

This answer, added to the other circumstances, left no doubt in the mind of king Ferdinand, that he was actually under arrest. However, in order to establish beyond a doubt the certainty of this fact, Cevallos, by his majesty's order, sent a note to the French minister for foreign affairs, telling him, that the king was determined to return to Madrid, to tranquillize the agitation of his beloved subjects; and to provide for the transaction of the important business of the kingdom; assuring Mr. Champagny at the same time, that he himself would continue, in order to treat with his imperial majesty, on affairs reciprocally advantageous.

Buonaparte finding Ferdinand inflexible,

flexible, had recourse to other expedients for effecting his object. It was with a view to this, that the old king and queen were invited to repair to Bayonne, for the purpose of a final arrangement of affairs.

Scarcely had Charles reached Bayonne, when he was employed to demand, that his son should resign the crown so lately assumed, signifying at the same time, his resolution not to remount the throne himself, but to renounce all his rights, and those of his family, in favour of France. Ferdinand VII. overawed, a prisoner, and controlled by circumstances, on the 1st of May transmitted in writing a conditional renunciation of the crown in favour of his august father. In that paper Ferdinand observed, that though his father had personally declared his abdication to be voluntary, it now appeared, that it was his secret intention to resume the crown, when it should become advisable. It now also appeared, that it was not his design either to remount the throne himself, or even to return to his dominions; at the same time, that the rightful heir was directed to renounce his claims to the succession.

Notwithstanding the inexplicable contrariety in Charles's conduct, Ferdinand consented to resign all present pretensions to the throne; but upon certain conditions, calculated to prevent the alienation of the sovereignty to any foreign power. He proposed, that Charles should return to Madrid, whither he would attend him as a dutiful son; that the Cortes, or at least, the great council of the kingdom,

should be assembled; that his present resignation, with his motives thereto, should be duly and regularly recorded; that Charles should dismiss from his presence the persons who had so justly incurred the detestation of the nation; that if Charles, as it was understood, declined to resume the reins of government, Ferdinand would undertake the administration, either in the name of his father, and as his lieutenant, or in his own name.

On the following day, May 2d, the old king, in a long answer, evidently dictated by the great usurper, author of the whole tragedy*, declared his abdication to have been compulsory, and attributed his present distressful situation to the inveterate hatred of Ferdinand against France, of which evidence in his own letters had been communicated, (which has been above adverted to) by the emperor.

Charles concludes with asserting his conviction, that the disorders of Spain were to be remedied only by Buonaparte, whom, from long experience, the aged monarch says, he knew to be incapable of forming any design hostile to the honour and interests of the royal family of Spain.

Ferdinand's reply to this communication, dated the 4th of May†, together with many powerful representations to his father, on the future situation of the kingdom, contains many strong arguments for believing the abdication of the 19th of March to have been voluntary; although the consequences to be apprehended from the popular commotions, might have

* See Appendix to Chronicle, p. 233.

† Appen. to Chron. p. 236.

have had a commanding influence on Charles's mind.

On the same day, 4th of May, when this reply was sent by Ferdinand to king Charles, (whether before or after it was received does not appear, and is perfectly immaterial) announced to the council of Castille, his abdication of all his claims on the Spanish kingdoms, in favour of his friend and ally, the emperor of the French, by a treaty which had been signed and ratified, and which stipulated for the integrity and independence of the Spanish kingdoms, and the preservation of the holy catholic religion, not only as the predominant, but as the sole and exclusive religion in Spain. He had thought proper to read this letter, that they might conform themselves thereto, publish its contents, and make every exertion in favour of Napoleon, "Display," said king Charles, "the utmost frankness and friendship towards the French; and above all, direct your care to preserve the country from insurrections and tumults."

But before this letter of abdication should be delivered, he had dispatched a proclamation, dated on the same day, the purpose of which was, to prepare the public mind, in some degree, for what was so soon to follow; in conformity with the usual policy of Buonaparte, who, on all occasions, was not less attentive to moral influence than to physical force. Charles, evidently adopting the sentiments, and very style of Buonaparte, told his "Dear Subjects," that perfidious men sought to mislead them, to arm the Spaniards against the French, and the French against the Spaniards; but the devastation of

Spain, and calamities of every kind would be the consequence. In this critical juncture, he had concerted with his ally, the emperor of the French, measures for their welfare. All those who spoke against France thirsted for their blood. They were either the enemies of the Spanish nation, or the agents of England, who sought, by their intrigues, to sever the mother country from her colonies; to effect a separation of her provinces; or to involve the country for a long course of years in trouble and disaster. "Spaniards," said he, "be guided by my experience, and yield obedience to the authority which I derive from God, and my ancestors. Follow my example, and be assured, under the present circumstances, there is neither prosperity, nor safety for the Spaniards, but in the friendship of the grand emperor our ally."

The negotiation between the father and the son, for the purpose of procuring the unconditional and absolute renunciation of all right on the part of Ferdinand to the Spanish throne, did not keep pace with the ardour of Buonaparte; who, therefore, adopted measures for bringing it to a conclusion in his own peculiar way.

At four in the afternoon of the 5th of May, his imperial majesty went to visit the old king and queen of Spain. At this interview there were present, besides their majesties, the Infant Don Carlos, Godoy, the grandees of Spain, who had accompanied the new king in his journey to Bayonne, and the Spanish minister Don Pedro Cevallos. After a conference, which was continued above an hour, Ferdinand was called in by his father, "To hear,"

bear," says Cevallos, "in the presence of the emperor, expressions so disgusting and humiliating that I dare not record them." The scene to which Cevallos alludes was this. The queen, in a transport of passion, addressing Ferdinand, said, "Traitor, you have for years meditated the death of the king your father; but thanks to the vigilance, the zeal, and the loyalty, of the prince of the peace, you have not been able to effect your purpose: neither you, nor any of the infamous traitors who have co-operated with you, for the accomplishment of your designs. I tell you to your face, that you are my son, but not the son of the king. And yet, without having any other right to the crown than those of your mother, you have sought to tear it from us by force. But I agree and demand, that the emperor Napoleon shall be umpire between us: Napoleon, to whom we cede and transfer our rights, to the exclusion of our own family. I call on him to punish you and your associates, as so many traitors, and abandon to him the whole Spanish nation."

This scene of the queen bastardizing her own legitimate son in the presence of the king, his legitimate father; and proclaiming her own infamy before her husband, is something so new, surprizing, and singular, that it could not have gained universal and undoubted credit as it has done, if it were not attested by so many witnesses. It has been supposed by some, on no improbable grounds, to have been not merely an effusion of passion, but to have been preconcerted between the queen and Buonaparte.

Certainly there is nothing so bad concerning such a woman as to ap-

pear any wise incredible. It is believed by many that the famous letter, in which Buonaparte tells the prince of Asturias, that he had no right to the crown of Spain but through his mother, was not written on the 16th of April, but subsequently to this interview. It did not appear in the *Moniteur*, till near the middle of May, when it was published, together with the transactions at Bayonne, on the first days of that month. If it had been sent to the prince on the 16th of April, it must have come to hand before his arrival at Bayonne, which was not till the 20th; and if those who were about the prince did not interfere for the discontinuance of his journey, after the reception of a letter so gross, so insolent, so immoral, and so menacing, instead of commiserating their stupidity, we could not help regarding them with detestation and horror. It is impossible, nor would it serve any important end, to unravel all the intricacies of intrigue of any kind, much less where they descend into profundities altogether unfathomable, or even to be conjectured by common experience and observation. What is obvious, is, that on the side of the French court there was the utmost subtlety and blackest perfidy; on that of the Spanish court, if not treachery, a stupidity bordering on idiotism.

There seemed to be no end to the queen's reproaches and rage, when Napoleon interrupted her, by saying, "No! I give to Ferdinand the crown of Naples, and to Charles that of Etruria, with one of my nieces in marriage to each of them. Let them declare if they be willing to accept this offer."

After a short silence, Don Carlos

he replied, "Emperour, I was not born to be a king, but an infant of Spain." Ferdinand was silent. Buonaparte, after a short pause, said, "Prince il faut opter entre la cession et la mort."—Cession or death; and six hours were allowed him for coming to a determination. King Charles seconding the threat of Buonaparte, ordered his son to make an absolute resignation of the crown, under pain of being treated with all his household as an usurper of the throne, and a conspirator against the life of his father. To this proposition, Ferdinand being desirous not to involve in his misfortunes the number of persons comprehended in the threat of Charles IV. assented. And next day, in a letter to his father, after stating the circumstances of constraint in which he was placed, he made the resignation which was commanded*. After this, Ferdinand was deprived of his coach of state, and sword of honour. He had no other attendant than the commander of the party that watched him; a jew, belonging to the militia or national guards of Bayonne.

On the same day, May 5, a treaty of abdication was agreed to, and signed by the prince of peace, on the part of king Charles IV. and Marshal Duroc on that of Buonaparte. The motives by which Charles was actuated in this extraordinary transaction are stated in the preamble to have been to save Spain from the agitation of faction, and war both internal and external, to preserve together with the colonies the unity of the monarchy, and to join the means of France with those of Spain, for the purpose of obtaining a maritime peace. In

the first article, Charles cedes to his majesty, the Emperor Napoleon, all his rights to the throne of Spain, and the Indies, as things had come to such a pass, that he alone, could re-establish social order. But this cession was made on the two following conditions. 1st, That the integrity of the kingdom should be maintained; that the prince whom his imperial majesty should think fit to appoint to the throne of Spain, should be independent, and that the limits of Spain should not undergo any alteration. 2dly, That the Catholic, Apostolical, and Roman, should be the only religion of Spain, as heretofore, and that no toleration should be granted to any sect of the reformed religion, much less to infidelity. This act of treaty of abdication and cession, as it was called, contained a number of articles providing for the establishment of the king and queen, and infants of Spain, within the French territory, and also for settling the rank they were to hold, which was to be the same with that which they possessed in Spain. By the act of cession of the prince of Asturias, signed at Bayonne, May 10, the emperor of the French secured to him the title of royal highness, promised to cede to him the domain of Navarre in Normandy, and grant him besides, an annual revenue in money, the title of royal highness, the engagement of their respective commanders in Spain, and yearly pensions, to Don Antonio, the uncle of Ferdinand, Don Carlos, and his nephew Don Francisco, provided they should accede to the treaty.

In the meantime, there was, as might be expected, an action and re-action

* See Appendix to Chronicle, p. 239.

re-action between what was going on at Bayonne, and what came to pass at Madrid. The public mind in Spain had never been in a state of perfect tranquillity since the middle of March, when it was suspected that Charles IV. intended to remove to Seville, with all his family. The deposition of the prince of the peace, the abdication of Charles, and the accession of his son Ferdinand, events which took place on the same day, produced a general satisfaction throughout the nation. But multiplied reports of the insolence of the French, and particularly the letter of the Count de Espellata, the governor general of Catalonia, stating the hostile proceedings of Duhesme at Barcelona; the arrival of French troops at Madrid; the surrender to Murat, of the sword of Francis I.; the departure of the king for Burgos; the deliverance of Godoy to the French, and finally, the determination of Ferdinand to pass the frontier, or to put himself into the hands of the French at Bayonne. All these circumstances raised a fermentation, which every moment threatened some terrible explosion, and it was not without difficulty that the junta of government, at the head of which was Don Antonio, were able to calm the alarms of the people, so far as to restrain them from insulting the French and treating them with violence.

A courier extraordinary arrived every evening at Madrid, with news of the proceedings at Bayonne. This news was not published in the gazette, but circulated under the form of letters from particular persons in the suite of the king. These

bulletins were at first satisfactory, as they were full of nothing but the honours done to Ferdinand, and the friendly reception he met with at Bayonne from Buonaparte. By and by it was surmised that affairs at the castle of Marrac, wore but a gloomy aspect; and soon after it was perfectly known that it was intended by the ruler of France to compel Ferdinand to resign his crown.

The courier expected on Sunday the 30th of April, did not arrive; and the mail looked for hourly, was still due on the evening of the 1st of May, when several thousands of the inhabitants of the capital assembled at *the port of the Sun*, and other streets near the post-office, on the look out for the arrival of the post. The French garrison of Madrid rested all night on their arms, and on Monday the 2d of May, the sun, says an Englishman* who was present, and whom we here follow, rose on many an unfortunate inhabitant, who was never to behold the dawn of another day.

This was the day fixed for the departure of the queen of Etruria, daughter of king Charles, and her son, Don Francisco, for Bayonne, to join the rest of the royal family: for it was determined by Buonaparte, that not a branch or scion of that family should remain in Spain. Great numbers of the people crowded to the place that was in front of the palace, to see her going away; and among these, many wives and children, to bid adieu to their husbands and their fathers, belonging to the family and the escort of the queen, and to bewail

* Authentic particulars of the events which took place at Madrid, on the 2d of May, by an Englishman who was present.

wail their unhappy lot, in being left behind, without any provision being made for their future subsistence. As the first carriage drew up to the gate, a report was circulated by several individuals among the people, that Don Antonio, president of the junta or provisional government, was also going to abandon them. And this mistake produced a tumult. The populace cut the traces of his carriage, and forced it back into the court of the palace. But, on satisfactory assurances that Don Antonio was not going to quit Madrid, they permitted the horses again to be put to the coach, which drove without obstruction to the palace gate. In the midst of this fray, an aid de camp, sent by Murat, to mark and give an account of what was going forward, makes his appearance; the people shewed an inclination to insult this officer and treat him rudely, but he was extricated by some Spanish officers who were present, and suffered to return to his chief. After this, the carriages with the queen of Etruria, and her brother, were permitted to set out. The infant Don Francisco, manifested unequivocal tears of reluctance to leave the palace. He was observed even to weep bitterly, which affected the people prodigiously, and raised their indignation and resentment to the highest pitch. At this instant, the same aid de camp returned with a detachment of French soldiers, and immediately there commenced a scene of carnage and horror. It is not fully ascertained whether the populace or the French troops were the first aggressors. But the French were the first to let fly volleys of musquetry, and many innocent spectators were killed, and

others wounded. A beautiful child, eight years old, fell dead at a window, on the first discharge which was made about eleven o'clock in the forenoon. The news spread over the whole city with the rapidity of lightning, and in less than an hour, every individual of the lower classes, who possessed the means, appeared on the street in arms.

At first the Spaniards had the best of it in the greater part of the city, although the Spanish troops had no share in the engagement, having been confined by their officers to their barracks. A great number of the French were killed, and their arms supplied such of the Spaniards as had none of their own. But as soon as the dispositions directed by Murat began to be carried into effect, the advantage was decidedly on the side of the French. All the French troops in Madrid were set in motion. Each column had one or more pieces of flying artillery with which they scoured the streets as they moved onward, and which were afterwards placed at the spots from whence they would do the greatest execution. The French poured volleys of musket shot into the streets as they crossed or passed by the ends of them, aiming particularly at the windows and balconies. For the Spaniards when they were driven from the streets, retired to their houses, from which they fired on the French columns. In many places, the French burst into the houses by force, and put to the sword, men, women, and children. The place where the Spaniards made the most glorious defence was the store-house of artillery of *Monteleone House*, which besides ammunition, contained arms for 10,000 men. Thither Murat

sent a detachment to take possession of the artillery and ammunition, but he found it occupied by a small number of the inhabitants of Madrid and Spanish artillerymen, under the command of two brave artillery officers, of the names of Doaize and Velayde. A twenty-four pounder charged with grape-shot, placed at the gate of the store-house, in front of a long and narrow street, and duly pointed and levelled, made such havoc among the French column as it advanced by this street, that the commander was obliged to send to Murat, for a reinforcement. Two other columns were dispatched with all speed to his succour. The French columns attacked this small garrison on both flanks from the windows and tops of the adjoining houses, and repeatedly summoned it to surrender, but the brave and resolute commanders refused to listen to any proposition of this kind, and their constancy remained unshaken to the last moment of their existence. Velayde was killed by a musket-shot. Doaiz, after his thigh-bone was broken by a cannon ball, continued to give his orders as he supported himself leaning with his elbow on the ground, with the greatest composure, till he received three other wounds, the last of which put an end to his glorious career. The command of the little arsenal now devolved on a corporal of artillery, who, sensible that nothing good was to be expected from further resistance, offered to capitulate. This offer the French general readily accepted. But while the articles were drawn up, a Spanish officer, the major of the warlike store-house, appeared on horseback, waving a white hand-

kerchief, and proclaiming peace; on which the French were suffered to take possession of the place.

The loss sustained by the French in this point of attack was not exactly ascertained. It was reckoned to be very considerable, as twenty-six rounds of grape-shot were fired on the first column as it advanced through the long and narrow street just mentioned. In about two hours, the firing in every part of the town ceased; an effect produced by the personal interposition of the members of the council of Castille and the other tribunals, who flew from one street to another on horseback, accompanied by several Spanish noblemen, with some French generals, and escorted by parties of cavalry, consisting of Spanish body guards and troopers belonging to the French imperial guards, mixed together.

The inhabitants of Madrid now flattered themselves that the carnage was at an end. But in the afternoon, Murat issued general orders to his army for the immediate formation of a military tribunal, of which general Grouchy was appointed president. Before this tribunal all persons were brought who had been made prisoners in the early part of the day, or found in the street with any kind of arms about them, or any implements whatever that might possibly have been used, or by any construction considered as a weapon; those who were found with muskets, swords, penknives, and even scissors, were all of them considered as equally guilty, and ordered to be instantly shot; and the sentence was executed without a moment's delay. Several other persons were condemned to be shot on the day after the next.

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The whole of the French troops employed against Madrid, on the horrible 2d of May, was computed not to have exceeded 10,000 at most. And it was supposed that if the Spanish troops in France had been suffered to join the people, not one of those 10,000 would have escaped. But it was fortunate, no doubt, for the Spanish capital, that this was not the case; for besides those 10,000 there were 50,000 more French troops encamped or in cantonments in the territory round Madrid, who would have immediately been set in motion: the result of which would have been the sack and destruction of Madrid.

It has been surmised in various periodical publications, that Murat and his principal officers studiously sought for an occasion of quarrel and hostilities, with a view to forfeitures and confiscations; and even that such means of gratifying the army were looked to by Buonaparte. It will be recollected, however, that Buonaparte had recourse to every method he could devise for conciliating the favour of the Spaniards.—This may be affirmed with certainty, that it was the inhuman policy of Murat, which he well knew would be approved of by his master, to crush, if possible, the rising spirit of Spain in the bud, by a dreadful example.

The whole city of Madrid, by order of the junta, was disarmed.

By a royal edict, dated at Bayonne, May 4, the grand duke of Berg, whom Charles calls his cousin, was appointed lieutenant general, or viceroy of all Spain. And the council of Castille, and the captains general and governors of provinces, were directed to obey his orders, which was intimated to the junta of

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government and of war. This decree may be considered not only as a preparatory measure, but an actual transference of all power, military and civil, to the French. As the grand duke was commander in-chief of the troops belonging to his ally, the emperor of the French, Charles judged it necessary, he says, to make him lieutenant general of Spain, in order to give the whole force within his kingdom, for the preservation of peace and property, the "same direction:" plainly insinuating, that without such an arrangement, the forces of the different nations might receive opposite directions. It was also decreed by the royal edict, that the grand duke of Berg, in quality of governor general, should be president of the junta of government. But in this the junta had been as forward as his majesty: for on the same day, May 4, the junta having declared that there was not a moment to be lost for preventing the evils to be threatened by disrespect to the constituted authorities, made a tender of the precedence of that council to the grand duke of Berg, which was accepted. Don Antonio, as well as every other branch of the Royal family, was called to Bayonne.

The grand duke of Berg, May 6, issued a proclamation to his army, in which he says, that the "2d of May had forced them to draw the sword; that they had acquitted themselves to his satisfaction, and that he would not fail to report their praise-worthy conduct to the emperor; but order and tranquillity was restored; the guilty had been punished; the men who had been misled, acknowledged their errors; in short, a veil was to cover all that had passed, and that

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confidence ought now to return. He exhorted his soldiers to return to their old relations of friendship with the inhabitants of the capital. The conduct of the Spanish troops was worthy of eulogy. He bade the inhabitants of Madrid to banish from their minds all uneasiness and apprehension, and to see nothing in the soldiers of the grand Napoleon, the *protector of Spain*, but friendly troops, and faithful allies. The inhabitants of all orders and degrees, might wear their cloaks according to their usual fashion. They would not on that account, be any longer arrested, or otherwise molested. He also published another proclamation, addressed to "The brave Spaniards," to the same effect, but of greater length. He sets out with saying, that the "2d of May would be a day of sorrow to him, as it was to them. The common enemy to him and them, after behaving in such a manner as might have wearied out his patience, had finished their provoking conduct with exciting the people of Madrid and of the adjacent villages to excesses, that had reduced to employ the irresistible force under his command.—With what horrid joy would not the enemies of France and Spain think of the day when the generous French were obliged to hurt the misled Spaniards? They hoped to obtain other triumphs not less horrible in other parts of the kingdom. But their hopes would be disappointed by his own frankness and the sound judgment of the Spaniards. Charles IV. and his son were concerting at that moment at Bayonne, with the emperor Napoleon, the best measures for settling the affairs, and fixing the fate of

Spain. But the emperor did not think that he ought to delay until the decision of that important question, to make known the sentiments that glowed in his breast in favour of a magnanimous nation, whom he wished to preserve from the crisis of a political revolution, and to establish such political institutions as were most analogous to their character. He had it in charge to declare, in the name of his imperial majesty, that the integrity of the Spanish monarchy should be preserved inviolate, and that it should not be dismembered of the smallest portion of its territory; no, not so much as of a single village; nor should it be subjected to those contributions which are authorized by the laws of war in conquered countries: which laws could never be thought applicable to an ally. The interests of the army which he commanded, were the interests of all such as had titles, privileges, or property to preserve. The nobility, proprietors of estates, merchants, and manufacturers, were called on to exert all their influence for the suppression of sedition; the ministers of religion, who knew the secrets of consciences, and possessed so great authority to undeceive the people: and the civil and military authorities, to recollect their responsibility, and to crush insurrection in the cradle. These authorities, if French blood should be shed anew, would be responsible to the emperor Napoleon, whose anger or clemency had never been moved in vain. But he promised himself better things, hoping that the ministers of religion, magistrates, the *grandees*, and other nobles of Spain,

Spain, and in short, all classes, would make it their study to avert those troubles that might obstruct the amelioration intended. To all the generals and other officers employed in the different provinces of the monarchy, the line of conduct observed on the melancholy occasion, alluded to, by the household troops, the garrison of Madrid, and the military in the service of the court, presented an excellent model for imitation.—It is not difficult to conjecture how this compliment would be relished by the honourable part of the Spanish garrison of Madrid, and the other regulars specified.

On the same day a circular letter was addressed by the council of supreme and general inquisition, to all the courts of the kingdom. This venerable body becoming a tool in the hands of Murat, without hesitation or reserve imputed what the Spanish nation called the massacre of the 2d of May, to the people of Madrid. "The melancholy consequences," said they, "of the disgraceful tumults in this capital, on the 2d instant, by the violence of the people towards the troops of the emperor of the French, have rendered the most active vigilance necessary on the part of all the magistracies and all the respectable bodies of the nation, in order to prevent the renewal of such excesses, and to preserve tranquillity in every community actuated by a due attention to its own interests, no less than by the laws of hospitality towards friendly officers and soldiers who injure no person, and who up to this moment have given the strongest proofs of good order and discipline, by punishing those who have been guilty of excesses, or

who have ill treated any Spaniard in his person or property." They proceeded, in the usual strain of the French on the same subject, to state their suspicion of evil intentions disguised under the mask of patriotism: They represented the consequences of being governed by the blind impulsion of ignorance, and the dreadful consequences of tumultuous proceedings, which only served to throw the country into a state of convulsion, by tearing asunder those bonds of association on which the peace of the community depended, by destroying the feelings of humanity, and annihilating all confidence in the government, to which alone it belonged to give an uniform direction and impulse to the sentiment of patriotism. These most important truths could not be impressed by any, upon the minds and hearts of the people with more beneficial effect, than by the ministers of the religion of Jesus Christ, which breathed nothing but peace and brotherly love among men; and subjection, honour, and obedience to all who were in authority. And as the holy college ought to be and always had been the first to give an example to the ministers of peace; they conceived that it accorded with their office and their duty to address that letter to the subordinate courts of the holy inquisition, that, on perusing its contents, they likewise should co-operate in the preservation of public tranquillity. And they were required to notify the same to all the subordinate officers of their respective courts, and also to the commissioners of districts, that all and every one of them should with all possible zeal, vigilance, and prudence,

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dence, co-operate for the attainment of so important an object. This doctrine of passive obedience to whatever power happens to be uppermost at the time, accords perfectly with that of Buonaparte, who, turning the tables on the assertors of the *jus divinum* of hereditary kings, maintains that he is commissioned by God in the course of providence to reform the world by new political institutions, as plainly appears by his possessing "both the power and the inclination to surmount all obstacles*." The same doctrine was inculcated on the Tuscans brought under the dominion of Buonaparte by the archbishop of Florence, who, in pursuance of a circular address from the new government, in the beginning of July, to all the prelates of Tuscany, transmitted a pastoral letter to all the clergy within his diocese. "Remember," the prelate writes, "that the holy apostle Paul calls kings the ministers of God; and the kings of whom the apostle speaks, were no other than heathens, and adversaries to the cause of Christ†. The true christian is the enemy of no man, much less of the emperor, for he is aware that his majesty holds his appointment from God, and that he *must love* and honour him, and offer up prayers for his preservation."

The council of Castille too, by publishing and proclaiming, sanctioned by the authority of their

name all the decrees of Buonaparte, and the grand duke of Berg, his lieutenant.

The proclamation of Murat to the Spaniards, May 6th, in which he tells them that the fate of Spain was under the deliberation of their own princes, in concert with the great emperor Napoleon, within the precincts of France, was followed up by another, May 19, for convening the notables, who were called on to send deputies to a junta to be assembled at Bayonne, for the purpose of settling some plan that might secure the tranquillity and happiness of Spain. And on the 25th of May a proclamation was issued, in which Buonaparte insinuated to the Spaniards, that he had received a commission from heaven to reform their government, and to make them again what they had been before, a great, and glorious, and happy nation. "Your princes have ceded to me their rights to the crown of the Spains.—Your nation is old; my MISSION is to restore its youth." We are not surprized at such language from Buonaparte to Turks and Arabs, and other Mussulmen‡, but it was scarcely to be expected, one should suppose, that it would go down with the Spaniards.

The public mind, it was presumed, was now sufficiently prepared for the reception of an imperial decree, which was communicated to the council of Castille, May 29th, informing

* Proclamation by Napoleon, Dec. 6, 1808, to the people of Spain.

† Glancing no doubt at Buonaparte.

‡ In his proclamations, on his expedition to Egypt, he gives out, that "all his operations are directed by destiny, to which all things in this vast universe are subject.—I am terrible, as the light of heaven.—A day will come, when all the world will see that I am directed in my conduct by orders from above, and that no human efforts can prevail against me." See more of this sort of preaching, by Buonaparte, to the Mussulmen, Vol. XL. 1798.

forming the council of the measures which the emperor, by virtue of his rights to the crown of Spain, which had been ceded to him, had taken for fixing the basis of the new government of the kingdom, of which the grand duke of Berg was to continue in the meantime to be viceroy; and the council of Castille were required to affix the said imperial decree on the usual places, that no man might pretend ignorance of the same. The decree ordered, 1. That the assembly of the notables which had already been summoned by the lieutenant-general of the kingdom, should be held on the 15th of June, at Bayonne. The deputies were charged with the sentiments, desires, and complaints of those they represented; and also to fix the basis of the new government, for the kingdom. 2. Napoleon's cousin, the grand duke of Berg, was continued to fulfil the functions of lieutenant-general of the kingdom. 3. The ministers, the council of state, the council of Castille, and all civil, ecclesiastical, and military authorities, were as far as requisite, confirmed. Justice was to be administered, under the same forms, and in the same manner, as usual. This decree was published by the council of Castille, as they were ordered and directed.

The object of Buonaparte in convoking this assembly, is obvious. Blinded as he was by the extravagance of his ambition, he could yet discern how easily those acts of renunciation on which he had founded his pretensions to the crown of Spain, might be evaded.

He named, to constitute this assembly, about 150 Spaniards of different classes, conditions, and corporations; but only about 90 were convened. A part of these, representing some cities, tribunals, or other public bodies, brought with them instructions in the nature of powers given them by those whom they represented, but altogether insufficient to answer the purpose intended. The ministers of the council were without any powers or instructions whatever; a precaution adopted by this tribunal in conformity to the judgment of its commissioners, in order to avoid all involuntary compromises. Most of the deputies had no other powers than merely to take their departure, and many of them did not belong to any public body, or acknowledged class of the community. Buonaparte fully expected, from the acquiescence of these individuals, a mask for concealing his usurpation, but he was utterly deceived. Instead of finding weak men convenient for the designs of his mercenary ambition, he was met by ministers incorruptible; grantees worthy of their rank, and representatives who were faithful defenders of the interests and honour of their country*. They all with one accord, informed him that the powers they held were greatly restricted; that they were not the legitimate representatives of Spain, and that they could not compromise her rights.—Among the deputies chosen by the notables to represent them in the junta at Bayonne, was Don Pedro Quevedo y Quitano, bishop of Orense. The bishop ex-

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cused

* Exposition of Don Pedro Cevallos.

cused himself from accepting this trust in a letter to the grand duke of Berg, the president, and the other members of the supreme junta of government, which was published in all the Spanish newspapers, and afforded to Buonaparte a foretaste of what might be expected from the literary genius of the Spaniards, awakened by the greatest and most animating occasion that could be presented to any nation. It is fraught throughout with the purest morality and most accurate reasoning, covered with a veil of exquisitely fine, and what may indeed be called a kind of sublime irony. He does not question, but assumes an air of believing, that the great emperor of the French is animated with an ardent zeal to exalt Spain to the highest pitch of prosperity and glory.

"Being 73 years of age, and under infirmities, and not able in so short a time to acquire the knowledge necessary to come to a decision on the points to be discussed, he sent the present letter."—The emperor and king appeared in the character of a guardian angel of peace, the protector of Spain, of which he had never been forgetful, but on manifold occasions had manifested the great interest he felt in the Spanish nation, and the sovereigns of Spain his allies, and his concern for their advancement in wealth, power, and all manner of prosperity.—The object of the junta was to remedy evils, to remove prejudices, and to ameliorate the condition of the nation and monar-

chy of Spain. But on what foundation was this great edifice to be built? Was there any sure means of accomplishing this great end, approved and ratified by the nation? There were maladies of such a nature as only to be exasperated by medicines. *Tangant vulnera sacra nullæ manus**. The remedies applied by the emperor Napoleon, the powerful protector of Spain, to the royal family, had aggravated the distemper so greatly, that there were scarcely any hopes of recovery.—The renunciations of the kings at Bayonne, and of the infants at Bourdeaux, were made by those princes, not in a state of freedom, but under force and coercion.

"That those renunciations, on which all the authority of the emperor and king with regard to Spain depended, might be valid and clear, and not an object of suspicion to the whole nation, they ought to be ratified by the kings and infants of Spain, not under constraint and terror, but in a state of perfect freedom. And nothing could contribute so much to the glory of the great emperor Napoleon, who had interested himself so much in the affairs of Spain as to send back its august monarchs and all the royal family, that having assembled the general cortes, they might consult, deliberate freely, and concert with their vassals and subjects what might be expedient for the welfare of the kingdom.—Who had appointed his serene highness the grand duke of Berg, governor of Spain? Was not the appointment

* *Let no hand touch sacred wounds.*

appointment made in France? By a king pious indeed, and worthy of all respect, but not only under an ascendant influence, but under constraint and coercion? Was it not a strange and unnatural chimera to name for the lord lieutenant of his kingdom, a general who commanded an army that menaced and compelled him immediately to resign his crown?" In conclusion, he said, "the nation saw itself without a king, and did not know what hand to turn. The renunciations of its kings, and the nomination of a governor of the kingdom, were deeds done in France, and under the nose* of an emperor who has persuaded himself that he can effect the felicity of Spain, by giving it a new dynasty, deriving its origin from a family so fortunate as to believe itself incapable of producing any other princes than such as shall possess equal or greater talents for government, than the invincible and victorious, the legislator, and the philosopher, the great emperor Napoleon. He requested, with all due respect, that what he considered as well grounded fears, might be brought under the consideration of the supreme junta of government, and even laid before the great Napoleon, to be weighed by the natural rectitude of his disposition and purity of his heart, free from ambition, and far removed from all guile and political artifice. And, the bishop hoped, that the emperor, after matters should be thus candidly con-

sidered, would admit that the safety of Spain could not consist in slavery, and that he would not think of effecting her cure by putting her in chains, seeing she was neither in a state of *lunacy*, nor *furiously mad*†. These were sentiments which he was not afraid to avow to the junta of government, and even to the emperor himself. This expression of them was demanded by his love for his country, and the royal family, and by his character of counsellor to his sovereign in the quality of a bishop of Spain: nor did he consider the sentiments he had expressed as useless, if not necessary to the true glory and felicity of the illustrious hero who was the admiration of all Europe, and to whom he had the pleasure of taking the present opportunity to pay the tribute of his humble, obedient, and submissive respects."—Orense, 29th May, 1808.

The bp. of St. Audero's letter on the same subject, and on the same occasion, though quite in another style, was as much admired and as widely circulated. To Buonaparte, who had invited him by letter, to attend at Bayonne, the bishop replied, "I cannot make it convenient to attend, and if I could, I would not‡." The junta at Bayonne held their twelfth meeting on the 7th of July, the day appointed for the acceptance of the new constitution. In the chamber where they sat, were erected a magnificent throne, and a richly decorated altar, the service of

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which

* So we would say in English. The Spanish is, "A la vista, under the eye."

† Por que no esta loca ni furiosa.

‡ See Chronicle, p. 71.

which was performed by the archbishop of Burgos. Joseph Buonaparte, to whom Napoleon had transferred the crown of Spain, being seated on the throne, delivered a speech to the "gentlemen deputies," in which he told them, that he was desirous of presenting himself in the midst of them, previously to their separation from each other.—"Assembled," said Joseph, "in consequence of one of the extraordinary events to which all nations in their turn, and at particular junctures, are subject; and in pursuance of the dispositions of the emperor Napoleon, our illustrious brother.—Your sentiments have been those of HIS age. The result of these sentiments will be consolidated in the constitutional act which will be forthwith read to you. It will preserve Spain from many tedious broils, which were easily to be foreseen from the disquietude with which the nation had been long agitated." He proceeded to touch on the great standing topic, the *intrigues of the enemies of the continent*, who hoped to sever Spain from her colonies; but "if the Spaniards were disposed to make the same sacrifices with him, then should Spain be speedily tranquil and happy at home, and just and powerful abroad."—The act of constitution* was read over in a loud voice, and the members of the junta, on the question being put, unanimously declared their acceptance of it.

The president of the junta, delivered a short address in answer to the speech of king Joseph;

after which the several members took the following oath:—"I swear obedience to the king, the constitution, and the laws." The junta then attended his majesty's levee, to pay him their respects on the occasion. And his majesty, we are told, "gave them the most gracious reception, and conversed with them nearly an hour." The viceroy of Spain, Murat, was present at the inauguration of king Joseph. He was called by Buonaparte, and arrived at Bayonne on the 6th of July. It was deemed expedient by Buonaparte, before the departure of Joseph for the capital, to have some conversation with the lieutenant general, concerning the present state of Spain and disposition of the Spaniards. It was judged political wisdom that Joseph should attach a number of the Spanish nobility to his interests, by appointing them to offices of dignity (as was conceived) trust, and emolument. On the 1st of July, there was a nomination of eight ministers, viz. Don Louis Mariano de Urquijo, secretary of state, Don Pedro Cavallos, minister for foreign relations; Don Joseph de Aranza, minister for the Indies; Admiral Don Joseph Massaredo, minister of marine; Don Gonzalo O'Farrel, minister of War; Don Gaspar Melchior de Jovellanos, minister of the interior; the count Cabarrus, minister of finances; and Don Sebastian Pinuela, minister of Justice.—Two captains of the bodyguards, viz. the duke of Park, a grandee of Spain, and the duke of St. Germain, also a grandee of Spain.

* See State Papers, p. 326.

Spain.—Two colonels of the guards, viz. the duke of Infantado, colonel of the regiment of Spanish guards, and the prince of Castel-Franco, colonel of the Walloon-guards, grand officers of the crown. The marquis of Ariza, great chamberlain; the duke of Híjar, grand master of the ceremonies; and count Fernando Nunez, grand huntsman. Chamberlains; the count Santa Collonna, the duke of Osuna, count Castel Florida, and the duke of Sotomayor, all grandees of Spain.

It is painful to observe in this list of officers of the household, court, and public service of Joseph, the names of persons of the first rank in the country, and even of some who had laboured long to overthrow the prince of the peace, and place the prince of Asturias on the throne of his father. True, being in the power of Buonaparte, they were under a necessity of accepting the places appointed for them; nor had they any other means of escaping from the hands of the tyrant; and being serviceable to the cause of their country, on any opportunity that might be offered. But who forced them to go to Bayonne? This question recurs, notwithstanding every effort to excuse them.

Immediately after the abdications, the royal family of Spain was hurried into the interior of France. When they had proceeded as far as Bourdeaux, May 12, the prince of Asturias, and the infants Don Antonio and Don Carlos, subscribed a long proclamation addressed to the Spaniards, in which they are made to repeat their former renunciations of all their rights of succession to the Spanish crown, and to detail

the most prominent circumstances in the state of the nation, as well as their own situation under which they had come to that resolution. The unhappy princes are made in that elaborate address to their countrymen, to state in the strongest colours the calamities to be apprehended from the enmity, but the mighty advantages to be expected from the friendship of France, and even, what was a cruel mockery and insult to the princes—to hold forth their dereliction as the greatest possible proof of their affection for the Spanish nation. “Their highnesses conceived that they afforded the most undoubted proof of their generosity and affection towards this nation, by sacrificing to the utmost extent of their power, their individual and personal interests for its benefit, and by that present instrument to assent, as they had already assented by a particular treaty, to the renunciation of all their rights to the throne. They accordingly released the Spaniards from all their duties relating thereto, and exhorted them to consult the common interests of their country by conducting themselves in a peaceable manner, and by looking for their happiness in the power and wise arrangements of the emperor Napoleon. The Spaniards might be assured that by their zeal in conforming their conduct to those arrangements, they would give their prince and the two infants the strongest proof of their loyalty; in like manner as their royal highnesses had given them the greatest instance of their paternal affection, in renouncing all their rights, and sacrificing their own interests, for the happiness of the

the Spaniards, the sole object of their wishes."

The king and queen of Spain, arrived on the 20th of May, at Fontainebleau, where he was immediately accommodated with a complete equipage for the chase. From thence they removed on the 22d, to Compiègne. The prince of the peace resided now and then, when he did not attend the king and queen, in a villa in the environs of Paris. The queen of Etruria, and her son, were placed under *proper care* at a house in the village of St. Mendez, near Paris. The unfortunate Ferdinand, with his uncle and brother, arrived May 19th at Vallency, a small town in the province of Berry, where they were lodged in a castle belonging to Talleyrand. The princes sought consolation in a strict observance of the ordinances of the catholic religion. They attended mass twice every day, and enjoyed for hours together, the soothing strains of sacred music. The incomes promised by treaty to the royal family of Spain, have not been more regularly paid than pensions commonly are to princes in confinement or exile: which has already * reduced the princes to great inconvenience.

King Joseph set foot on the territory of Spain on the 9th of July, escorted by a guard of 4000 Italian troops, and followed by upwards of an hundred coaches, carrying his suite, and the members of the Bayonne junta. This guard, gradually increased, amounted, by the time Joseph arrived at Madrid, to ten thousand; but his true guard was an army of eighteen thousand men,

under marshal Bessieres, properly posted for that purpose. Napoleon accompanied him as far as Trun, twelve miles distant from the frontier. In all the towns and villages through which Joseph passed in his way to the capital, a sullen silence prevailed. Few of the men went out of their houses, or interrupted their ordinary employments; and some of the women appeared at the windows and balconies, crying out *viva Ferdinando VII.* On the 20th of July, king Joseph made his public entry into Madrid.—On the same day Buonaparte, with Josephina, set out from Bayonne, and arrived at St. Cloud, on the 16th of August.

Buonaparte had hitherto, in all his interferences and aggressions on independent states and kingdoms, given, in declarations of war, his reasons for his conduct; which, though they did not justify, explained his views, and were a kind of homage to the sentiments of men and nations. While Europe was divided among a number of separate and independent powers, while there was a community of states, and a degree of public spirit, as well as public opinion in Europe; some degree of decent respect for these appeared to be, if not altogether demanded, yet decent and proper. After the peace of Tilsit, when the whole continent of Europe, Spain itself not excepted, lay crouching at his feet, he does not seem at first to have thought any such management at all necessary. He scorned to put on even the mask of morality.—His conduct to the Spanish nation, to whom he professed the greatest friendship, was base and treacherous beyond all example

* May 1, 1810.

ple in the history of mankind, whether in a savage, barbarous, civilized, or refined state. Yet he made no apology to Europe: but afterwards, when he found he was opposed both by the pen and the sword with a keenness he little expected, he published a kind of justification of his conduct towards Spain, which is the most curious piece of what may be called *political morality*, or the *morality of ambition*, that had ever before been presented to the world. This justification appeared in the form of a report from the ministers of external relations and of war, presented to the conservative senate on the 5th of September, and published in the *Moniteur*, September 7th. It is dated* at Bayonne, April 24th, 1808.—The substance of it is, “that France was under an obligation to put an end to the internal dissensions and anarchy that prevailed in Spain, in order to compel the English government to spare the effusion of human blood. This was for the interest and happiness of Spain, France, the continent of Europe, and all the world.—Of all the states of Europe there was not one between whose condition and fate, and that of France, there was so close and necessary connection as that of Spain. Spain must be either a useful friend to France or a dangerous enemy.

The greatness of Lewis XIV. did not begin till, having conquered Spain, he formed an alliance with the family then reigning there, by which means the Spanish crown came to be placed on the head of his grandson. This provident act of policy was productive of no less

a benefit to the two countries than a century of peace after three centuries of war. The bond that united the two nations was broken asunder by the French revolution. After the third coalition, Spain, at the same time that she was most profuse in her protestations of friendship to France, gave secret assurances of aid to the confederates, as appeared from certain papers communicated to the parliament of England.

In the present state of things Spain, under so miserable a government, was of no service to the common cause against England. Her marine was neglected; her magazines unprovided; in every branch of the administration there reigned the most horrible disorders; all the resources of the monarchy were dilapidated; yet while Spain neglected her marine she was augmenting her force at land. These great evils were not to be remedied but by great changes.—The maritime resources of Spain were lost to herself and to France. The country that might command the greatest resources of this kind was that which in reality had the least. They must be restored by good government, and improved by judicious arrangements, that they might be directed by his imperial majesty, for the attainment of that peace which humanity so loudly called for, and of which Europe had so great need. Every thing that had a tendency to this end was allowable and right. It was not permitted to his majesty by the interests of either France or Europe, to neglect the only means of waging a successful war with England.—It was demanded by

* Though probably not composed till sometime afterwards.

by the interests of Spain, as well as those of France, that a strong hand should re-establish order in the Spanish government that had fallen into such disgrace, and that was hastening so quickly to its final overthrow and ruin: that a prince who was the friend of France by inclination and by interest, that had nothing to apprehend, and could never be an object of mistrust to France, should consecrate the whole resources of Spain to its internal prosperity, to the re-establishment of its marine, and to the success of that cause which connected Spain with the continent. The work of Lewis XIV. was to be recommenced. What policy advised, justice sanctioned."

The reporter after setting himself to establish this point by a review of circumstances adduced to prove the lurking hostility of Spain to France, and its predilection for England, and that it was actually in a state of war with his imperial majesty, says, "But, independently of these considerations, existing circumstances do not permit your majesty to abstain from intervention in the affairs of that kingdom. The king of Spain had been hurled from his throne, your majesty was called to judge between the father and the son. What part could your majesty take? Could your majesty sacrifice the cause of sovereigns, and suffer an outrage to the majesty of the throne? Or suffer a prince to sit on the throne of Spain who was unable to disentangle himself from the yoke of the English any longer than your majesty should maintain a powerful army in Spain? If, on the other hand, your majesty should determine to restore Charles IV. to the throne, this could not be

done without overcoming very great resistance, and without a deluge of French blood. In short, could your majesty abandon the Spanish nation to its fate in the midst of extreme agitation, and while the English were busy in fomenting trouble and anarchy? Ought your majesty to give up this new prey to be devoured by England? God forbid—I have represented the circumstances that oblige your majesty to come to a great determination. It is recommended by political wisdom, authorized by justice, and by the distractions of Spain, imperiously demanded. Your majesty ought to provide for the security of your empire, and to save Spain from the influence of England."

The minister for foreign relations, in another report made to the emperor, Paris, September 1, to be communicated to the senate, says, "If in the dispositions which your majesty has made, the security of France has been your principal object, the interests of Spain have not been neglected. In uniting the two states by the most intimate alliance the prosperity and the glory of both have been equally consulted; your majesty interposed as a mediator for the salvation of Spain, torn to pieces by intestine broils. You pointed out to the Spaniards on the one hand the anarchy with which they were threatened, and on the other hand England ready to take advantage of their disorder in order to appropriate to herself whatever might suit her convenience.—Shall England be permitted to say, "Spain is one of my provinces," and to domineer at the ports of France? If the French fight for the liberty of the seas, they must begin with tearing Spain from

from the tyrant of the seas. If they fight for peace, they must drive from Spain the enemies of peace.—In this contest all Europe prays for success to France.”

Thus far we have seen Buonaparte carrying on his design by intrigue and fraud; by which means he considered it as accomplished. But the Spaniards, not only in the provinces of Spain, but in the co-

lonies, started up simultaneously, as if moved up by one indignant soul into an attitude of defence and defiance, and declared eternal war against their perfidious and insolent oppressor: an event which astonished all Europe, and no one, it may be presumed, more than the tyrant, who had treated them with so much contempt.

CHAP. IX.

Description of Spain, Geographical, Moral, and Political.—Circumstances tending to encourage the Spaniards in their Resistance against the French.

SPAIN, in ordinary language, is considered as consisting of one extensive state or kingdom; and so it is in its foreign relations, and sundry other points of the greatest importance. But under the crown of Spain are united many states or kingdoms, which have gradually coalesced into one monarchy; each kingdom (formerly so called) retaining still, together with many particular laws and usages, a peculiar and distinct character, and some of them separate local interests: circumstances which, no doubt, presented to such a mind as Buonaparte's, hopes of being able to call to his aid the destructive power of division and discord. The northern districts, containing the kingdom of Navarre, the three provinces of Biscay, and the principality of Asturias, enjoy peculiar privileges, being governed in some sort by themselves, and by far the greater part of their contribution appropriated to the expences of their own municipal establishments. These provinces consisting chiefly of prodigious tracts of mountains, produce a race of hardy, active, and industrious people, who, for want of sufficient employment in the cultivation of the ground, or in the iron mines with which their country abounds, have naturally devoted themselves to the sea service in various branches; and from those tracts of sea coast, the Spanish na-

vy draws the most energetic portion of its mariners.

The other parts of Spain are very unequally distributed into those belonging to the crowns of Castille and Arragon. To Castille belong the kingdom of Galicia, the provinces of Burgos, Leon, Zamora, Salamanca, Estramadura, Palencia, Valladolid, Segovia, Avila, Toro, Toledo, La Mancha, Murcia, Guadalaxara, Cuenca, Loria, and Madrid: to these are added, the four ancient Moorish kingdoms, composing the provinces of Andalusia, namely Seville, Cordova, Jaen, and Grenada. To the crown of Arragon belong the kingdoms of Arragon and Valentia, the county of Catalonia, and the kingdom of the island of Majorca. The states under the crowns of Castille and Arragon, had their several cortes or assemblies of representation of the different orders of inhabitants; but those of the two crowns were never united into one body; and, indeed, since the days of Charles V. who resigned the government in 1555, the cortes were seldom convened.

The government, however, though in appearance despotic, and independent of the will of the nation, was, as is the case in even the most arbitrary European states, tempered by a complicated system of councils, in which if judgment was tardy, it was commonly just.

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The great and important Peninsula of Spain (including Portugal, naturally a part of the same country, and at various periods subject to the same sovereign) is most advantageously situated between the Atlantic and the Mediterranean. It commands the narrow strait of Gibraltar, the only communication between these seas, and occupies in some respects the centre of the habitable globe. This Peninsula, a name by which the Spaniards frequently designate their country, extends, where broadest, from west to east, about 640 English miles: and from north to south about 540 miles. The population of the whole Peninsula has been computed at between thirteen and fourteen millions: of which Portugal is supposed to contain two millions. The remainder distributed over Spain will afford only about 74 persons for every square mile, while the inhabitants of England are computed to exceed 150, and those of France one hundred and seventy, on a similar extent of territory; many parts of the interior being almost destitute of springs and rivers; and others being exceedingly mountainous. Indeed on the first glance at the map of Spain, it appears to be a country shaped, and in a very great measure consisting in belts of mountains, ramifying from one another and leaving intervals of various breadths between them, yet all of them linked to the same mass or stock. The sea coasts of Catalonia, Valencia, Murcia, Grenada, and Andalusia, present scenes of amazing fertility, active industry, and crowded population.

The hardy, industrious, and adventurous mountaineer of the

north; the sedate and solemn inhabitant of the broad and arid plains of the two Castilles and La Mancha; the pensive and taciturne Estramaduran; the volatile and talkative Andalusian; the laborious cultivator of the shores of the Mediterranean—these different descriptions of the population of Spain, resemble each other in so few points as to appear to be of very different descent, and indeed the production of very different countries and climates. In one important particular, however, the national character of the Spaniards might be traced in every corner of the kingdom. Entire and respectful submission to the authority of the sovereign was every where predominant. For while the Catalonian was proud to think, that the king was not king, but only count of Catalonia; and the Biscayan, that he was only lord of his mountains; they both agreed in yielding most implicit obedience to his mandates, when promulgated in the customary forms of each respective district. That the Castilian and the Arragoneze should glory in their submission to the royal authority, is not surprizing, as from the union of the sovereigns of Castille and Arragon, sprang the family which in the course of time became masters of the whole country. Arragon and Castille had likewise embraced the interests of the house of Bourbon in the dispute with that of Austria in the beginning of the last century. That the Catalonians, however, should have evinced in 1808 a decided attachment to the reigning family, against whom they had obstinately and long contended, and from whom they had received no favours, but many

many marks of dislike, having been disarmed, and experienced various other proofs of distrust from those in power—that the Catalonians should manifest now a decided and determined attachment to the interests of the House of Bourbon, can be attributed only to an inveterate aversion to their neighbours on the northern side of the Pyrenees, with whom for ages they had been in almost continued hostility, from whose inroads and devastations they had often severely suffered, and whose revolutionary doctrines, moral, political, and religious, as well as their actions, were calculated to inspire Spaniards with aversion and horror.

Another feature, strongly characterising all the provinces of Spain, and indeed all the subjects of his catholic majesty in any quarter of the world, was, an absolute devotion, not only to the doctrine, but to the policy of the see of Rome. In this absolute devotion to the church, the Spaniards, with perhaps the exception of the Portuguese alone, exceed all the nations of Europe. The church or secular clergy in Spain possessed immense revenues, even the third part, it has been computed, of the whole land. But it would be extremely erroneous to conclude that those revenues were appropriated to the sole enjoyment, application, or accumulation of the several incumbents. Of late years, it became the policy of government to grant pen-

sions on the richest benefices for the support of various public establishments; so that even the metropolitan of Toledo, the most exalted dignitary of the kingdom, although nominally enjoying a revenue of perhaps £100,000 sterling, could not in reality, dispose of more than a fourth part of that sum. The opening of roads, the construction of bridges, the establishment of inns and schools, the reparation of churches and chapels, and various other works of public utility, which in Britain are carried on at the expence of the state, or more frequently of individuals and associations, in Spain, are often imposed on those enjoying large ecclesiastical possessions; and where such duties have not been imposed, the incumbents, from zeal to the public good, or even from a desire to imitate the conduct of their predecessors or contemporaries, have often charged themselves with that performance*.

The attachment of the people to the church and its ministers was also warmly cherished by the exemplary deportment of the episcopal body, who from the day of their appointment, immediately repaired to their respective dioceses, in which they uniformly resided, there devoting themselves entirely to the various duties of their station.

The abbies and convents over Spain appropriated to the reception of females, were some years ago calculated to contain about 34,000 persons,

* There are not a few monuments of the public spirit and munificence of the Roman Catholic clergy, in various parts of Britain. The old bridge over the Dee was built at the expence of the bishop of Aberdeen. That over the Eden, a great work, was constructed by the archbishop of St. Andrews. The university, and the library funds of this last mentioned city, would not have been encroached on by monkish professors.

persons, while those for the accommodation of monks and friars, of all descriptions, were inhabited by nearly double that number; of this last description of persons, by far the greater number might certainly be considered as lost to the prosperity of the kingdom. But the Benedictine, Bernardine, and some others of monks, might, in many respects, be considered by the population around, as eminent benefactors to the country. Continually fixed to one spot, in the midst of their possessions, they were naturally led to cultivate and improve their common heritage; and being destitute of the power of accumulation, they regularly expended their income in the quarter from whence it was drawn.

On the other hand, the great nobles and proprietors of land, with a very few exceptions, abandoning the care of their vast domains to agents and intendants, drained the country and its cultivators, to supply the exigencies of an idle and often dissipated life in the capital and other great towns. This injurious dereliction of the country, is, no doubt, to be attributed in a great measure to the introduction of French manners, and a frivolous taste, and above all, to the jealousy entertained by the first Spanish kings of the House of Bourbon, of the old nobles of Spain, who in the war of the succession had very generally, and very naturally, manifested a predilection for all the House of Austria.

A great and opulent lord residing constantly on his own domain, was an object of displeasure to the court; of discountenance, and even molestation.

VOL. L.

The noble spirit of the Spanish grandees in general, sunk in luxury, indolence, and vice, suffered a gradual depression. They were neither invited nor ambitious to share in the employments of the state, so that with the exception of a few ancient names in the church or the army, and still fewer in the navy, the great body of the Spanish nobility ceased to be of any political importance in the kingdom.

It is extremely remarkable, that it was not among the great landed proprietors, who had in the common phraseology the greatest stakes, that the patriotism of the Spaniards shone forth with the greatest splendour; but among the commercial class, whose property was in some measure moveable, and the clergy, who at best were only life-renters. The nobility in general, did not seem to feel the *amor patriæ*, the attachment to *natal soil*, so strongly as the clergy of all ranks, who resided in their own dioceses, parishes, and monasteries, nor even as that of the poor peasants.

The deep-rooted aversion already noticed to the French, was not confined to the province of Catalonia, but pervaded all the northern and middle provinces of the kingdom.

From the earliest periods, down to the beginning of the last century, the Spaniards and French were engaged almost without intermission in hostilities. Another reason for the peculiar dislike of the Spaniards to their northern neighbours, is found in the national character and deportment of the French, who not only affected or really felt some degree of contempt for the Spaniards,

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but commonly took very little pains to conceal or disguise their sentiments towards them. In this national dislike, persons of all nations who entered Spain from France, were involved, until their real country was known.

As the Spaniards had their national aversions; so they had likewise their national attachments. It would, at first sight, be difficult to account for any partiality they should entertain for the British nation. But such a partiality they certainly did possess, and were eager to demonstrate. The two countries, it is true, were formerly closely connected by various ties, political and commercial; and those ties, notwithstanding the dissolution of the ancient intimacy, by the accession of the House of Bourbon to the throne of Spain, still retained a firm hold of the steady and honourable character of the Spaniards. As men are never more intimately united than by a community of sentiments or feelings, and as the Spaniards believed the English to have no greater respect for the French nation than they had themselves, this warm-hearted people looked on a Briton as in some measure a sharer in his own existence. The Spanish traders in general, had an opinion that in all commercial transactions, no nation came so near as the British to their own, in probity, punctuality, and fairness of dealing.

On the subject of religion, the Spaniards sincerely lamented the defection of the English from their ancient professions of faith. But this sorrow was attended rather by a hope that at some future period, Britain might return to what they

considered as the right way, than by any aversion to their company, or their opinions on other subjects: whereas the natives of Ireland, formerly more numerous in their service than of late years, who professed to be in communion with the church of Rome, were, in many instances, subject to the suspicion of a temporizing policy.

The frequent wars between Britain and Spain, unquestionably kept alive a spirit of estrangement in the Spanish nation. But that great portion of the people who pretended not to inquire into the secret causes of political events, were in the habit of attributing those public enmities rather to the predominating influence of the French counsels in the administration of national affairs, than to the existence of any just cause of complaint immediately between Great Britain and Spain. The epoch and the manner, however, of the commencement of the late hostilities on the part of Britain, had materially affected the general feelings of the Spanish nation with regard to their ancient ally.

Although in estimating the sum of happiness possessed by any nation, our calculations ought not to be founded merely on the theoretic system of their public constitution, yet where such a constitution is as perfect as human wisdom can devise, and virtue carry into effect, the people have *ceteris paribus*, the greatest chance of happiness in every sense of the word. It may therefore appear surprising to a British subject, that a nation once so distinguished as the Spaniards in

in science, and in arms, for so considerable a lapse of time as that between the abdication of Charles V. of Austria and Charles IV. of Bourbon, should have been contented with a system of government presenting so few positive advantages, and producing so many real evils to the various classes in the state. The Spanish nation, however, had been for more than two centuries in a state of gradual decay, so that the deterioration was scarcely perceptible in its progress; and it was only by comparing the situation of the country at different periods, that its decay could be ascertained. It is not by any single act, but by an accumulation of facts, examples, customs, precedents, and laws, that a nation loses its liberty. What is considered by the present generation, at the worst, only as a mist, is seen by succeeding ages as a dark and portentous cloud.

The personal character, too, of a sovereign, or of a minister, has a very powerful influence in even the best organized constitutions on the happiness of a state. The general dispositions and conduct of some late sovereigns of Spain had consequently a strong tendency to attach a people, naturally honourable and loyal, and of great sensibility, to their government in general, and to incline them to attribute what hardships they endured, to the malignant influence of corrupt counsellors, rather than to the dispositions or intentions of the prince. These obser-

vations, however, are applicable only to the mass of the Spanish people; for an improved system of things, both civil and religious, had been long and earnestly wished for by many of the ablest and most enlightened individuals in the state. Others there were also who, infected with the *philosophism** of modern times, secretly longed and waited for a general dissolution of the administration in church and state, in order to raise in its stead an edifice more conformable to their conceptions of a perfect government.

When we reflect that all public discussion of matters relating to either religion or government, was almost entirely prohibited throughout the Spanish dominions; and that men desirous of information on these points, had no other resource than secretly to avail themselves of the writings of authors living under more liberal systems of government, we can easily conceive, that an aversion, and a degree of hostility too, must naturally have been produced in the minds of even good men to an administration by which such restraints were imposed on the exercise of the human faculties on subjects the most congenial and important to his nature. Such men may, for various reasons, carefully observe the rules of exterior submission; but their wishes for a change must in the end produce an alteration in their language, and also in their conduct. In such a case, how

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happy

* The greater part, by far, of those who now call themselves philosophers, consider philosophy only as a perfect freedom from prejudice, and an ardent thirst for innovation.

happy it is for the country of which the established constitution acknowledges the duty, and allows the means of improvement, and when reformation may supersede the necessity of revolution!

The dread tribunal of the inquisition in Spain, had for many years back, been gradually withdrawing from public notice. Its powers, however, though seldom exerted, were not diminished. The unfortunate *Olavide*, the founder of the establishments for peopling the *SIERRA MORENA*, sunk under the power of the holy inquisition, though as much probably for his political as his religious offences. In the beginning of the French revolution, when neither pains nor cost was spared, clandestinely to introduce and disseminate throughout Spain publications adapted to excite disorders in the state, the formidable weapons of the inquisition were actively and successfully wielded, in defence of the established system of government; for any assault on the rights of the temporal sovereign of the kingdom was regarded as a direct attack on the paramount authority of the spiritual head. The alliance between church and state in Spain, was extremely close; or rather the political and ecclesiastical authorities were in a great measure identified. The kings of Spain were the great champions of the church, and the most brilliant era in the history of the Spaniards is that, when they proceeded by degrees to take possession of the munificent donations of the pope, with the sword in one hand, and the cross in the other.— And, in fact, it was not less by the religious zeal of the missionaries, than the heroic valour of the mili-

tary order, that the vast transmarine empire of Spain was established.

The steady devotion of the Spaniards to the church is not therefore founded in a greater propensity to piety, than is felt by other nations only, but in part, by a recollection of former times when they were exalted to so high a pitch of glory by the sword of the Lord and of Gideon. The high-minded pride of the Spanish nation, finding no support in recent, turns to the contemplation of events long past: to the victories of Pavia, Lepanto, and St. Quintoin, to their contests with the Moors, and with the Romans. They had suffered many indignities and insults at the hands of Buonaparte and his agents, when the massacre of Madrid and the captivity of the royal family kindled the accumulated combustibles of indignation and revenge into a flame, which spread into every part of the empire, with the rapidity of lightning. There is no instance of any nation, so widely scattered, rallying so unanimously, and with so much alacrity, around the standard of their country. Their motto was, "*The Spanish blood shed at Madrid, on the 2d of May, cries for vengeance.*"

The flower of the Spanish army was serving under the banners of the enemy in the north of Europe. The iron frontier of Spain, on the north-east was in the hands of French garrisons. The metropolis and the greater part of the interior, and the adjoining kingdom of Portugal, were occupied by 100,000 veteran troops, commanded by able and experienced officers. The Spaniards without arms, without ammunition, and without a public

the treasury, were abandoned by their government, and left wholly to themselves; and not a few of the grandees and other persons of high distinction, to whom they might look up for bringing the resources of the monarchy into one uniform direction, they had reason, though not quite so much probably as they imagined, to consider as traitors to their country. The bands of society were broken asunder. There was no visible mode of combining their separate force into any regular plan of co-operation. Yet, under all these circumstances, they did not hesitate to enter on a conflict with the most numerous and most warlike nation of Europe, their neighbours, under the direction of the subtlest politician, and first general of the age. Nor was this an arrogant and blind presumption; a mere fit of passion, or frantic enthusiasm. An act of passion or phrenzy may be committed by a single person; not by a great nation, widely spread over different and distant regions and countries, and least of all by the Spaniards, renowned for circumspection, foresight, patience, and perseverance in designs formed on due deliberation. Though deserted by government, they had confidence in the justice of their cause, and in one another. It seemed to be deeply impressed, or rather in-born in their minds, that however severe the conflict might be, and how much soever protracted, the star of Spain would gain the ascendant at last, and ultimately conduct her to national independence and glory.

This confidence of ultimate success, under circumstances so discouraging, is one of the most won-

derful, if not the most wonderful feature in the whole of the origin and progress of the general rising of the Spaniards. It was not confined to one class, sex, or age. It was universal. It predominated in the breasts of old and young, of tillers of the ground, shepherds, shopkeepers, monks, and women. The enthusiasm of the Spaniards, though exalted, was deliberate. It was the confidence of men who had calmly surveyed the mighty power opposed to them; who were prepared to encounter privations, defeats, and disasters; and who were persuaded, that by bringing constantly into play all their means of annoyance, they should be able to exhaust and weary out, at last, the enemy whom they were unable to subdue by a direct encounter.

The first circumstance of encouragement, that would naturally occur to the Spaniards, was the geographical position and great extent of their country. Its Peninsular form (for Portugal was not only a congenial and friendly power, but part of the same country) secured it on all sides, except that of the Pyrennees, a natural rampart of no inconsiderable consequence, from being invaded by land; and combined with the naval superiority of England, the sworn enemy of the ruler of France, opened a safe and sure communication with her colonies, with Great Britain and Ireland, with Sweden; and, in short, with every nation on the face of the earth, that might be disposed to espouse and maintain the cause of political freedom against unprincipled ambition and aggression. Although the continent of Europe might not dare to give any direct aid, by declaring war against

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the common oppressor, yet in fact they would, even France herself not excepted, contribute assistance, in an indirect and passive manner, by obliging him to employ a great part of his armies in watching and keeping them in subjection.

The principal towns and seaports of Spain, isolated from one another, by vast distances, were not all of them to be occupied by an invading army, however numerous. In the interior, and particularly the north of Spain, the ground, in many parts, is hilly and broken, rising into lofty mountains, with defiles here and there, and in some places, even towns inaccessible to artillery. The plains of the two Castilles and Estramadura, are scarcely less favourable to invading armies, than the rugged regions that separate them from the rest of Spain. The excessive heat of the climate, and the contagion of intermittent fevers, would be more fatal to an army of strangers, than detachments of natives. The French would have to encounter a great scarcity of provisions and forage, and a difficulty of transporting these from one place to another.

In other countries Buonaparte had supplied his magazines from the depôts of the countries he invaded, improvidently suffered to fall into his hands. In Spain, no such depôts were to be found. Out of evil some times arises good. In former times there had been in every village of Spain small granaries, called *positos*, where the farmers were obliged to deposit every year a certain portion of their harvest as a security against famine. In the last war with Portugal go-

vernment had drained those *positos* for provisioning the army, sent against Portugal in 1801, and failed in its promise to replenish them. Nor could the farmers ever be persuaded to confide thereafter any portion of their grain or forage to the public granaries.

The Spaniards, of proper age, might form themselves at first into small bodies, and take every advantage to be derived from local knowledge; and when they should be under the necessity of quitting one district, or province, they might retire to another. They could break up roads, cut down bridges, intercept convoys and intelligence, fall on the enemy on his flanks; and, in short, harass him in all possible ways, without allowing him a moment's repose by night or day*. By degrees smaller would be organized into larger masses, and duly trained until their local and raw militia should become equal, at length, to a regular army. It was a fortunate circumstance, that the Spanish armies had always been recruited upon limited service; by which means there were spread over all the provinces of Spain veterans who had been trained to arms, and who could now train others. Nor was it the least favourable circumstance to the cause of the patriots, that both their kings, the old and the new, with their courtiers, and so many suspicious characters, were dancing attendance in the antichamber of king Joseph, at Bayonne.—Add to all these favourable circumstances, that the Spaniards were patient under hardships and privations, and many of them accustomed to make long journeys on foot.

CHAP.

* Official Paper, entitled PRECAUTIONS, printed and published by the Supreme Junta of Seville. See State Papers, p. 333.

CHAP. X.

Impetuous haste and Impolicy, as well as Perfidy of Buonaparte.—Astonishment as well as Admiration excited by the General Insurrection in Spain.—History of the Insurrection how divided—Before the Establishment of the Provincial Juntas.—After their Establishment; and Resolution into the Supreme Central Junta.—Tragical End of Solano, Marquis Del Socorro, Captain General of Andalusia and Governor of Cadiz.—Concert and Co-operation between the Spanish Patriots and British Commanders at Sea and Land.—Admirable Harmony among all the Juntas.—Spanish Proclamations, admirable Compositions.—All Classes without exception enrolled in the Insurrection.—Circumstances of Encouragement to the Spanish Patriots in Andalusia.—Unconditional Surrender of the French Fleet in the Harbour of Cadiz.—Insurrection in Portugal, supported and encouraged by Admiral Sir Charles Cotton.—Alliance offensive and defensive between Spain and Portugal.—Deputies from different Juntas in London.—Enthusiasm of Britain in the Cause of Spain.

JUST at the time when all Buonaparte's arrangements, relating to the settlement of Spain were completed, and waited only for the sanction of the junta he had called to Bayonne, the insurrection broke out in all the provinces not immediately under the the control of his arms. What emotions must the intelligence of this have excited in the breasts of the Spaniards at Bayonne, and at the castle of Marrac! As to Buonaparte, the insurrection does not seem to have given him at first much alarm. The sham national assembly was held at Bayonne; the new constitution laid before it; and king Joseph sent to Madrid, as if nothing had happened*. Even after it had begun

to wear a very serious aspect Buonaparte affected to regard it with indifference and contempt, and was at great pains, by means of his journals, to publish that indifference to the world; apprehending, not without reason, that a serious and effectual resistance of his usurpations in Spain, might awaken resistance in other quarters.

It was a saying among the ancient stoics, that it was a great attainment in wisdom to know when to restrain, and when to give our sentiments the impetus of passion†. There was never, perhaps, a character that was more sensible of the importance of this maxim than Buonaparte: one more capable of simulation and dissimu-

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lation

* It may be remarked, that it was not till the 20th of July, when Joseph was presumed, as in fact he did, to have entered Madrid, that Buonaparte, having completed as he conceived his business, quitted Bayonne to proceed to Paris.

† *Force and Affect.*

lation; who could reason more coolly, or on some occasions, giving loose to all his sails, rush on his object with greater ardour. But in his conduct towards Spain he betrayed the common weakness of being unhinged by a long continued flow of success. To the emperor of the French, king of Italy, protector of the confederation of the Rhine, and mediator of the republic of Switzerland, it was plainly a matter of indifference what individual collected the revenues of Spain for the benefit of France; except that a prince of the house of Bourbon might have been expected to collect those of America for some years longer: whereas a change of dynasty could not fail to endanger that great source of supply, by inciting those provinces to pursue their own interest and greatness, in obedience to the very dictates of nature*, by asserting their independence.

It is true, as above observed, that the guilty mind of Buonaparte could never be at peace, while such a crown as that of the Spains and the Indies, rested on the head of a Bourbon. But the impetuous haste with which, after a long scene of successful treachery, he threw off the mask of friendship, and in violation of all that is most sacred among men, seized the persons of the royal family, was indefensible on any ground of policy.

He might have gained his end by means, though more leisurely, more secure. He had gained a complete

ascendancy over the mind and conduct of Ferdinand; as is fully proved by every act of this prince when raised to the throne, and particularly by his journey to Bayonne. The power and influence of Buonaparte, in his character of ally and mediator, with so many French troops in Spain, which might be reinforced on various pretences, was unlimited. It was in his power to occupy Cadiz, Carthageua, Ferrol, St. Audero, and other ports, and thus to cut off all regular and sure communication with England. By bestowing as a gift, on Ferdinand, the throne of his ancestors, he might have degraded him in the eyes of his subjects, compelled him to become, like his father, the miserable instrument of French rapacity, and ultimately like him to abdicate the throne for the safety of his person. In a word, he might have pursued any conduct but that which mortally wounded the pride of every Spaniard, and which every Spaniard considered as a personal insult. It must, however, be admitted, that the explosion of indignant patriotism, which burst forth at the same moment in all the provinces of Spain, was more than Buonaparte, or any one could have expected. It seems to have astonished even the Spaniards themselves.

The junta of Seville looked upon it to be, "as it were, the inspiration of heaven, and little short of miraculous†." And this, by the bye, may serve, in some degree, as an apology for the duke of Infantado, and the other Spanish nobles, who accompanied Ferdinand

* See Vol. XLIX. Hist. Eng. p. 45. Note.

† See Manifesto of the Junta of Seville.—State Papers, 336.

land to Bayonne. They might have thought that all attempts to oppose Buonaparte would be of no avail, and tend only to involve the country in calamity and ruin.

The public mind was in a state of fermentation ever since the horrid 2d of May, and commotions and tumults had arisen in divers places; but it was not until the gazette of Madrid, May 20th, had proclaimed throughout the land the abdication of the Spanish crown by Ferdinand VII. in favour of the emperor of the French, that there was a great and general explosion. The publication of the gazette was quickly followed up by the anniversary of St. Ferdinand, the tutelar saint of the prince, May 27th, which awakened all the sensibility of an ardent, devout, and honourable nation. It was on that day that the insurrection broke out in most places.

The history of Spain for what remains of 1808, after the close of the month of May, naturally divides itself into three periods:—First, that previous to the formation of the central juntas; secondly, that during the government of the central juntas; and, thirdly, that under the supreme and central junta.

The events of the first of these periods, which was but very short, or rather merely transient, were, as usual, in similar cases, for the most part, the effects of popular passion. Don Miguel de Saavedra, captain general of the province of Valencia, where the insurrection first started, who attempted to oppose the views of the insurgents, was put to death. The insurgents then demanded, that all the goods belonging to the French should be declared to be

forfeited, and their persons secured in the citadel. A few days thereafter they dragged the crew of a French ship, which had been pursued by an English frigate, and sought refuge on the Spanish coast, to prison; and on the 14th of June, in a fresh paroxysm of rage, massacred them. At Cuenca, the corregidor and the intendant were thrown into chains, and carried off by a party of peasants. The governor of Carthagená was murdered. General Truxillo, governor of Malaga, was murdered at Grenada. His body was dragged through the streets, cut in pieces, and afterwards burnt. The French consul at Malaga, Mornard, and some French merchants of that place; were secured on the 4th of June from the fury of the people, in the Moorish castle of Gibralfaro. A great quantity of arms and ammunition taken from an English privateer in 1800, had been lodged in a warehouse in the suburbs, to be sold. On the 20th of June a report prevailed, that this magazine had been purchased by the French consul, for the use of the French army. The people of Malaga marched to the castle, and notwithstanding all the remonstrances of the deputy-governor, and resistance of the guard, burst into the castle, pierced their victim with a thousand daggers, and burned his dead body in a bonfire made of the furniture and some wrecks of the consul's house. The dépôt was broken open, and all that it contained destroyed. All this was done in spite of every effort on the part of the municipal government of Malaga to prevent it.

The tumult was at last quelled by a singular expedient. The dead

and chapter fell on the contrivance of a procession, to thank God for their deliverance from the oppressor. The multitude immediately joined the procession, and tranquillity was restored. The governor of St. Lucas. Barameda, was massacred. At Jaen, the peasants murdered the corregidor, and plundered the town.

Similar scenes were exhibited in Estramadura and the Castilles. At Badajoz, the insurrection broke out May 30th, and was in an instant matured. The palace of the governor was assaulted. The insurgents demanded arms, to be enrolled, and formed into a regular body. The government, with the bishop, appeared at the balcony, exhorting the multitude to retire; but in vain. They overpowered the guard of the palace, rushed in, seized the governor, and dragged him as far as the Palm-gate, where with knives, and sticks, they destroyed him.

At Cadiz, May 29th, the people rose against the lieutenant general Solano, Marquis Del Socorro, captain general of the province of Andalusia, and governor of the city of Cadiz. The marquis, with the Spanish troops under his command, had been recalled for the purpose of covering the flight of Charles V. from Aranjuez to Seville. At Madrid, he formed an intimate and confidential connection with Murat, and general O'Farrel, an Irishman in the Spanish service, but drawn over to the side of the French. From the moment that a design was conceived to resist the progress of the French in Spain, every eye was turned to Andalusia, admirably situated, by its situation, for co-operation with the English, and possessing the harbor

of Cadiz, and the boundaries of Seville. Cadiz was divided, though unequally, by a French party and the Spanish patriots. The former consisted of French merchants and French clerks in the counting-houses, with Le Roy, the French consul at their head; and admiral Rosilly, with the other officers of the French fleet, which had been moored in the harbour of Cadiz ever since the battle of Trafalgar. The latter was composed of almost all the Spaniards, the English merchants, and those also, for there were some of other nations.

While the patriots with their allies entered into a correspondence and concert with sir Hugh Dalrymple, governor of Gibraltar, the English admiral Purvis, and general Castaros, commander of the Spanish camp at St. Roch, for the purpose of acting against the common enemy according to circumstances, the French party kept up a correspondence with Madrid. Solano came in post haste to Cadiz, and thundered forth proclamations against all who should have any correspondence with the English forces, while a strong detachment from the main army of the French at Madrid was on its march to Cadiz. An immense number of people, May 29th, conducted by Spanish officers and certain merchants of Cadiz, assembled around the governor's palace, at Chulana, a village in the vicinity of Cadiz, demanding, with loud cries, "arms and ammunition." Solano appeared at the balcony, and in a long speech tried to persuade the people that the power of the emperor of the French was altogether irresistible, and that, if they should attempt resistance to his will by force, they would only precipitate

precipitate their own destruction. They heard him with patience a long time; but interrupted him at last, by repeating their cry of "arms and ammunition. Long live Ferdinand VII." Arms were brought from the barracks, and a cannon from the bulwarks. The gates of the palace were instantly forced: the governor's guard was disarmed: Solano himself, attempting to make his escape by the tops of the houses, was seized and dragged into the street. Even in this extremity, he proclaimed the power and the vengeance of Buonaparte, and declared, "that he was ready to die in the cause of the great Napoleon." A person, who was near him, on hearing these words, dashed his brains out at one blow with a club.

Some excesses were committed in the provinces of Leon and Asturias. At Corrunna, in Galicia, general Filangieri, an Italian in the Spanish service, because he endeavoured to mitigate by persuasion the fury of the peasantry, though he had declared on the side of the insurgents, would have been shot, if an artillery officer had not stepped before him, and given him time to take refuge in the convent of St. Domingo.—On the 1st of June, the people demanded that all the French residing at Corrunna should be arrested. About thirty or forty French of different ranks and conditions, were taken to the common goal, but their property was not seized. Straggling parties of the French, in many places were cut off by the peasants, led on by monks.

But, as already observed, the reign of mere democracy was of

extremely short duration. The zeal and efforts of unconnected individuals, were quickly brought into unity of design and action, by the establishment of provincial juntas. Even before the establishment of these, the popular resentment was in many instances calmed by the magistrates and the authority of good and respectable men among both the laity and clergy. There is no instance of a popular insurrection so widely extended, and provoked by such outrages and insults, that was attended with so few calamities as that of Spain. The horrid excesses just enumerated, are but as a drop in the bucket, when compared with the torrents of innocent blood shed in the first ebullitions of the French revolution. The excesses of Spain were as much underneath the enormities of France, as the grievances of which she had to complain, were above any that the French were subjected to under the mild and beneficent reign of Lewis XVI.

What remained to the Spaniards of their ancient constitution of government, congenial with popular liberty, presented means of collecting the public sentiments, and forming a concert of will and power, without having recourse to innovations, for the most part dangerous, and always accompanied with confusion. The municipal government of the towns of Spain, though complicated, wore in general an air of popular representation. Wherever there were 2000 householders, four deputies and a syndic were named by the people, and formed part of the town council.—On the 27th of May, there was a convention at Seville

Seville of the magistrates, the constituted authorities, and the most respectable of the inhabitants of all classes. This convention, by common consent, elected a supreme provincial junta.

The supreme council of Seville, laying hold of some statutes in their constitution which authorized their rejecting the orders of the supreme council of Madrid, when that capital should be in the hands of foreign troops, assumed an independent authority in the name of Ferdinand VII. whom they proclaimed king, and declared war against France. Supreme juntas were also formed in the same manner, in all the other provinces not under the immediate pressure of the French. But it was necessary, as much as possible, to give the separate forces of all the provinces the same direction; otherwise, instead of harmonious co-operation, they might counteract each other, and throw all things into confusion. The lead in the affairs of the nation was therefore taken by the supreme junta of Seville; which, with a happy audacity assumed, and for a time exercised, all the functions of sovereign authority. Without entangling themselves in any disputes that might arise from the anticipation of contingent events, and diversity of opinion, concerning political reforms, they declared "that their only object was, that Spain might preserve its integrity and independence for its lord and king, Ferdinand VII. on whose safe return, he, with the supreme government, would determine what might be his royal will, either by commanding a general assembly

of the Cortes, or by such other means as his prudence might suggest for facilitating the reform of abuses and the general happiness of the kingdom, securing it on foundations firm and subject to no change. For the present, all the provinces of Spain ought to confine themselves to this general expression, *hereditary succession, according to the fundamental laws of the monarchy.*" The junta of Seville was exceedingly anxious to counteract the machinations of the emissaries of Buonaparte, and other evil-minded persons, who endeavoured to propagate a belief that Andalusia affected a superiority over the other provinces. Any such thought, they declared, and repeated their declaration, had been far from them. Although the general good of the nation had been their guide, and as it were the soul of all their actions, certain circumstances peculiar to Andalusia evinced the propriety of the conduct adopted by the junta of Seville. Veteran troops were more numerous in that province than in other parts, and thus an army could be formed in a shorter time. It possessed the only foundery of cannon in the kingdom, and arms and ammunition in a certain degree of abundance. The superior opulence, and other peculiar circumstances, offered resources which other provinces wanted. The famous English fortress of Gibraltar, was situate in Andalusia. That fortress, and the English squadron cruizing near the mouth of the Straits, were now happily to be reckoned among the resources of Andalusia*.

Various

* State Papers, p. 336.

Various provinces acquiesced in the authority assumed by the junta of Seville, nor was it ever opposed by any of them: though particular juntas were established in the respective provinces for maintaining order, and calling forth their resources in support of the common cause. It was a fine, as well as wonderful spectacle, to behold so great a number of provinces, at the same moment, without consulting each other, not only agreeing in opinion on the great and leading political points, but as to the manner in which they ought to act, forming the same wishes, taking the same measures, and establishing the same form of government; this being the most suitable and convenient for the government of each province.

Every thing done by the Spaniards at this period, wore the twofold character of heroism and wisdom. Abandoned to themselves, they had to provide against internal disunion and anarchy, as well as external aggression. They were well aware that the enemy would attempt to create divisions, by creating a diversity of opinions and pretensions. All classes, therefore, were obedient to the authority of the juntas, without so much as hinting, for the present, at any other changes than what their unprecedented and most critical situation imperiously demanded. The different juntas were animated by one spirit of national indignation, and ready to adopt whatever measures appeared to be the result of the greatest wisdom. All topics that might entangle them in disputes, that might lead to coldness and mistrust, or the appearance of it, between one provincial junta and

another, or towards any description of men, were carefully avoided. The council of Castille had sanctioned all the edicts of Murat, or rather his master, Buonaparte. But allowance was made for the state of coercion in which they were. It was observed to them indeed, in different addresses, that it might have become men of virtue to have fled from Madrid, to some of the armed bodies of their countrymen. But when, on the restraint being removed, they threw all their weight into the scale of the patriots, they were hailed and respected as the true friends of their country, and all was forgotten. Similar indulgence was extended to such of the Spanish junta at Bayonne, and nobles that had accompanied Ferdinand to that place of confinement, as deserted the cause of Joseph as soon as it was in their power, and joined their countrymen in arms. In truth, the extreme imprudence with which so great a number of persons of the first rank in Spain committed themselves into the hands of such a character as Buonaparte, cannot be altogether excused. But it was not in their power, when once in his hands, to extricate themselves, or to oppose any effectual resistance to the will of the tyrant. And the best way to counteract his wishes and his hopes, perhaps, was, to assume an appearance of acceding to them. By flattering him on the immensity of his power, and holding forth the facility with which he might accomplish his projects, they might lead him into a snare, and prepare the way for his discomfiture. When we reflect on the smallness of the force sent into Spain, in comparison of that which had been led forth by Buonaparte himself

himself against Austria, Russia, and Prussia, it appears probable that the nobles, and deputies at Bayonne, did not discourage, but on the contrary, encourage an idea which seems all along to have been entertained by the tyrant; that whatever might be the success of the numerous emissaries employed to corrupt the persons supposed to have the most influence with the people, the very terror of his arms would be sufficient to retain the Spanish nation in awe and subjection; and that the Spaniards, like a flock of timid sheep, would readily obey any one he should appoint to the throne. Persons of a suspicious disposition, might have their doubts about the purity and intention of both the Bayonne junta, and the grandees that accompanied Ferdinand thither. But, what was good policy, there was no public expression of such a sentiment. And on the whole, it would occur to the charitably disposed and the candid part of the nation, that there are circumstances in which the weakness of human nature may naturally look for excuse in necessity, and when even virtue herself, without a blush, may have recourse to simulation and dissimulation.

By this temperate and wise conduct all were united in one fraternity. Noblemen and gentlemen, the clergy of all conditions, manufacturers, artizans, and labourers, all presented themselves voluntarily to be enrolled in the public service. There was yet another class of volunteers, of which we find frequent mention, not only in the papers of the day, published in various forms by the Spaniards, but in the French bulletins, namely, the literary class; the class of stu-

dents and professors in the university, which was very numerous. There were not less than twenty-four universities in Spain, and several of them crowded with numbers of students, little short of those that were wont to resort to our English universities before a standing army constantly on the increase, a navy also still increasing, colonies and commerce no longer thought below a gentleman, attracted so great a portion of the English youth at an early period of life to the walks of business and of ambition. Of the companies of students, some were called the *company of Brutus*, others the *company of Cato*, the *company of the People*, and by other allusions to the great cause of freedom. On their standards was inscribed *Liberty or Death!*

The courage of this literary class is noticed in the French, as well as the Spanish accounts of occurrences. The companies formed of the monks and armed peasants, bore the names of saints. Many of the standards bore the device of the French eagle, torn to pieces by the lion of Spain. Among the higher clergy, there were many who entered at once into the military spirit. The bishop of St. Andero wore always a cutlass at his side. Though it was not among the highest ranks, as already noticed, that the patriotic ardour was the greatest, there were not a few exceptions. Among these, at this stage of our narrative, it is due to most distinguished talents and virtues, to mention the Condé de Montejo, who spent his whole time, with very short intervals for sleep and other refreshment, in animating, instructing, and directing his countrymen, by writing, and by traversing Spain

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in different directions, for the purpose of conversing with the different juntas, and the individuals of the greatest authority in the different provinces. An host of admirable writers sprung up in Spain, where their existence was not imagined. The Spaniard, silent by disposition, and concentrating his ideas, acquires both precision of thought and propriety of expression; a laconic, antithetical, and pointed brevity. How different this from the loquacity, the *revelage* of the French*! Specimens of Spanish eloquence, involving the closest reasoning, in a continued stream of passion, will be found in the Appendix to the Chronicle†, in Spanish proclamations, and in all the Spanish state papers. Never before was Buonaparte treated in such a style! No polite circumlocutions and reserves! no diplomatic courtesies! no professions of high consideration! no management or caution, indicating doubt or fear. The patriots pour on the *inhuman and perfidious monster* undisguised reproach, unqualified abhorrence, and menaces of revenge.

Every incentive that could be drawn from the religious character of the Spaniards, was employed to rouse the people to arms. A proclamation from his holiness the pope, Pius VII. to the Spanish catholics, together with a civil catechism, or brief compendium of the obligations of a good Spaniard, was

industriously circulated in every province, town, village, and hamlet. Sermons were preached by the bishops in favour of the good cause, and extracts from them printed and published. It is to be observed, that parochial schools being established throughout all Spain, the lowest of the people, though restrained by the inquisition from indiscriminate reading, can both read and write. The juntas, in their proclamations to the people, talk very gravely (we do not say impolitically or improperly) of the patronage and protection to be expected from their *LADY OF THE PILLAR*. Nor were pious frauds disdained. At Valladolid, Saragossa, Valentia, and Seville, miracles were solemnly proclaimed, and by those to whom such proclamations were addressed, seriously believed.

At the same time that the juntas used all means for exciting and forming the whole mass of the male population of a reasonable age to arms, and calling forth all the resources of the peninsula, they recommended their cause, and had recourse to the favour, and aid, and co-operation of all nations inimical to usurpation, and friends to the rights of independent states and kingdoms. The supreme junta of Asturias invited the Poles, Italians, and Portuguese, bearing arms in the ranks of the French, to come to their mountains, and join the standard of freedom‡.

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* As the French has become the general language of Europe, and is that of many fine writers, it is, as it ought to be, generally learnt; yet it is ridiculous to be at so much pains and expence as so many silly people are, about acquiring the true Parisian pronunciation of French. It is quite sufficient for most people to understand it in writing; and for all to make themselves understood in it. To be anxious about the true Parisian pronunciation of French, is a most extravagant compliment to the court of Buonaparte.

† Pp. 248—257.

‡ See Appendix to Chronicle, p. 249.

The junta of Seville, May 29, invited the co-operation of the French nation, and all the provinces subject to it.—“Come to us, and you shall find valour, generosity, and true honour.”—The same junta, May 30th, concluded an address to the Portuguese nation in these words: “Your country is not in danger—the danger is past. Hasten to arms for its deliverance and restoration. Share in the glory of setting an example to nations groaning under oppression.” Missioners were sent, and a secret correspondence and understanding entered into, or, as was affirmed by the Austrians at the time, only attempted to be entered into with the court of Vienna.

But it was to the English nation and the Spanish colonies that the Spanish patriots looked for the most cordial, prompt, and efficient assistance: nor were their hopes deceived.

After the tragical end of Solano, the lieutenancy-general of Andalusia and government of Cadiz were conferred by the supreme junta of Seville, that now exercised all the powers of government, on Don Thomas Morla. Morla was a person of great talents, as well as a decided and vigorous character. With equal wisdom, promptitude, and firmness, he had saved Cadiz and Spain from the ravages of the plague in 1804, by shutting up all the churches of Cadiz and its vicinity, in opposition to the remonstrances of both the monks and the greater part of the secular clergy, who considered this as an act of sacrilege, and against the advice of the Spanish physicians too, who maintained that it was useless. He had been long odious to the nobility on account of the severity of his

manners, and his attachment to the prince of peace. But, as his great rival and adversary, general O’Farrel, had gone over to the side of the French, his subsequent declarations of irreconcilable hatred to that party were believed to be sincere.

In the mean time, in consequence of the concert above mentioned between general Castanos and the patriots of Cadiz on the one part, and the commanders of the British forces at Gibraltar and in the Mediterranean on the other; lord Collingwood arrived with ships to take the command of the English fleet off Cadiz, and general Spencer with five or six English regiments from Gibraltar, and the two Swiss regiments of Meuron and Wattenville. Lord Collingwood offered his services for the reduction of the French fleet: but Morla very properly determined, that this should be, exclusively, an achievement of the Spaniards. The French ships lay in the canal of the arsenal in such a position, that they were out of the reach of the cannon of the castles as well as of the Spanish squadron off Cadiz. But, gunboats, bomb-vessels, and tremendous batteries, constructed on the isle of Leon and near fort Louis, soon reduced admiral Rosilly to surrender (June 14,) the French fleet, after offering in vain terms of capitulation. The French fleet consisted of five ships of the line, of seventy-four guns, one frigate, and four thousand seamen and mariners.

Advice having been received, that a small detachment of French had assembled at Tavira, to enter Spain by the river Guadiana, general Spencer, with the small detachment under his command, at the entreaty

estreaty of general Morla, immediately set sail for the Guadiana, and landed his troops at Agamonte. Three ships had already been sent to the mouth of the Guadiana by admiral Purvis. In consequence of these movements, the French retired in all directions on Lisbon, with the exception of some weak detachments; left to occupy the small forts and other positions on that side of Portugal. The Portuguese, animated by the presence of the English, and the example, as well as addresses of the Spaniards, every where rose against the French. Deputations were sent from every part of Portugal to admiral sir Charles Cotton, commanding the naval forces of Britain in that quarter, soliciting succours. The admiral, with due frankness, immediately replied: "Agreeably to your desires, I send you ships, troops, arms, and ammunition; and have given orders for hoisting the flag of his royal highness the prince regent of Portugal, around which the whole Portuguese nation ought instantly to rally, and take up arms in a cause at once, so just and so glorious. To secure success, unanimity is necessary. Unite yourselves with your brave friends and neighbours, the Spaniards. Suffer not yourselves to be either intimidated by threats or seduced by promises. From the experience of some months, you must have learnt how to estimate the friendship of the French. It is to the fidelity and the succours of the English, seconded by your own energies, that you are to owe the restoration of your prince, and the independence of your country."—On board the *Hibernia*, off the Tagus, July 4, 1808.

It is scarcely necessary to mention, that the noble efforts of the Spaniards were immediately followed by peace, harmony, and friendship between that nation and Great Britain, her allies. Proclamations of peace and amity with England and her ally Sweden, were published by the juntas*; and, as for England, whatever power was at war with the common enemy of Europe, was at peace with England. It never occurred, as was declared by Mr. Canning, to the English ministers, to consider ourselves as in a state of hostility to Spain. Preliminaries of a new and perpetual alliance, offensive and defensive, between the two nations of Spain and Portugal, were signed at Oporto, in the name of Ferdinand VII. and the prince regent of Portugal, July 14, 1808. The bishop of Oporto, president of the junta of government of that city, which, Lisbon as well as Madrid being in the hands of the French, seems to have taken a pattern from Seville, signed the treaty in the name of the prince.—The Portuguese provinces of Algarve and Alentejo placed themselves under the guidance and protection of the junta of Seville. So also did the Canary isles, to which the junta had transmitted the earliest possible intelligence of the turn that affairs had taken in the Peninsula. They also determined to dispatch envoys and commissioners to the transmarine establishments of Spain in the Americas and West Indies, and in Asia,

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* The proclamation of Asturias Oviedo, June 20, 1808, is given as a sample of the rest, State Papers, p. 336.

inviting them to unite with their brethren in Old Spain, for preserving the integrity and independency of the monarchy for their lord and king Ferdinand VII. For accomplishing this end, they applied to lord Collingwood for a passport to a frigate and four advice-boats; and also for a corvette to carry out a number of officers, whose presence was necessary in the American colonies. They preferred an English to a Spanish ship for conveying the officers, because it would be a proof of peace and alliance between Spain and Great Britain. Their demand was immediately complied with, and all the vessels, after a short and pleasant voyage, reached their destination. Vessels had been sent before with a number of proclamations by king Joseph; but the greater part of them fell into the hands of English ships of war: the crews of one or two that reached the coast of Spanish America, were imprisoned by the colonists, and the proclamations of Joseph burnt by the hands of the executioner. Application was also made, June 12, to lord Collingwood, by the government of Cadiz, for a frigate to conduct commissioners, appointed by the supreme junta of Seville, to England, in order to treat with his majesty's ministers, on matters of great interest and importance to both countries. As the admiral who commanded in the port of Cadiz was one of the deputies, lord Collingwood thought it proper, that his departure should be delayed till the surrender of the French ships in the harbour: within two or three days after which, the deputies set sail in the *Revenge* frigate for England, where they arrived in safety on the 24th of

July. Long before their arrival deputies had appeared in London, from the principality of Asturias, bearing the first certain intelligence of the insurrection in Spain, and soliciting the aid of the British government; a circumstance that, not unnaturally, led the periodical journalists to state that the standard of liberty in Spain, was first raised in Asturias. The insurrection was almost simultaneous. But, if it were of any importance to ascertain the priority of a few days, it might be observed, that the insurrection first broke out in Valencia.

On the 9th of June, six Spanish gentlemen, having at their head the viscount de Materosa and Don Diego de la Vega, arrived in London, and they were followed by a succession of deputies, or envoys from other provinces, both Spanish and Portuguese. Peace was proclaimed with Spain in the London Gazette of the 5th of July. The Spanish prisoners in our jails, to the number of several thousands, were set free, clothed, and sent home to join their brethren in arms. The British arsenals, fleets and squadrons, and treasures: all that Spain could demand, or England afford, was without hesitation or the smallest delay liberally granted. The ministry were neither remiss nor parsimonious, where to be alert and profuse was to be universally popular, from the king on the throne to the beggar on the highways and streets. In the cause of the Peninsula the people of Great Britain and Ireland seemed ready to rise in a mass, as well as the natives of that noble country. They hailed the dawn of liberty, and stood in admiration of the Spaniards. The emigrants from France, prone to grasp at appearances infinitely less promising, expressed

pressed their sensibility, in extravagant and poetical language, but, at the same time, nothing more than what they felt. "The Spaniards, they said, were worthy to contend for the cause of liberty, law, monarchy, honour, and God.—Spain raises the standard of liberty, and all nature revives.—The spirit of party is mute; the most inveterate hatreds extinct; enthusiasm has banished the spirit of opposition; the walls of Westminster hall are astonished at seeing, for the first time, a perfect unity of sentiments, words, and actions*."

The first supply to the Spanish patriots, which was sent within a few days after the arrival of the Asturian deputies, consisted in three hundred thousand pounds sterling, in dollars, five thousand muskets, thirty thousand pikes, and an immense quantity of powder and balls. Malerosa's secretary was sent home, together with three British officers of

rank, with these succours, with assurances that others should be sent from time to time, as well as troops, and whatever the patriots might need. A promise which was fulfilled faithfully.

The deputies were splendidly entertained by the city of London, the bank, and other public bodies, as well as by individuals of great distinction. Subscriptions were opened in London, Liverpool, Bristol, Glasgow, Edinburgh, Dublin, Cork, Waterford, and many other places, for supporting the cause of Spain, and several military corps, militia and volunteers, offered their services. The supreme junta of Asturias, did not fail, in a gazette, dated Oviedo, June 30, to publish with expressions of the most profound gratitude, the generosity of the English nation. The same sentiments, on various occasions, were expressed with the same warmth by the other juntas.

* L'Ambigu, No. 187, p. 483.

CHAP. XI.

Situation of the Spanish Provinces at the breaking out of the Insurrection.—Precautions recommended to the Spanish Nation by the Junta of Seville.—Computation of the Numbers of the French and Spanish Forces.—How these were distributed.—Battle of Baylen and surrender of the French Army under General Dupont.—General Moncey repulsed with great Loss from Valentia.—Siege of Saragossa.—The Siege raised.—Transactions in Catalonia.—Duhesme lays Siege to Gerona.—Repulsed.—Lays waste the Country around Barcelona.—His Rapacity and Cruelty.—Operations in the North of Spain.—Battle of Cabezon; and of Medina Del Rio Seco.—Retreat of King Joseph from Madrid.

OF the fourteen provinces into which Spain is divided, four in the beginning of June, after the insurrection had broken out, were incontestably in the hands of the French. These were Navarre, Biscay, and the Two Castilles. The French were likewise, as already noticed, in possession of the fortress of Barcelona. A paper, fraught with the greatest political prudence, was published on the last day of May, by the junta of Seville, under the title of "PRECAUTIONS which it will be proper to observe throughout the different provinces of Spain, in the necessity to which they have been driven by the French, for resisting the unjust and violent possession which their armies are endeavouring to take of the kingdom*." In that paper it was observed, among other most judicious counsels, that as a combined union of plans was the soul of every well concerted enterprize, and that which alone

could promise and facilitate a successful issue, it appeared indispensable, that there should be three generalissimos, who should act in concert with each other; one who should command in the four kingdoms or provinces of Andalusia, in Murica, and Lower Estramadura; another in Valentia, Arragop, and Catalonia; a third in Navarre, Biscay, Asturias, and the North of Old Castille. Each of these generals and generalissimos would form an army of regular troops and peasantry united, and put himself in a situation to undertake enterprizes, and to succour the most exposed points; always keeping up a frequent communication with the other generalissimos, in order that all might act by common accord, and assist one another. Madrid and La Mancha, required an especial general, to concert and execute the enterprizes which their particular local situation demanded. His only object would be, to embarrass the enemy's

* State Papers, 333.

enemy's armies, to take away or cut off their provisions, to attack them in flank and rear, and not to leave them a moment of repose*. All general actions to be avoided. The entrance into the provinces by the north and east to be blocked up; the entrance into Spain to be also blocked up against French troops coming from Portugal.

No accurate estimate has been made, or could well be made, of the numbers of men bearing arms, veterans and new levies, that appeared in the cause of the country in the provinces. In some, all the males capable of bearing arms, were enrolled from fifteen to forty-five. In others, from sixteen to forty-six; and in some, to fifty. If all the enrolments were duly made, and all the persons enrolled actually brought into the field, the amount of the whole must have exceeded a million. But this is scarcely to be supposed. The numbers must have been fluctuating. One circumstance, wholly unworthy of the cause of the patriots, is not to be passed without notice. The provincial juntas, even the central junta into which these, in the progress of time and events were resolved, were in the constant habit of exaggerating, prodigiously, the numbers of their fighting men. If this would have dismayed the French, or inspired a general confidence in the Spanish nation, it might have been excused, nay commended; but the trick was quickly discovered. And those false statements, by misleading their own generals, as was afterwards sadly ex-

perienced by Sir John Moore, did infinitely more mischief than good. However, there certainly was not any deficiency either in numbers, or individual zeal or courage. What was really wanted, and not possible at once to be found, was some man of authority, talents, and experience, pre-eminently distinguished above all his compatriots, to command and direct the resources of the country in one combined plan of operations. On the other hand unity of design, promptitude of action, and aggression instead of defence, were mighty advantages to the invaders.

The exact numbers of the French armies in the Peninsula, at the time when the insurrection broke out, cannot be ascertained. The French gazettes sometimes exaggerate and sometimes extenuate the numbers of their soldiery, at particular places, and on particular occasions, just as it seems to suit their purpose. It is certain that there were at the end of May and beginning of June, three marshals of France in the heart of Spain; namely, Murat, Moncey, and Bessieres; which supposes three distinct corps of the grand army, or nine divisions, forming, in all, from seventy to seventy-five thousand men: to which we are to add the corps of the army under marshal Ney, on the frontier of the eastern Pyrenees, and occupying the fortresses of Barcelona and Montjuich. This corps of Ney's may be computed at ten thousand men. Adding to these twenty-thousand French in Portugal under Junot, and fifteen thou-

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* Sir Walter Raleigh, in his History of the World, says, that Darius might have circumvented the invading Greeks, by hindering them (not to speak of food) even from taking the refreshment of sleep.

sand auxiliaries, Hanoverians, Swiss, and Spaniards, we have an aggregate of one hundred and twenty thousand men.

Of these 120,000 men, 50,000 were either stationed in Madrid, or encamped in the vicinity, under the orders of Murat and marshal Moncey. From this great body at or near the capital, detachments were sent to take possession of Cadiz and of Valentia. One of these detachments proceeded towards its destination under the orders of the general of division Dupont: the other marched to Valentia, under marshal Moncey himself. Marshal Bessieres, whose principal force was posted at Vittoria and Pampeluna, for guarding the two roads to Madrid, and securing the communication between that capital and Bayonne, had it in charge to push detachments to the right and left, for bridling as great an extent of country as possible.

The reduction of the city of Valentia, would be an important step towards that of the whole province, and also open a way for combining the operations of marshal Moncey and general Duhesme in Catalonia. That of Cadiz, besides the importance of its harbour, ships, and naval arsenal, would terminate a military line of posts from Bayonne by Vittoria, Burgos, Madrid, Cordova, and Seville, that should completely divide the Peninsula from north to south, and cut off all co-operation between the eastern and western divisions.

Marshal Bessieres, who commanded the northern army of the French, was opposed by general Cuesta, who was at the head of the forces of the four western provinces of Galicia, Asturias, Estramadura,

Leon, and certain unsubdued, or as they were called by the French, refractory districts of Biscay. General Castanos was commander in chief of the four kingdoms of Andalusia, with the provinces of Grenada and Valentia, which had united themselves with Andalusia. Admiral Cisneros was captain general of Murcia; Don Joseph Palafox of Arragon, and count Espellata, as already mentioned, of Catalonia. The garrisons of St. Roch and Ceuta, joined their brethren in arms, under the general command of Castanos; those of Majorca and Minorca, the patriots of Catalonia.

It is possible, by entering into the plans of commanders, and tracing the means by which they were either frustrated or accomplished, to give even in such a brief narrative as ours a general, though by no means a circumstantial or detailed account of military operations in ordinary campaigns: but not to relate all the enterprizes and skirmishes of the various parties that appeared in arms against the French in the different provinces of Spain in 1808, under the orders of the different juntas; which indeed would fall under the denomination rather of provincial than of national history. Therefore we shall confine ourselves to a sketch of the principal actions and events; those that were followed by the most important results, or by which the issue of the contest was most materially affected. The heroism and patriotic ardour, that were displayed by so many individuals and small parties, in a kind of mountainous and desultory warfare, in different provinces, deserve, indeed, to be recorded; nor, whatever may be the final result of the present conflict, will

will provincial historians be wanting to transmit to posterity their glorious efforts.

The army under Dupont, when it left Madrid, towards the close of May, amounted to 15,000 men; but in its progress, it was gradually diminished by sickness, by desertion, and by the necessity of sending out from time to time, parties for bringing in forage and provisions, the greater part of which were destroyed or taken by parties of armed peasants. Having crossed the mountains of Morena, while the insurrection was yet without any thing of consistency or form, he descended into the plains of Andalusia, and on the 7th of June advanced to Cordova, of which he took possession, without much opposition from the few Spanish troops quartered there, joined by a number of peasants. For three days, the city of Cordova, was given up to pillage. The churches, after being swept of their sacred vessels and ornaments, were converted into stables. On the 15th, parties of French were advanced beyond Cordova. On the 16th, the French commander being informed that general Castanos was marching against him, at the head of 21,000 regular troops, infantry, 25,000 cavalry, and a numerous artillery, besides a great number of insurgents who volunteered their service, retreated from Cordova to Andujar; where he took up a strong position with the Guadalquivir in front, and added to the natural strength of the place, deep entrenchments. General Castanos being unwilling to waste any part of his force by attacking the enemy in his entrenched camp, determined to

cut off his supplies, by coming between him and another division of Dupont's army, posted under the immediate orders of general Wedel. General Dupont, in this straitened and perilous situation, dispatched messenger after messenger to Madrid, calling loudly for reinforcements. A division of 8000 men, was sent under the orders of general Belliard, famous for his exploits in Upper Egypt, by the Sierra Morena.—And Dupont, in order to facilitate a junction with the expected reinforcements, quitted his position at Andujar, and fell back on Baylen. But Castanos posted divisions and detachments of his army in so judicious a manner as not only to cut off all communication between the corps under general Wedel and general Dupont, but also between this last corps, which was the most numerous, and Madrid.

The deplorable situation to which Dupont was reduced, is thus described in an intercepted letter from him to general Belliard. —“We have not a moment to lose for quitting a position in which we cannot subsist. The soldier being under arms the whole day, cannot now, as heretofore, reap the corn and make bread: for all the peasants have abandoned both their hamlets and their harvests. For heaven's sake, send us prompt reinforcements; in one word, a body of troops forming one compacted mass, of which the component parts shall be as near to each other as ever it is possible. If we suffer the enemy to keep the field, all the southern provinces and the other troops of the line will hasten to take part with the rebels. A decisive blow in

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Andalusia,

Andalusia, would contribute greatly to the subjugation of all Spain. Send me, without a moment's delay, medicines and linen for the wounded: for the enemy has intercepted for the space of a month, all our ammunition waggons, and the provisions sent for us from Toledo." A detachment of 500 men sent out from the French camp at Andujar, to seek and meet Belliard was cut off to a man by the smugglers of the mountains, who had formed themselves into a body, 4000 strong, and sworn to grant no quarter. The same body, and other parties of Spaniards, harassed the detachment of Belliard, in the defiles of Morena, night and day. Instead of forming a junction with Dupont, he was seen to return to Madrid with half the numbers with which he had set out. It has come to be a maxim and practice, that when a general is hemmed in into any desperate situation, his only chance of extrication is, to make a bold attack on the enemy.—On the 20th of July, about three o'clock in the morning, the army under Dupont attacked the Spaniards. There was a division of 9000 strong, under the command of lieutenant general Reding, a Swiss. There was another division of the Spanish army of 5000, under general de Coupigny; a third under general de Pena, of 6000: and a fourth under general Jones, of 5000; in all, 25,000: of these 25,000 the half was peasants. The force of Dupont did not exceed 8000. The brunt of the battle fell on the divisions of the generals Reding and Coupigny.

The first shock of the French was so furious, that the foremost companies of the Spaniards, suffer-

ed prodigiously. But the Spaniards maintained their ground, and supported by their artillery, attacked and drove the French before them at all points. Yet the French kept up the conflict, constantly renewing their assaults without any other interruption than what was unavoidably occasioned by momentary retreats, for the formation of fresh columns, till half an hour past mid-day. At different times they broke through the lines of defence, with the boldness peculiar to troops accustomed to conquer, and sometimes advanced even to the Spanish batteries. The last attack was led on by Dupont himself, who with the other generals placed himself at the head of the columns, under the fire of the Spanish artillery, which, on that day, was admirably well served, as was admitted by the French, who owned that they had forty pieces of cannon dismounted.

At two o'clock P. M. the advanced guard of the division under general Pena arrived at the scene of action, and began to play on the enemy with his artillery; when a flag of truce appeared, desiring to treat for a capitulation. An armistice ensued of course. But during this, the division under the command of general Pena, was attacked by the French division, 6000 strong, under general Wedel, who came up, while Dupont was engaged with the generals Reding and Coupigny, from Carolina. The battalion of Condova was surprized and taken, with two field pieces.

The number of the French killed and wounded in the battle of Baylen, amounted, it was computed, to 3000; that of the Spaniards, to 1200. The negotiation between Dupont and the Spanish commander-in-chief, general

general Castanos, did not last long. Dupont was told at once that he must surrender at discretion: which he agreed to. General Wedel's division was comprehended in the capitulation as well as that of Dupont, forming together a body of 14,000. It was agreed that general Wedel's division should be sent home by sea, to Rochfort.

Marshall Moncey was not more successful in Valentia, than general Dupont in Andalusia, though he escaped capture, and made good his retreat, though with a heavy loss in killed, wounded, and prisoners, to Madrid. The kingdom of Valentia is well fortified by nature by means of the rivers Gabriel and Xuccar, and by a chain of steep and rugged mountains. The passes through these were guarded by some troops of the line, and a considerable body of Valentian insurgents. These guards were attacked by Moncey, on the 21st of June, and routed.—Having crossed the mountains, he marched straight on Valentia.

On the 26th, he was attacked at Banolos by general Caro, a nephew of the illustrious general Romanas, and suffered pretty severely, in both cavalry and infantry. He was attacked again by general Caro, between Quarte and Mislata, when he also sustained considerable loss. Nevertheless, though thus harassed, he continued his march, and on the 28th, opened a heavy fire on Valentia, of both artillery and musquetry, which was continued without ceasing from mid-day to the evening. The Valentians returned his fire with some pièces of artillery planted at the gates of the city, and by showers of musketry, from the tops of houses. On the

other hand, he had to maintain a conflict with general Caro, who had followed the French close at their heels, for the defence of Valentia. An impetuous charge with the bayonet, made such havoc among the ranks of the French, that they retired, at about eight hours at even to their camp between Quarte and Mislata, which was fortified by strong entrenchments and formidable batteries. From thence he continued his retreat on Madrid, harassed for some days by general Caro, as he had been on his march through the plain of Valentia. Of 15,000 men, infantry, cavalry, and artillery, that marched with Moncey from Madrid, 10,000 returned, and 150 waggons carrying the wounded. Fifteen hundred were made prisoners, and sent to Carthagea.

The campaign of Arragon was still more glorious to the Spanish patriots, than those of Andalusia and Valentia. Arragon, situated between Madrid and the frontier of France, was obliged to fight with one reinforcement of fresh troops after another. In every engagement before the walls of Saragossa, Palafox was victorious. The inhabitants of Saragossa equalled—it was not possible to exceed the patriotic heroism of the Numantians and Saguntines. Every mode of defence and attack that human imagination could devise, was adopted, and whatever human courage could dare, was performed.

Saragossa, the capital of the kingdom of Arragon, is situate on the right bank of the Ebro, with a suburb on the left bank, connected with it by a stone bridge. Though the mountains that bound the valley of the Ebro are distant, yet

Sarra-

Saragossa is commanded by some high ground, called the Torrero, about a mile to the south-west. The walls of Saragossa appear to have been constructed merely to facilitate the means of levying the taxes on every article brought into the town for sale. The gates, which are nine in number, are of the most simple construction, and the line between them, is in some places preserved by the mud wall of a garden; in others, by buildings, or by the remains of an old Moorish wall, which has a slight parapet, but without any platform even for musquetry. The houses are three stories in height: the streets very narrow and crooked, excepting one or two market-places, and the street called the Corso, situate nearly in the centre of the town. The population is estimated at about 60,000 souls.

On the 25th of May, the inhabitants of this defenceless city, and the peasantry of the surrounding country, rose to repel the aggressions of the French, and to frustrate the design of changing the dynasty on the Spanish throne, announced in the manifesto of Murat, May 20th. The captain-general of Arragon, Guiliamah, had betrayed an inclination to submit to the enemy. He was, on this account, seized, and thrown into prison, and the government unanimously conferred on Don Joseph Palafox, the youngest of three brothers of one of the most distinguished families in Arragon. This nobleman, at the commencement of the revolution, had been selected from the officers of the guards, to be second in command to the marquis de Castellar, to whose custody the Prince of the Peace was confined

after his arrest at Aranjuez.— Though he had been in the Spanish guards all his life, he had never seen actual service. His time had been principally passed in the dissipation of Madrid, where he was not a little distinguished by the splendour and fashion of his appearance.

At the commencement of his command, the neighbouring provinces of Navarre and Catalonia were in possession of the French. The passes of the Pyrenees leading directly into Arragon, were open, and Murat, with the main body of the French forces, were stationed at Madrid. Thus surrounded by his enemy, general Palafox mustered the regular troops quartered at Saragossa, amounting to 220 men; and he found the public treasury of the province could not furnish him with more than 2,000 reals, a sum in English money, equal to twenty pounds sixteen shillings and eightpence. Animated however by the patriotism and the confidence reposed in him by his countrymen, he did not despair of the cause of his country. On the 31st of May, he published a proclamation, encouraging the Arragonese in their noble ardour, and declaring war against France. " Providence has preserved in Arragon a great quantity of muskets, ammunition, and artillery. The unmerited honour you have conferred on me, constrains me to draw aside the veil that covers the most detestable villany. My life, which can have no value in my sight but in as far as it may be subservient to your happiness and the prosperity of my dear country—my life is the least sacrifice I can make in return for those proofs of confidence

dence and attachment with which you have honoured me. Be assured, Arragonians, doubt it not, that my heart is not made for harbouring a thought of crimes, nor associating with those who commit or protect them*. Some of those persons in whom the Spanish nation placed confidence, some in whose hands are placed the powers of government, are among the foremost to labour for your ruin, by all the means that baseness can suggest, and to form traiterous connections with the enemy of their country. I will not, however, divulge their names. Perhaps some of the chiefs to whom I allude, now that they are acquainted with your fixed determination, that of your neighbours the Valentians, and of all the provinces of Spain, have changed their mind, embraced the cause of justice, and used their endeavours for shaking off that yoke which they wished to impose on you, by means the most base and infamous. Fear not, Arragonians! the troops of the enemy now in Spain, cannot withstand our efforts. Let us defend the most just of causes and we shall be invincible."

The declaration of war with which the proclamation concluded, was reduced to eight articles. The first made the emperor of the French, all the individuals of his family, and all his generals and officers, personally responsible for the safety of the king and that

of his brother, and his uncle. By the second it was declared that in case of any violence falling on those precious heads, the nation would exercise its right of election in favour of the Archduke Charles, as the nephew of Charles III. in case of the prince of Sicily, the infant Don Pedro, and other heirs, should be precluded by any circumstances of situation from the succession. This clause was disapproved by most of the other juntas, and particularly the junta of Seville. It was deemed more expedient, that the Spanish nation should avoid for the present, all anticipations of contingent cases, as above observed, and confine itself to measures indispensably necessary, in the present juncture.

Early in the month of June, and before any force could be organized for the defence of Arragon, a detachment of French of 8,000 infantry, and 900 cavalry, under the orders of the general of division Le Fevre, began to march from Pampeluna, against Saragossa. After a succession of skirmishes with the Arragonese, at Tudela, Mallen Gaul, and Alagon, the French advanced, June 14, within a very short distance of Saragossa, where they took up a position in the valley on the opposite side of the town, to that side which was situate on the Ebro. This position was covered by rising ground planted with olive trees. Having occupied this post, they deferred their

* Palafox was among the number of those noblemen who accompanied Ferdinand VII. to Bayonne. The purity of his mind is undoubted, and his sense and penetration as unquestionable. He may have considered it perhaps as a point of honour not to abandon Ferdinand, even when he was determined to rush into the very throat of danger. He had recently escaped from Bayonne, in the disguise of a peasant, to his country seat near Saragossa.

their general attack on the city till the morrow: but a small detachment of cavalry that penetrated into the town on the 14th of June, paid dearly for their rashness.

The Arragoneze had hastily planted some cannon before the gates of their city, and also in some favourable positions without the town, particularly on a rising ground called the Torrero, and on the height near it. On the 15th of June, the French sent a detachment against the out-posts on the canal of Arragon, while their main body attempted to storm the city by the gate called Portillo. The Arragoneze attacked almost at the moment, both in out-posts and at the gates of their town, fought without order, but with extreme fury. They did not stop to load their muskets a second time, but as if regardless of their lives, rushed on the French columns as they advanced, with the bayonet and other hand weapons. Their artillery was served by any persons who chanced to be near it. Every one alternately commanded and obeyed. But all were animated by the same spirit, and their efforts, after a most severe conflict, were finally crowned with success. A party of the enemy that entered the town, were instantly put to death, and Le Fevre, convinced that it would be in vain to persevere in his attack, withdrew his troops to a position out of the reach of the Arragoneze cannon. During this retreat, the Arragoneze took 400 cavalry and 27 baggage waggons.

As soon as the French were thus repulsed, general Palafox set out from Saragossa, in order to collect reinforcements and provide resources for a siege, and also to place the rest of the kingdom in a state

of defence, in case of the reduction of the capital. He found from twelve to fourteen hundred soldiers who had escaped from Madrid, and he united with them a small division of militia stationed in Calatayud. With this force, in compliance with the earnest desire of his soldiers, he determined to attack the French. He marched immediately to Epila, with the intention to have advanced from thence to the village of La Muela: by which manœuvre, he hoped to place the French between his little army and the city of Saragossa. This attempt, however, was frustrated by a sudden attack on the part of the enemy in the night at Epila, when the Spaniards, after an obstinate but fruitless resistance, were at length compelled to yield to superior numbers and discipline. The wrecks of this small force retired from the scene of action to Calatayud, and afterwards with great difficulty threw themselves into Saragossa.

Meanwhile the French received reinforcements of troops and artillery from Pampeluna, and began to occupy the several military positions in the plain covered with olive trees that surrounds Saragossa.

They were not allowed to carry on these operations unmolested. In a short time, however, the French had invested nearly one half of the town, and on the 28th of June they took possession of the Torrero. The battery on the neighbouring height also, which had been entrusted to an artillery officer, and 500 men, fell into their hands. The officer was declared a traitor to his country, for not having defended this important post as he ought to have done, and on his return into Saragossa, was immediately

diately hanged. After the surrender of the Torrero the city could not communicate with the country on any other side than that of the Ebro.

During these operations of the enemy the Arragonese were busily employed in placing their town in the best possible state of defence that their slender resources would admit of. They tore down the awnings from their wind-mills, and formed them into sacks, which they filled with sand, and piled up before every gate, in the form of a battery, digging round each of them a deep trench. They broke holes in the mud-walls, and intermediate buildings, for musquetry, and here and there, where the position was commanding, placed cannon. The houses in the environs of the city were pulled down or burnt. Gardens and olive grounds were cheerfully rooted up by the proprietors themselves, wherever they impeded the defence of the city, or covered the approach of the enemy. The exertions of the men were animated by women of every description, who formed themselves into parties for the relief of the wounded; and for carrying water and provisions to the batteries of the gates, while their children were employed in conveying cartridges made by the monks. Scarcely a day passed without a sanguinary contest between detachments of the French and Arragonese, in the neighbouring olive woods. In the last two days of the month of June, four hundred soldiers of the regiment of Estramadura, small parties from other corps, and a few artillerymen, contrived to reinforce Saragossa. To the artillerymen were

added two hundred of the militia of Logrono, who, roused by the presence of an enemy, soon learned the ordinary duties of the corps to which they belonged. Two pieces of cannon were procured from Lerida. The enemy drew his resources from Pampeluna, while the Arragonese, now completely surrounded, had not one single fortress to which they could have recourse, either for ammunition or for cannon. About the last day of June, a powder magazine in the heart of the city blew up, and in a moment nearly a whole street was reduced to a heap of ruins. The inhabitants had scarcely recovered from their consternation at this dreadful loss when the French, who had received mortars, howitzers, and cannon, opened a destructive fire upon the city. The sand bag battery before the gate called *Portillo*, against which the attack of the enemy was principally directed, was gallantly defended. It was several times destroyed, and as often reconstructed under the fire of the enemy. Here an act of heroism was performed by a female, to which there is scarcely any thing equal in history. Augustina Saragossa, about twenty-two years of age, a handsome young woman, of the lower class of the people, whilst performing her duty of carrying refreshment to the gates, arrived at the battery of the Portillo, at the very moment when the fire of the French had absolutely destroyed every person that was stationed on it. The citizens and soldiers, for the moment, hesitated to re-man the guns. Augustina, rushing forward over the wounded and slain, snatched a match from the hand of a dead artilleryman, and fired

fired off a 26 pounder. Then, jumping upon the gun, she made a solemn vow never to quit it alive during the siege, and her fellow-citizens, stimulated by this daring act of intrepidity to fresh exertions, instantly rushed into the battery, and again opened a tremendous fire on the enemy*. Attack was made after attack: Saragossa was more and more closely invested. Above the city the Ebro was fordable, and below it the French, in spite of the efforts of the Arragonese, had constructed a bridge. Having by these means transported their cavalry to the opposite bank of the river, they destroyed the mills which supplied the town with flour, levied contributions in the different villages, and thus cut off the only communication by which the besieged could receive any supplies either of provisions or ammunition. In this critical situation, the active and intelligent captain general of Arragon, established in various parts of the city corn mills worked by horses, and ordered the monks to be employed, under skilful directors, in manufacturing gunpowder. All the sulphur the place afforded was put into immediate requisition. The earth of the streets was carefully washed, in order to furnish saltpetre; and charcoal was made of the stalks of hemp, which in that part of Spain grows to a very unusual size. On this simple foundation there was formed, afterwards, a regular manufactory of

gunpowder at Saragossa, yielding 13 arrubas of Castille, or 325 lbs. per day.

Towards the end of July, the large population of Saragossa was but scantily supplied with food, and had but little or no hope of succour. By the unremitting exertions of forty-six days, their spirits were exhausted, and their bodily strength impaired. A desperate effort was made to recover the important post of the Torrero, in vain: after which, the Arragonese, despairing of being able to make any sortie with effect, resolved to conquer or to perish within the walls of their city. During a bombardment on the 2d and 3d of August, a foundling hospital, which contained the sick and wounded, who from time to time had been conveyed there during the siege, unfortunately caught fire, and was rapidly consumed. All attention to private property was instantly abandoned. Every body was seen hastening to the relief of the sick and helpless children: in which act of humanity none were more conspicuous than the women, who persisted in their humane exertions, equally undaunted by the shot and shells of the enemy, and the flames of the building before them. On the 4th of Aug. the French opened a tremendous battery on the quarter of the city called Santa Engracia. In an instant the mudwalls opposite to their batteries vanished; and the splendid convent of Santa Engracia

* Mr. Vaughan, fellow of All-Souls College, Oxford, and one of Dr. Ratcliffe's travelling fellows from that university, whose excellent narrative has been our principal guide in this account of the siege of Saragossa, relates, that when he saw this heroine there, "She had a small shield of honour embroidered on the sleeve of her gown, with *Saragoza* inscribed upon it, and was receiving a pension from the government, and the daily pay of an artilleryman.

cia was on fire and tottering in ruins. The French columns immediately rushed through this entrance into the city, took the batteries before the adjacent gates in reverse, and after a most sanguinary conflict, penetrating to the street Corso, nearly in the centre of the town, were in possession before the day closed of one half of Saragossa. The French general then demanded a capitulation in the following note.—*Quartel General—Santa Engracia.*

La Capitulation. The answer immediately returned, was:—

Quartel General—Zaragoza.

Guerra al Cuchillo.

PALAFIX*.

One side of the street Corso, was now occupied by the French, in the centre of which general Verdier was seen giving his orders from the Franciscan convent. The Arragonese maintained their positions on the opposite side, throwing up batteries at the openings of the streets within a few paces of similar batteries of the French. The intervening space was soon heaped up with dead, either thrown from the windows of the houses in which they had been slain, or killed in the conflicts below. From this enormous accumulation of the dead, there was the utmost reason to apprehend a pestilence. To an Arragonese it was almost certain death to appear in the middle of the street. The expedient for pre-

venting mortal contagion that occurred to general Palafox was, to push forward French prisoners, with a rope attached to them, amidst the dead and dying, to remove the bodies of their countrymen, and bring them for burial: an office in the execution of which, as it was beneficial to both parties, they were not in general annoyed. Something too is, no doubt, to be set down to the account of the sympathy of the French, with their unfortunate countrymen. By this means the evils arising from the horrible corruption of such masses of dead bodies, were in some degree diminished.

The principal season for attack in this singular species of warfare, from the opposite sides of the same street, of only a moderate breadth, was the night. The French and the Arragonese, under the cover of darkness, frequently dashed against each others batteries across the street. The struggle begun at the batteries, was often carried into the houses beyond them.

On the 5th of August, when the French were expected to renew their efforts to obtain complete possession of the city, the Arragonese found their ammunition beginning to fail. The only cry that assailed the ears of the gallant general, as he rode amongst the people was, that if ammunition failed, they were ready to attack the enemy with only their knives.

At

* TRANSLATION.

Head Quarters, Santa Engracia.

The Capitulation.

Head Quarters, Saragosa.

War to the Knife.

In close combat the knife in the hands of the Spaniards is a very formidable weapon. The Romans, with their short cut and thrust swords, conquered the world.

At this awful crisis, just before the fall of night, a convoy of provisions and ammunition, with a reinforcement of 3000 men, composed of Spanish guards, Swiss, and volunteers of Arragon, unexpectedly made their entrance into the city, under the command of Don Francisco Palafox the brother of the captain general.

A council of war held, August 8th, came to the following ever memorable resolutions: "That those quarters of the city in which the Arragonese yet maintained them, should continue to be defended with the same firmness that had hitherto been so conspicuous. — Should the enemy at last prevail, the people were to retire by the bridge over the Ebro, into the suburbs, and having destroyed the bridge, to defend the suburbs till they PERISHED." This resolution of the general, and his officers, was received by the people with the loudest acclamations. The most sanguinary conflict had been continued from street to street, from house to house, and from room to room, for eleven days; when (the enraged populace always gaining ground by degrees on the disciplined troops of the French) the space occupied by the French was reduced to about one-eighth part of the city.

The spirit displayed by the men, was seconded in the most admirable manner by the women of Saragossa. The countess Burita, a lady of great rank in that country, formed a corps of women for the relief of the wounded, and for the purpose of carrying provisions and wine to the soldiers. Many persons of the most unquestionable veracity in Saragossa, declared, that

they had frequently seen this young, delicate, and beautiful woman coolly attending to the duties she had prescribed to herself, in the midst of the most tremendous fire of shot and shells; nor were they able to perceive from the first moment that she entered on this glorious course, that the idea of personal danger could produce upon her the slightest effect, or bend her from her benevolent and patriotic purpose. The loss of women and boys during the siege was very great, and fully proportionate to that of the men. In fact, they were always the most forward; and the difficulty was to teach them a prudent and proper sense of their danger.

During the night of the 13th of August, the fire of the French was particularly destructive; and when their batteries ceased, flames were seen to burst out in many parts of the buildings in their possession. On the morning of the 14th, to the great surprize of the Arragonese, their columns were seen at a distance retreating over the plain on the road to Pampeluna. The retreating French were followed into Navarre by general Palafox, with a force composed of Arragonese and Valentians, who had begun their march for the relief of Saragossa, when the siege was raised.

Mr. Vaughan, who was several weeks in Saragossa, where he was introduced to Don Joseph Palafox, and lived at his table, and who took great pains to enquire into every particular, tells us, in conclusion of his narrative, that though he had seen in Saragossa many a parent who had lost his children, and many a man reduced from competency to poverty, he literally did

did not meet with one human being, who uttered the slightest complaint: every feeling seeming to be swallowed up in the memory of what they had recently done, and in a just hatred of the French.

The spirit of patriotism was also displayed, with great glory, and not altogether without success, in the neighbouring province of Catalonia. Duhesme, the French governor of Catalonia, had been directed to reduce Gerona, at the same time that Lesebre was sent against Saragossa. There is one important observation that strikes us on a review of the whole of the present contest in Spain, that when the Spaniards act in compacted and homogeneous, though small bodies, when there is one definite object perfectly known to all, when they are actuated by one mind, and have confidence in each other, they accomplish great and arduous undertakings. It is among a great number of troops belonging to different provinces, in some measure heterogeneous, and spread into extensive lines of operation, without understanding the general or ultimate object of the commander in chief, that we find the most fatal and the most frequent failures. Accordingly, it is in the defence of towns that the courage and military genius of the patriots have hitherto shone forth with the greatest splendour. Gerona, in the campaign of 1808, gave an earnest of that valour and patriotism, which was found afterwards to equal those of Saragossa. Duhesme, after spending upwards of a fortnight in the siege of Gerona, into which he threw in one night four hundred bombs and grenades, was forced, by the vigorous sallies of

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the Geronese, and the movements of other Catalonians, who threatened to attack him in flank and rear, to retreat to Barcelona, leaving before Gerona some pieces of artillery, and a considerable quantity of provisions and ammunition. In his retreat he sustained a great loss both of men and baggage: in men, according to the Spanish accounts of the day, three thousand. For by this time the standard of liberty had been raised in every part of Catalonia; at Mauresa, Bruck, Mattaro, Martorell, Molinos del Rey, and other places. A great number of united Catalan peasantry had fortified themselves with cannon, which they had found on the coast, on the river Llobregate.

Fresh reinforcements of peasants, having poured down from the mountains into the plains, made themselves masters of Montgat, cut off the road between Montgat and another small fort at Moncado, which they beset, securing themselves with entrenchments. The number of the patriots, in arms, still rallying after defeat, and increased by the junction of one party after another, was on the whole rather increased than diminished; insomuch that they made an attempt to cut off the communications of Figueras, and, by forming a cordon, to invest and cut off the supplies of Barcelona: against which they opened some batteries; but they were driven back, and a communication was preserved between the French garrisons in the fortresses and the country. Another body of peasantry, besides that which had already fortified themselves on the Llobregat, had recently formed themselves

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behind

behind that river; which by the melting of the snows that had been for some days falling in the mountains, had swelled considerably. They had erected at Molinos del Rey, a battery of three guns, which ranged the bridge that had been broken down in several places. All the fords of the river were beset down to the mouth of it. Two flying field-pieces hovered on the line of the insurgents.

On the 30th of June, in the morning, the French, under the orders of general Goullès, and brigadier general Bessières, marched from Barcelona, against the main strength of the insurgents, which rested on the right bank of the Llobregat. Proceeding to the mouth of the river, they forced the passage, and pushing up the right bank, took several Catalanian posts in the rear. Undisciplined, without a commander of any authority, or none that could inspire confidence; and surprised, perhaps withal, by this manœuvre, though it might have been expected, the peasants submitted to the French without much resistance. At the same time general Leckie, with a division of French, 1500 strong, assailed and took possession of the bridge of Molinos del Rey, with the three pieces that guarded the passage way; but not without a well-fought battle, in which the loss of the French was computed to be equal to that of the Spaniards. On the side of Figueras, general Reible proceeded thither from Bellegardé against the insurgents, on the 5th of July. The insurgents being worsted in a smart action, and dispersed, he threw provisions into the place, and a reinforcement into the garrison.

General Duhesme, in revenge for his repulse from Gerona, burnt many houses in the towns and villages by which he passed, took many prisoners, some of whom he killed in cold blood, and laid waste the whole plain or district within the jurisdiction of the city of Barcelona; all the cultivated fields, villages, convents, and churches.

During these operations the junta of Catalonia had established themselves at Lerida, for the convenience of communication with Arragon and Valentia.

When general Duhesme returned to Barcelona, he found his two forts in great want of both powder and provisions. During his absence about a month from Barcelona, it had been cut off from a free intercourse with the neighbouring country. And a vessel loaded with powder for their use, and another with salted pork, had been taken by the English. Duhesme, who had already acquired the *cognomen* of the cruel, pointed the cannon of the citadel against the unfortunate inhabitants, threatening them with death if they did not furnish him with 12,000 rations of provisions daily, and an excessive number of pipes of wine and brandy. Under the pretence of charges or suspicions of an intention to *rebel* against the emperor Napoleon, he was in the habit of carrying away, from time to time, the most respectable persons in Barcelona, separating husbands from their wives, and parents from their children, for the purpose of extorting ransoms for their liberation.

In the meantime the affairs of the patriots in the north of Spain wore but an unfavourable aspect, and a battle was fought at Medina del

del Rio Seco, in the province of Leon, which turned the tide of fortune, and might have exceedingly damped, if not altogether quashed the insurrection, if this advantage on the side of the French had not been counterbalanced by the events in the south and the east just related.

Marshal Bessieres at the same time that he sent a force against Saragossa, pushed forward columns for the reduction of Logrono, Segovia, Valladolid, and St. Andero. All these objects were easily accomplished. The raw and undisciplined levies of patriots did not long sustain a conflict with the impetuous and well-directed exertions of the veteran and victorious French; but consulted their safety by flight, for the most part throwing down their arms. On the 7th of June, general Frere, having arrived with his column within a quarter of a mile of Segovia, sent an officer to the magistrates demanding a parley.

The insurgents, 5000 strong, with thirty cannons, would not suffer the messenger to approach, but fired on him with cannon. On this the place was taken by force; the resistance here was not inconsiderable; a great number of wounded and others, fell into the hands of the French, with all their cannon. The city of Segovia, after the defeat and flight of the armed peasants, made its submissions, in the manner required by the French general. When general La Salle, June 8th, was approaching Palencia, a deputation, with the bishop at their head, brought the submission of the town. The town and province of Palencia were disarm-

ed. On the 12th of June, general La Salle advanced to Duennas, where he formed a junction with general Merle, and from whence he continued his march to Valladolid, where the spirit of insurrection had grown very strong, and which was a great rendezvous of the patriots. General Cuesta, with 7000 men and six pieces of artillery, had taken post at Cabazon, a small town on the Pisuerga, about nine miles to the north of Valladolid. General Sabbathier was ordered to force the position, which had been reconnoitred, of the insurgents, whilst general Merle was directed to cut off his retreat to Valladolid. The firing, according to the French accounts, lasted but half an hour, when the insurgents were completely beaten, scattered in every direction on the field of battle, leaving their artillery, 4000 muskets, and about one thousand killed.

The gazette of Madrid, that is the French gazette, states, that five or six hundred French beat fourteen or fifteen thousand rebels. The gazette of Oviedo, on the contrary, says, that the number of the French and Spaniards in this engagement, was nearly equal; but that the French had the advantage of a more numerous artillery, while the patriots had only four cannon; yet that in spite of this disadvantage on the part of the Spaniards, the French had left seven hundred dead on the field of battle, from whence they carried off their wounded.

Such are the *lying miracles*, that not unfrequently embarrass the annalist; who, if he will not wait for the development of time,

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sometimes

sometimes finds himself under the necessity of forming his opinions, and framing his accounts, not by faith in the reports of the day, but by an estimate of what is most probable, and attending to consequences.

The bishop of Valladolid, with the principal clergy of the city, came to meet general La Salle, supplicating forgiveness to the city and its inhabitants, which was readily granted. The city and province of Valladolid were disarmed. Ten members of the council of Placentia, Segovia, and Valladolid, were deputed to go to his Catholic majesty (Joseph Buonaparte) at Bayonne, there to supplicate his forgiveness, in the act of tendering their own fealty, and that of their fellow-citizens.

General Merle proceeded to the mountains of St. Andero*: on the morning of the 21st of June, he fell upon the insurgent patriots, headed by the bishop, drove them from all their positions, and took from them two eighteen pounders, which, loaded with grape shot, they had fired only twice. In other parts of the mountainous district, parties of the insurgents were driven from post to post into St. Andero, by general Ducos. On the 23d, the generals Merle and Ducos entered St. Andero, on different sides of the town. The peasants every where returned to their homes. The city of St. Andero having made its submission, like Segovia, Palencia, and Valladolid, was oblig-

ed to swear fealty to the usurper. Thus quietness was restored for the present to Navarre, Guipuscoa, and Biscay.

A great number of patriots had been assembling, for some time, at Benevento, under the standard of general Cuesta. In this number were comprehended all the Spanish prisoners who had been sent back to Spain by the British government. With this force, general Cuesta marched on to Valladolid, with the design of cutting off the communication between the French in the northern provinces of Spain, and those in Madrid. It was his plan, having reduced Valladolid, to advance to Burgos. The force under Cuesta, is stated by the French gazette to have amounted to not less than 35,000. Marshal Bessieres, aware of the design of the Spaniards, and sensible of the importance of maintaining the post at Valladolid, advanced to meet them with a force, amounting in all to 12,000, of which 2000 were cavalry, with a proportionate train of artillery. On the 14th of July, at break of day, he came in sight of the enemy, who occupied a large extent of ground on the heights of Medina del Rio Seco. Bessieres attacked them on the right. And at the same time general Monton, at the head of another division, made himself master of the town of Medina del Rio Seco, with fixed bayonets. All the positions of the Spaniards were carried; they fled in great confusion; and they lost all

* A canton or small province on the coast of Biscay, between Asturia de Santillana, Old Castille, and Biscay. St. Andero is one of the first commercial ports of Spain, being in the number of those called *Abitados*, that is, authorized to carry on every kind of trade, with America.

all their artillery, consisting of 40 pieces of cannon. Six thousand were made prisoners, according to the French accounts, and more than 12,000 left on the field of battle. All their baggage and military stores fell into the hands of the French. The Spaniards fled first to Benevento, from whence, after a short halt, they continued their retreat to Labenara, Leon, and Astorga. They were pursued by marshal Bessieres, who at Benevento, July 19th, found an immense quantity of arms and ammunition. Here, he received a letter of submission from the inhabitants of Zamora, and on the following day, the 20th, he entered that town, from whence he proceeded to Majorca. At Majorca he received a deputation from Leon; which city he entered on the 26th. The bishop came two miles to meet him, and the council appearing before the gates of the city, presented the keys, in token of submission.

According to certain accounts in the Spanish newspapers of the day, the Spanish army did not exceed fourteen or fifteen thousand infantry, and eight hundred cavalry. The Spaniards, it was stated, were in the first onset so fortunate as to beat back the French, and take and spike four pieces of cannon. But the field of battle being in a vast plain, the patriots, who were carried by their impetuosity cut of their ranks, without a sufficient number of horsemen to make head against the French cavalry, and unaccustomed to any such prompt evolutions as might

have supplied that deficiency, were obliged to leave the field of battle to the French, with thirteen of their cannon: though it was said they retreated in good order, and afterwards rallied.

The kind of order observed, is sufficiently illustrated by the rapidity of their retreat, and the distance to which they retreated. On the other hand that their disasters were not so great as had been given out by the French, and that reinforcements were advancing to join general Cuesta, is rendered extremely probable by the retreat or flight of king Joseph Buonaparte, on the 27th of July, from Madrid.

After intelligence was received of the surrender of Dupont* at Baylen, and the discovery that so many of the ministers of Joseph had made their escape from Madrid, the French immediately began to fortify the Reteiro. Duhesme had been repulsed from Gerona, Arragossa still held out, armies from Valencia and Adalusia menaced the capital. The army of the western provinces, under general Cuesta, though routed and dispersed by the battle of Medina del Rio Seco, manifested a determination to rally. The French, therefore, in the evening of the twenty-ninth of July, began to evacuate Madrid. King Joseph, with the last companies of the troops, left Madrid on the twenty-ninth, and took the route of Segovia, from whence he proceeded to Burgos, the rendezvous of the whole of his army at and in the vicinity

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* We omitted to mention in its proper place, that general Dupont, on his arrival in France, was tried by a court martial, condemned to death, and immediately shot by torch light.

vicinity of Madrid. The French carried along with them all the artillery and ammunition, for which they could find means of conveying; spiking the cannon, and destroying the ammunition they were obliged to leave behind them.— They plundered the public treasury, and carried off all the jewels belonging to the crown, and all the plate, and whatever was most valuable in the palaces belonging to Charles IV. and Ferdinand VII. or to any of the branches of the

royal family. On which it was merrily observed, and became a common saying among the Spaniards, that, "Because Joseph could not put the crown on his head, he had put it in his pocket."

The French army was accompanied or followed by such of the Spaniards as had accepted offices under the government of king Joseph, and most of the French established in various situations in Madrid.

CHAP. XII.

Erroneous Opinion of Buonaparte respecting the Spaniards.—Erroneous Conduct in consequence of this.—Attempt to conceal the extent and strength of the Spanish Insurrections from the French, German, and other Nations.—Liberation of the Spanish Troops in the North of Germany.—Military Preparations of Austria.—Alarm of Buonaparte.—Remonstrances and Explanations.—Troops of the Confederation of the Rhine, taken into the Pay of France.—Sent into France to Supply the Place of the French Regiments to be sent to Spain.—Interview between the Emperor of Russia and Buonaparte at Erfurth.—Insurrection in Portugal.—British Expedition to Portugal under the Orders of Sir Arthur Wellesley.—Convention of Cintra.

BUONAPARTE, reckoning that Spain would be a very easy conquest, thought that the speediest way to take possession of the country would be, not to keep his forces together in one strong army, as might have been necessary where any great resistance was to be expected, but to push forward detachments, as we have seen, in every direction. At first he affected to treat the insurrection in Spain with great contempt.—He was at uncommon pains to conceal the real state of affairs in Spain from the French and the Germans too. He gave out, in his newspapers, French and German, that all that was most respectable in the Spanish nation was devoted, and that even zealously, to the new dynasty and order of affairs in Spain, and that it was only the mere rabble of day-labourers, peasants, and low tradesmen, under the direction of the monks, whom he represented as fanatical and ignorant to

a degree much beyond the blind fanaticism of the monks in France and Italy, among whom were sometimes found men of learning and talents. The monks of Spain he (that is, his literary emissaries, in conformity to his will and obedience to his directions) described as clownish and uncouth in their personal appearance, and bearing an exact likeness to so many butchers. All this was only an acknowledgment of what he apprehended from the zeal and exertions of that religious body. While he laboured to persuade the French, and particularly, it may be presumed, the Spaniards at a distance from home, that the most respectable part of the Spanish nation was sincerely attached to king Joseph, he used means also for impressing the inhabitants of Spain with a belief that their countrymen that had been drawn into the French service, were also devoted to him. It was published

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in

in the Paris newspapers, August 12, as an article from Hamburg, that the Spanish troops, under the marquis of Romana, had come forward of their own accord, and with great zeal, to swear allegiance, and had proffered a detachment from their corps of picked men, to form a guard of honour for king Joseph. But on the contrary, this gallant corps was no sooner informed of the forced abdication and captivity of the royal family, and of what was passing in Spain, than they burned with ardour to join the ranks of their countrymen. Though surrounded by hostile battalions, they planted their colours in the centre of a circle which they formed, and swore on their knees, to be faithful to their country.

By a well combined plan, concerted between Keats, the British admiral in the Baltic, and Romana, ten thousand of the Spanish troops stationed in Funen, Langland, Zealand, and Jutland, emancipated themselves from the French yoke,

and, under the protection of the British fleet, were conveyed with their stores, arms, and artillery, to Spain, where they landed at Corunna on the 30th of September. The marquis of Romana himself returned home by the way of London, where he arrived on the 16th of September, for the purpose of having a conference with the British ministry, and British military officers. But one Spanish regiment, near two thousand strong, in Jutland, was too distant, and too critically situated, to effect its escape. And two in Zealand, after firing on the French general Frision, who commanded them, and killing one of his aid-de-camps by his side, were disarmed. While Frision was in the act of haranguing these troops, for the purpose of engaging them to declare for king Joseph, one of the soldiers, burning with indignation, and regardless of consequences, stepped forth from the ranks and fired a pistol at him, which missing the general, killed the aid-de-camp*.

When

* The Marquis de la Romana was kept in profound ignorance of the glorious events that had taken place in his country, and various attempts had been made on the part of the British government, to communicate the tidings to him, and to devise means for his escape with the troops under his command, without effect.—At length a Swedish clergyman was found in whose honour, good sense, and enterprising disposition, the firmest confidence could be placed. This gentleman, disguised as a low and travelling tradesman, went by the way of Heligoland, and having overcome many obstacles with the utmost patience, prudence, and fortitude, at length arrived at the place where the marquis and his troops were stationed. Having ascertained the person of the marquis, he was obliged to watch incessantly for an opportunity of addressing him, without exciting the suspicion of the numerous spies by whom he was surrounded. The venerable agent at last was obliged, as if by accident, to jostle the marquis in the street, in order to attract his attention. Having done so, he apologized, as if ignorant of the person whom he addressed, and concluded with offering to sell him some excellent coffee. The marquis treated this offer with contempt, and signified that he supposed he was speaking to a smuggler. The minister of the gospel, however, persevered in recommending his coffee, and in the course of the conversation, found means to intimate that he was not a smuggler but a gentleman.—“We'll soon see that,” said the marquis, and then asked him if he could speak latin. The minister answered

When the real state of affairs in Spain became manifest to all Europe by the flight of king Joseph from Madrid, and the concentration of the French forces on the desfilés of Biscay, and on the Ebro, Buonaparte's sarcasms against the insurgents, and his misrepresentations of facts, were interrupted for a long time, as well as his military operations. Not a word was said of Spain. Even the *Moniteur* was silent. The world entertained great curiosity to know what face would be put on the flight of Joseph, and the inactivity of the French in Spain. It was given out by the French government at Madrid, that the king found it necessary to retire for a time from that city, for the benefit of his health; which was every where made a subject of ridicule. But nothing at all was said on the matter in the newspapers of France, Italy, or Germany. It was evident to Buonaparte, that the Spanish insurrection was of too serious and formidable a nature to be treated lightly in respect of either words or actions. It was manifestly not to be crushed but by a very large force, and a larger one too than any he could march against it, if the Germans should avail themselves of so inviting an occasion to throw off his yoke, and above all, if the emperor of Russia should swerve from the treaty of Tilsit. The Austrians had been

employed for the last three years, in bringing their finances into order, and of late in strengthening their frontier, forming magazines, and increasing their armies, far beyond what was at all necessary for the preservation of internal tranquillity, and apparently with a view not to mere defence, but to aggression. This did not escape the observation, or fail to excite the suspicions of the French government. A long correspondence ensued on the subject, which was afterwards published, between count Metternich, the Austrian ambassador at Paris, and Campagny, the French minister of external relations. The French minister, on the part of his master, after calling to mind the moderation of the conqueror in the battle of Austerlitz, asked the Austrians, what they feared from France, or of what they had to complain. If certain posts, still occupied by the French in Silesia, or in any other part towards the frontiers of Austria had given umbrage, or caused any apprehension, they should be immediately evacuated.—An uncommon degree of earnestness on the part of Buonaparte to persuade the court of Vienna, that he did not entertain any hostile designs against Austria, is apparent throughout the whole of the correspondence. "It is not," said Buonaparte, "any part of my political system, to destroy, or even to humble

answered in the affirmative, and a conversation ensued, apparently about coffee, as the gestures of both were calculated to deceive all who might observe them. The marquis was then duly informed of every thing that had occurred in Spain, of the assistance the British Government had rendered, and of the readiness of his Britannic majesty to adopt any measure that might be thought practicable for effecting the rescue of himself and his troops, that they might join their heroic countrymen in resisting the base attempts of France to enslave them,

humble the House of Austria?" and in this he was no doubt, as has since appeared, sincere. It could not be any part of his policy to annihilate a barrier so convenient and necessary, against the power of the Russians, growing every day, by the natural progress of population and improvement, in so vast an empire, greater and greater. The Austrian minister, on the part of his court, disclaimed all hostile designs against France, and explained the increase of the military force complained of, by the general necessity that all the powers of Europe now felt themselves to be under, of proportioning the scale of their standing armies to that of their neighbours. The Austrians persevered in their military preparations.—Orders were transmitted from Paris to the members of the confederation of the Rhine, to call out their respective quotas, which, when assembled, would be very powerful. Of the German troops of this confederation, 80,000 were taken into the pay of France, clothed in the uniform of French soldiers, and sent into France to garrison the towns quitted by French regiments sent to reinforce the French army in Spain. In this manœuvre it was his object to render it impossible for the German princes to revolt from him to Austria, while at the same time he stationed a force in France better for some of his purposes, such as that of enforcing the conscription, than that which it replaced; in as much as Germans would not be so likely, as the French regiments, to sympathise and coalesce with the people. But whatever might be the inclinations, or the attempts of the Germans, they

were not to be considered as formidable, if the emperor of the North, as Buonaparte had affected to style him, should abide by his engagements. Alexander, at this moment, held in his hand the balance of Europe, the fate of many nations, their condition, whether as independent states, or as submissive provinces of a great and domineering empire, probably for many centuries! Into whichsoever of the scales the Czar should throw his weight, that must inevitably preponderate. To confirm and fix the resolution of Alexander was a matter of the last importance, and what Buonaparte did not think it prudent to commit to the agency of any of his ministers. He determined to have a personal interview with the emperor of the North; on whose mind it would appear he was perfectly confident he should maintain an ascendant. For on the 11th of September he addressed, in print, his soldiers as follows: "Soldiers, after triumphing on the borders of the Danube, and the Vistula, you traversed Germany, by forced marches; you are now with the same celerity to traverse France.

"Soldiers, I declare that I have need of you. The hideous leopard contaminates, by its presence, the territory of Spain and Portugal. Let your faces strike him with terror, and put him to flight; let us carry our victorious eagles even to the pillars of Hercules. There we have an affront to revenge.

"Soldiers, you have surpassed in renown, all the warriors of modern times. You have equalled the Roman Legions, who in one campaign triumphed on the Rhine, the Euphrates, Illyrium, and the Tagus.

A durable

A durable peace and permanent prosperity shall be the reward of your exploits. No good Frenchman can enjoy a moment's repose, so long as the sea is not free and open.

"Soldiers, all that you have already achieved, or that remains yet to be done for the *happiness of the French people*, and for my glory.—Be assured, that the remembrance of so great services shall remain for ever engraven on my heart." When the French army perfectly sensible that the *French people* were in a situation the most wretched, they were reminded by this harangue that the true motive of their ruler was his *own glory*. It is humiliating to human nature, to think that hundreds of thousands of armed men, should hear such language, and perhaps even feel a pride in extolling, by prolonged fatigue, at the risk of their lives, and by the sacrifice of their country, the glory of a fortunate and inhuman usurper!

The place appointed for a meeting and conference between Alexander and Napoleon, was Erfurth, a city in the circle of the lower Rhine, belonging to the electorate of Mayence. They met here on the 27th of September. But the order of time calls our attention for the present, to the efforts of the patriots with their allies in Portugal, springing from the same cause, going hand in hand, and having the same object in view, with those of their neighbouring and kindred Spaniards.

The inhabitants of Lisbon, overawed by the army of Junot, were restrained at first from expressing their joy, otherwise than in private and confidential conversation. The public voice of Portugal was first heard at Oporto. This town, besides the circumstance of being situate at a considerable distance from the force under Junot, possessed another advantage. It had been occupied by about three thousand Spanish troops, who before their departure to join the patriotic standard in Spain, took the French general under whose orders they were, and all his staff, prisoners, and delivered up the government of the city to Lewis D'Oliveira, who had filled that office before the arrival of the French. The treachery of this man, his attachment to the French, and the measures he took for restoring the authority of the French, roused the indignation and rage of the people to such a pitch, that he found it impossible to avert their threatened vengeance otherwise than by yielding up his authority. They rose, 18th of June, in one body, broke open the depots of stores, and having supplied themselves with arms, proceeded to destroy every vestige of French power, and to imprison every person suspected of being in their interest. The bishop of Oporto, who, with most of the other priests, had been incessant in his efforts to rouse the people to arms,* was appointed governor of the city, and the

* The worthy bishop had not thought it his duty to pay any regard to the pastoral letter of the *Inquisitor General of all kingdoms and dominions* belonging to her Catholic majesty, recommending submission to the French. "The powers that be," published at Lisbon, by the direction, no doubt, of Buonaparte, who seems on

the most vigorous measures were adopted for defending it against any force. General Loison, with about 3,000 men, advanced against the insurgents as far as Amiranthe; but on being made acquainted with the determined spirit of the people of Oporto, he retreated on Lisbon. Nearly the whole of the northern provinces of Portugal, rose in arms against the French. The south of Portugal was restrained from coming forward so generally, or in so open a manner, by their vicinity to the army of Junot, and also by a strong and numerous French party among themselves. Notwithstanding the terror, however, of Junot, a friendly intercourse, as has been above noticed, was maintained between Lisbon and sir Charles Cotton.

As soon as Junot received certain intelligence of the Spanish insurrection, he ordered the Spanish troops to be disarmed, and put on board the hulks in the Tagus.

The French being expelled from the northern provinces of Portugal, and the authority of the prince regent re-established, provisional juntas were formed, similar in their character and functions to those of Spain. Of these, that of Oporto exerted itself with the most zeal and effect, in heightening and directing the patriotic enthusiasm of the people, and in the establishment of such orders and

regulations as were required by the peculiar circumstances of the country. Oporto, in this respect, was the Seville of Portugal. The junta having taken such measures for raising and supporting an army as circumstances admitted, naturally looked for support and assistance to England: nor were their hopes disappointed. An army, under the command of sir Arthur Wellesley, destined for Portugal, where it ultimately landed, was, in the first instance, offered to the Spaniards. This army, consisting of about 10,000 men, set sail from Cork, on the 12th of July, and arrived at Corunna on the 20th. The battle of Medina del Rio Seco, had taken place a few days before, and the Spaniards were retreating fast in different directions: one division of them adhering to Cuesta, proceeded to Salamanca; another, under general Blake, made for the mountains. In consequence of this intelligence, combined with his instructions, sir Arthur Wellesley offered the assistance of the force under his command to the junta of Galicia. The junta replied, that they did not want men, and that they wished for nothing from the British government except money, arms, and ammunition. But they expressed their firm conviction that his army might be of infinite service both to the Portuguese, and their own nation, if it were employed

all occasions to have availed himself, as far as possible, of the influence and authority of the clergy. He made a tool even of Pope Pius VII. for the establishment of the *concordat*, and the total subversion of the Gallican church. With the aid of the Pope he endeavoured to exhibit himself to the French nation in the amiable character of a true friend and deliverer, and a zealous protector of the Catholic church.

plotted to drive the French from Lisbon. In the north of Portugal, and consequently at no great distance from Galicia, the French were still in force. Against them, in the first place, sir Arthur might direct his attack with every probability of success, and with the certainty of relieving the province of Galicia, if the insurrection at Oporto still existed, or could be revived when he reached that city. Sir Arthur Wellesley leaving Corunna, proceeded to Oporto. On his arrival there, the bishop, who was the governor, informed him that the Portuguese force was sufficient to deter the French from making any attacks, or if not, to repel them. Sir Arthur, however, that he might be the better enabled to judge what was best to be done, left his forces at Oporto, in order to have a conference with Sir Charles Cotton, off Lisbon; with whom he consulted about the practicability and the prudence of forcing the entrance of the Tagus, and attacking the forts in the near vicinity of that capital. In the mean time, while he was on board the *Hibernia*, the admiral's ship, he received a letter from general Spencer, who was then, with about 6000 men, off Cadiz. This force was destined to be employed either in co-operating with the Spanish forces under Castanos, in their operations against Dupont, or in conjunction with the expedition under Sir Arthur Wellesley. As the junta of Seville did not deem the aid of general Spencer's corps at all necessary towards the reduction of Dupont's army, and as Sir Arthur was decidedly of opinion that his own army, and that of general Spencer, could be but of little avail

towards the expulsion of the French from Portugal, while they acted separately, he gave orders to general Spencer to join him.

The English general, having made himself acquainted, as accurately as he could, with the numerical strength and disposition of the French army, determined to land his forces in Mondego bay, where he would be able to effect a landing, and to form his army into order, without any opposition from the enemy; while at the same time, he would be assisted and supported by the Portuguese army which had advanced to Coimbra. Before he landed the troops he received advice from the British government that 5000 men, under general Anstruther, were proceeding to join him, and that 12,000 more, under Sir John Moore, would speedily be dispatched for the same purpose. He was also informed of the surrender of Dupont, and that the army of Junot was considerably weakened by the necessity of sending about 6000 men, under general Loison, to quell an insurrection that had broken out in the south of Portugal. This information induced Sir Arthur to disembark his troops without delay. Soon after the disembarkation was effected, the corps under general Spencer also landed. And on the 9th of August the advanced guard marched forward on the road to Lisbon. On the 12th the army reached Legria. On the 15th the advanced guard came up with a party of the French at Obidos, where a slight action took place, occasioned principally by the eagerness of the British to attack and pursue the enemy. On the 16th the army halted, and on the next day the general

general came to the determination of attacking the French under general Laborde at Roleia.

Roleia is situated on an eminence, having a plain in its front, at the end of a valley which commences at Caldas, and is closed to the southwards by mountains which come in contact with the hills forming the valley on the left. In the centre of the valley, and about eight miles from Roleia, is the town and old Moorish fort of Obidos, from whence the enemy's piquets had been driven on the 15th. From that time the French had posts in the hills on both sides of the valley, as well as in the plain in front of the main army, which was posted on the heights opposite to Roleia; its right resting upon the hills, its left, on which was a windmill, and the whole covering four or five passes into the mountains on their rear. Their force amounted to about 6000, of which about 500 were cavalry, with five pieces of cannon. And there was some reason to believe that general Loison, who was at Rio Major on the 16th, would join general Laborde by his right in the course of the night. The plan of attack was formed accordingly, and the army breaking up from Caldas on the 17th, was formed into three columns; the right destined to turn the enemy's left, and penetrate into the mountains in his rear; the left to ascend the hills at Obidos, to turn all the posts on the left of the valley, and also watch the motions of Gen. Loison; the centre column to

attack general Laborde's position in front*. The enemy was defeated, but retreated in good order. By this victory the road was cleared to Lisbon. On the day after the battle the British army moved to Lourinha, to protect the landing and facilitate the junction of the troops under general Anstruther; and on the 21st they resumed their march.

General Junot, having been informed of the large reinforcement expected under the command of Sir John Moore, determined to attack the British army before the reinforcement should arrive. For this purpose he left Lisbon with nearly the whole of the forces under his command, and came up with Sir Arthur on the morning of the 21st of Aug. A hard fought battle† ensued. The French, with fixed bayonets, attacked the British with their usual impetuosity. They were driven back by our troops with the bayonet. They renewed their attacks, in different columns, again and again, and were as often driven back with cooler intrepidity and greater strength of arm. At last they fled from the charge. In this battle the French lost 13 pieces of cannon, 23 ammunition waggons, and about 3000 in killed, wounded, and missing. One general officer was wounded and taken prisoner, and another was killed. Our loss in killed, wounded, and missing, amounted to nearly a thousand.

After the dispositions for the battle of Vimeira had been made, Sir H. Burrard arrived at the scene of

* For an account of the action, see Sir Arthur Wellesley's dispatches to government. Appendix to Chronicle, p. 259.

† For a particular account of which, see Appendix to Chronicle, p. 262.

of action, but declined to take upon himself the command of the army. On the 22d, Sir Hew Dalrymple, who had been called from his situation of lieutenant-governor of Gibraltar, to take the command of all the different corps sent by the British government into Portugal, reached Cintra, the place to which the British army had moved after the battle. Within a very few hours after his arrival, a flag of truce came in from Junot, proposing a cessation of hostilities, in order that a convention might be settled, by which the French should evacuate Portugal.

When intelligence was received in England, that in the words of Sir Arthur Wellesley, "The whole of the French force in Portugal, under the command of the *duke of Abrantes* in person, had sustained a signal defeat;" there was an universal expectation, that it would be followed up with other victories, and ultimately lead to some solid advantage.

That such an advantage had in fact been obtained, was firmly believed, when, on the arrival of the next dispatches from the army, the firing of the Park and Tower guns was heard, and that too, at a time of night very unusual, if not quite unprecedented. But how great was the surprise of the public when it was understood that the discharge of the Park and Tower guns related to a convention, signed at Cintra, by which it was, among other stipulations, agreed on, "That the English government should be at the expence of transporting the

whole of the French army to any of the ports between Rochfort and L'Orient. When the army arrived in France, it was to be at liberty to serve again immediately. All the property of the army, as well as the personal property of the individuals of the army, was to be sacred and untouched. It might either be carried off into France or sold in Portugal. In the latter case, full security was to be given by the British to the purchasers, that the property they had would not be taken from them, nor they themselves molested on account of the purchase."

The whole of this convention will be found in another part of this volume*. It was founded on the basis of an armistice agreed upon between Sir Arthur Wellesley and general Kellerman on the day after the battle of Vimeira. But the seventh article of that preliminary treaty, stipulating that the Russian fleet should be allowed either to remain in the Tagus unmolested as long as it thought proper, or to return home, was afterwards rejected by Sir Charles Cotton; between whom and the Russian admiral Siniavian, a convention was agreed to for the surrender of the Russian fleet to the British fleet†, on the 3d of September.

The regret and the indignation of the British nation was raised by the convention of Cintra, to a painful height. The throne was besieged, as it were, with petitions from all parts of the kingdom, calling loudly for an inquiry into that

* See Appendix to Chronicle, p. 267.

† See Appendix to Chronicle, p. 271.

that transaction. The answer to the petition from the city of London, that for "The institution of an inquiry, there was no need of their interference," was universally deemed ungracious. It was supposed to have been framed by the minister noted for briskness and petulance. An inquiry was set on foot. The board in their report*, after giving a well-arranged, and not altogether an uncircumstantial account of Sir Arthur Wellesley's expedition, declared, "That on a consideration of all circumstances, as set forth in the report, they most humbly submitted their opinion, that no further military proceeding was necessary on that subject. Because some of them might differ in their sentiments respecting the fitness of the convention in the relative situation of the two armies, it was their unanimous declaration, that unquestionable zeal and firmness appeared throughout to have been exhibited by lieutenant-general Sir Hew Dalrymple, Sir Harry Burrard, and Sir Arthur Wellesley, as well as that the ardour and gallantry of the rest of the officers and soldiers, on every occasion during the expedition, had done honour to the troops, and reflected lustre on his majesty's arms."

But his royal highness the duke of York, in a letter to Sir David Dundas, president of the board of inquiry, observed to the board, that in their report, their opinion respecting the conditions of the armistice and convention had been altogether omitted. He therefore thought it his duty to call their attention to these two principal points

in this important case, the armistice and convention, and to desire that they might be pleased to take the same again into their most serious consideration, and subjoin to the opinion they had already given on the other points, whether, under all the circumstances that appeared in evidence before them, respecting the relative situation of the two armies, on the 23d of August, it was their opinion, that an armistice was advisable, and if so, whether the terms of the armistice were such as ought to have been agreed on? And whether, upon a like consideration of the relative situation of the two armies subsequently to the armistice, and when all the British forces were landed, it was their opinion, that a convention was advisable, and if so, whether the terms of that convention were such as ought to have been agreed upon. The board met again. The questions proposed by the commander in chief were put to each of the members. Some approved the treaties in question, adding the reasons of their approbation; others disapproved them, giving the reasons of their disapprobation. A formal declaration of disapprobation on the part of the king, of both the armistice and convention, with reasons, was officially communicated to sir Hew Dalrymple*.

Sir Arthur Wellesley had strenuously recommended a pursuit of the French; and great pains was taken by his friends at home, to screen him from the odium of both the armistice and convention: with which Sir Arthur appears indeed to have

* See Appendix to Chronicle, p. 277.

† See Appen: to Chron. p. 288.

have expressed much dissatisfaction to his friends in private, though he had not hinted any disapprobation when in consultation with the other generals. But the board unanimously approved the judgment of Sir Harry Burrard, in abstaining from pursuit. "A superior cavalry," they observed, "retarding our advance, would have allowed the enemy's infantry, without any degree of risk, to continue their retreat in the most rapid manner, till they should have arrived at any given and advantageous point of rallying and formation: nor did Sir A. Wellesley, on the 17th of August, when the enemy had not half the cavalry he had on the 21st, pursue a more inconsiderable and beaten army, with any marked advantage."

In short, the report of the board was an indirect censure on Sir Arthur; for if Sir Harry Burrard was justified under all the circumstances in not advancing until the arrival of the reinforcements under Sir John Moore, Sir Arthur Wellesley, who knew that he must be speedily reinforced, judged ill in pushing forward and exposing himself to an attack, from which the enemy could only experience, at the worst, the disadvantage of a repulse, instead of waiting for a day or two, for such an augmentation of numbers as would have ensured the ruin of

the enemy, notwithstanding the superiority of cavalry. It was generally believed, and it was probably the truth, that Sir Arthur, confiding in the bravery of his troops, burned with a desire to have a brush with the French, before he should be superseded in the command by the arrival of Sir John Moore.

All Spain and Portugal, as well as the English garrison at Gibraltar, was indignant at the Convention of Cintra.

As the defeat of Junot and the deliverance of Portugal were only mediate, and not the ultimate objects of the British army, it marched from Lisbon, but not till the 27th of October, nearly two months after the convention of Cintra, under the command of general Sir John Moore, to the assistance of the Spanish patriots. The general's instructions were, to march through Spain with his face towards Burgos; which was to be the general rendezvous of the British troops: not only of those now under the command of that officer, but of those with which he was to be reinforced from England. And he was to combine his operations with those of the commander in chief of the Spanish armies. But the issue of this expedition, together with the arduous struggle that preceded it, carries us into the year 1809.

CHAP. XIII.

Interview between the Emperors Alexander and Napoleon at Erfurth.—Artful Policy of Buonaparte.—Offer of a Negotiation, on the Part of France and Russia, for Peace with England, rejected.—Establishment of a Central Junta in Spain.—Their declared Principles and first Acts of Government.—Relative Positions of the Grand French and Spanish Armies.—Arrival of Buonaparte at Vittoria.—Successive Engagements and Defeats of the Spaniards.—The French enter Madrid.—Enthusiasm of the Spanish Colonies in the Cause of King Ferdinand, and of their Mother Country.—Brief Retrospect of the Affairs of the Northern Powers of Europe.—Italy.—Turkey.—East Indies.

THE two emperors, when they met at Erfurth, were each of them attended by a very numerous and brilliant suite, and kings, sovereign princes, and other persons of high distinction, came day after day, to do homage to the great emperor of the West. Among others who attended Alexander, were his brother the grand duke Constantine*, the count Romanzow, and the two counts Toltson, one of whom was the Russian ambassador at Paris. The suite of Buonaparte was composed of Berthier, Talleyrand, Caulincourt, Champagny, secretary Maret, the principal writer of official reports, the generals Lasnes, and Duroc, all of them bearing their new titles of princes, dukes, and counts, and in short all the staff officers belonging to the French army cantoned in Bavaria. The kings and sovereign princes of Germany, waited for the most part on Buonaparte in person. The Austrian general, count St.

Vincent, arrived at Erfurth, September 28th, with an apology from the emperor of Austria, for not attending the conference, and no doubt the strongest and most polite assurances of friendship towards both the French and Russian emperor. Count St. Vincent was closeted a long time with Buonaparte. Great was the pomp and ceremony, and most splendid the feasts and other entertainments, that took place on the occasion of this imperial and royal convention. The little town of Erfurth was astonished to witness a magnificence, that would have been admired at Paris. The first dinner was given by Buonaparte. Napoleon and Alexander held their conferences every day at ten o'clock. These being over, they rode out together, either in the same carriage or on horseback, to take a view of the adjacent country. In one of these rides Alexander consented to traverse together with Buonaparte the whole

* Whom it was the policy of Buonaparte to flatter with the hope of reigning at Constantinople:

whole field of Jena, the burying ground, or grave, it may be called, of the ally to whom he had sworn eternal friendship over the ashes of the great Frederick! What opinion must Napoleon have entertained of his brother emperor when he gave him so affronting an invitation, and what can the world and posterity think of Alexander for accepting it?

The archduke Constantine, while at Erfurth, appeared every day in the uniform of the horse-guards of Buonaparte. It was the great object of Buonaparte, in the conferences and convention at Erfurth, to conciliate the goodwill of all parties there, that he might be enabled, having secured quietness in his rear, to bear with all his disposeable force on Spain and Portugal. Insignificant as the German powers had become, combinations might be formed by which they might distress him greatly in the present moment. Any concession, therefore, that would secure their connivance at his projects in the west, it would be prudent in him, in the present circumstances, to make: fully aware that if he succeeded in Spain, it would be an easy task again to reduce the countries in Germany, which he now occupied. But, at the same time that he found himself under the necessity of recalling his troops from Germany, he wished to hide as much as possible the weakness therein implied, and avert the designs to which a full conviction of that weakness might give birth. He therefore dexterously contrived to give the with-

drawing of his troops the appearance of being the result of a negotiation; an act of favour to the sovereigns of Russia and Prussia. A negotiation was entered into at Erfurth, under the mediation of Alexander, in consequence of which Napoleon engaged to evacuate the Prussian territory, as soon as the contributions should be paid up: which he graciously reduced to one third of their total amount. And he wrote a letter to the queen of Prussia, with his own hand, in which he promised her the completion of all her wishes. He also relaxed in the severity of his restrictions and imposts on the commerce of Holland.

With regard to Alexander, it was easy to persuade him that the insurrection in Spain was only the natural consequence, and what was to be apprehended from the conclusion of the treaty of Tilsit*.

In consequence of the conferences at Tilsit, the garrisons of Prussia were evacuated. And the veteran troops of France began to march from the Oder to the Ebro; while, on the other hand, 40,000 French conscripts were sent to Germany.—Another visible effect of the meeting at Erfurth was an offer of peace on the part of Russia and France to the British government. A flag of truce, with two officers, one a Frenchman, the other a Russian, arrived October 21st, at Dover. The Frenchman, by orders of lord Hawkesbury, who happened then to be at Walmer Castle, was detained. The Russian

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* This sentiment was expressed on sundry occasions by Alexander, after his return to Petersburg. And it may be presumed, that it had been inculcated on his pliant mind, by the companion and guide of his excursion to the field of Jena.

sian messenger was allowed to proceed on the 22d to London. It was the object of Buonaparte in this overture to lull the British government into a neglect or delay of sending assistance to Spain, and to excite a distrust of England in her allies; for, as to any effect that professions and pacific dispositions on the part of Buonaparte might have on the minds of the French people, they had become stale and altogether effete. It was proposed, by the overture to his Britannic majesty, to enter into a negotiation for a general peace, in concert with his majesty's allies, and to treat either on the basis of *uti possidetis*, or on any other basis consistent with justice. The king professed his readiness to enter into such a negotiation in concurrence with his allies; in the number of whom he comprehended the Spanish nation. In the reply returned by France to this proposition of his majesty, the Spanish nation was described by the appellation of the "Spanish Insurgents;" and the demand for admitting the existing government of Spain, as a party to any negotiation, was rejected as inadmissible and insulting. A declaration, therefore, by his majesty, was published on the 15th of December, concluding as follows, "His majesty deeply laments an issue by which the sufferings of Europe are aggravated and prolonged. But neither the honour of his majesty, nor the generosity of the British nation, would admit of his majesty's consenting to commence a negotiation by the abandonment of a brave and loyal people, who are

contending for the preservation of all that is dear to man, and whose exertions in a cause so unquestionably just, his majesty has solemnly pledged himself to sustain *."

While the army of France lay inactive on the Ebro, and the passes into the mountainous province of Biscay, and Buonaparte was employed in averting danger to his cause on the side of Germany and Russia, the provincial juntas had leisure to resolve themselves into one supreme and central junta.

The situation of the Spaniards, when their country was assailed by the intrigues, the treachery, and the arms of France, was without example in their history, unforeseen by their laws, and in opposition to their habits. In such circumstances, it was necessary to give a direction to the public force, correspondent with the will and sacrifices of the people. This necessity gave rise to the juntas in the provinces, which collected into themselves the whole authority of the nation, for the purpose of expelling the common enemy, and maintaining internal order and tranquillity. But as soon as the capital was delivered from the invaders, and the communication between the provinces re-established, it became practicable, as well as necessary, to collect the public authority, which had been divided into as many parts as there were provincial governments, into one centre from whence the strength and the will of the nation might be called into action. A supreme and central junta, formed by deputies nominated by the respective juntas, was installed

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* See the Whole Declaration. State Papers, p. 364.

at Aranjuez, on the 25th of September. The president per interim was the venerable count Florida Blanca. Among the members we find two other distinguished names, viz. Don Francisco Palafox, one of the deputies from Arragon, and Don Melchior de Jovellanos, one of the two from Asturias. After hearing mass, which was celebrated by the primate of Laodicea, also archbishop, and one of the members of the junta for Seville, the following oath, administered on the holy Evangelists, was taken by all the deputies—"You swear by God, and all the holy Evangelists, and by Jesus Christ crucified, whose sacred image is before you, that in the exercise of the supreme and sovereign central junta, you will defend and promote the conservation and advancement of our holy, Catholic, Apostolical, and Roman religion; that you will be faithful to our august sovereign Ferdinand VII. and that you will maintain his rights, and his sovereignty. That you will concur in the support of our rights and privileges, our laws and customs, and above all those, concerning the succession of the reigning family, according to the order established by the laws aforesaid. In short, that you will give your vote for every measure calculated for the general good, the prosperity of the kingdom, and the amelioration of its customs. That you will observe secrecy in all cases where secrecy is proper. That you will protect the laws against all malevolence, and prosecute their enemies, even at the expence of your life, your personal safety, and your fortune."

The formula of assent was, "*I swear this.*" The following sen-

tence was subjoined: "If you do this, may God help you. If not, may he punish you, as having sworn in vain, by his holy name." The subscriber said, *Amen*.

After a solemn *Te Deum*, the deputies walked between two lines of troops, to the royal palace, a hall of which was consecrated to their sessions. An immense multitude of all ranks and descriptions of persons, that had assembled to see this ceremony, giving way to the most ardent enthusiasm, made the air resound with the cry of *Viva Fernando Septimo*.

On the opening of the gates of the palace, that had been so long shut, the sad solitude of the magnificent mansion of their kings, and the recollection of the epoch at which, and of the reasons for which the gates had been shut, drew tears from every eye, and an universal cry of vengeance against the authors of so profound calamities and such pungent sorrows.

The oath taken by the supreme junta, a kind of Spanish Bill of Rights, they repeated, or re-echoed in a proclamation to the Spanish nation; in which, after a variety of most judicious observations, they say, "Let us be constant, and we shall gather the fruits of victory: the laws of religion satisfied; our monarch either restored or avenged; the fundamental laws of the monarchy restored, and consecrated in a manner solemn and consonant with civil liberty; the fountains of public prosperity pouring benefits spontaneously and without obstruction; our relations with our colonies drawn more closely, become more fraternal, and consequently more useful: in fine, activity, industry, talents, and virtues

stimulated

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stimulated and rewarded : to such a degree of splendour and fortune, we shall raise our country, if we ourselves correspond with the magnificent circumstances that surround us. These are the views, and this is the plan which the junta proposed to itself from the first moment of its installation. Its members, charged with an authority so great, and rendering themselves responsible by entertaining and encouraging hopes so flattering, are nevertheless fully aware of the difficulties they have to conquer in order to realize them, the enormity of the weight that hangs over them, and the dangers to which they are exposed. But they will think their fatigues, and the devotion of their persons to the service of their country well paid, if they succeed in inspiring Spaniards with that confidence without which the public good cannot be secured, and, which the country dares to affirm, it merits, from the rectitude of its principles and the purity of its intentions*.

The supreme central junta was acknowledged by the council of Castile, and all the other constituted authorities in the kingdom. The junta, amongst its first acts, appointed a new council of war, consisting of five members, the president of which was general Castanos. The other four members were Don Thomas Morla, the marquis de Castelar, the marquis del Pilacia, and Don Antonio Buerro. In prosecution of their designs it was necessary, in the first place, to attend to the grand spring of government, the finances. Great savings were made from the sup-

pression of the expences of the royal household, the enormous sums which had been annually devoured by the insatiable avarice and profuse donations of the favourite, and the confiscation of the estates of those unworthy Spaniards who had sided and fled with the usurper from Madrid. These resources sufficed for their first operations without any new taxes on the people. The first efforts of the junta were directed to the setting in motion all the troops in Andalusia, Grenada, and Estramadura, as well as the new levies; to the transportation of Dupont's army, agreeably to treaty; and to the furnishing of the English army, that had vanquished Junot, with the means of marching from Portugal to join the Spaniards. In the midst of these cares, they sent envoys to demand succours from Britain. The forces of the patriots, including now the army of Romana, and the Spanish regiments that had been confined in hulks of ships by Junot, were divided into three, and disposed in such a manner as to form together, towards the end of October, one grand army. The eastern wing was commanded by general Joseph Palafox; the north-western, by general Blake; the centre, by general Castanos.—The number under general Blake was computed at 55,000; that under general Castanos at 65,000; and that under the orders of general Palafox, at 20,000. General Castanos was commander in chief. Besides these there was a small army in Estramadura, and another in Catalonia. The positions of the French army remained, with some variation,

* See the whole of this proclamation. *State Papers*, 344.

variation, on the whole pretty much the same as in August; its right towards the ocean, its left on Arragon, its front on the Ebro. It was strengthened from time to time by reinforcements from France. The design of the Spaniards was, with the right and left wings of their grand army to turn the wings of the French army, whilst Castanos should make a vigorous attack, and break through their centre.

Buonaparte having ordered a levy of 160,000 conscripts, set troops in motion for Spain, and, provided for all that might be demanded by the contingencies of war, set out from Paris for Spain without waiting for an answer to the overture for a negotiation with the British government, in like manner as he had hastened to meet the Prussians, leaving lord Lauderdale to dispute with his ministers about the basis of a negotiation in the autumn of 1806. With his usual celerity, having set out from Rambouillet, October 30th, he arrived at Bayonne on the 3d of November, and on the 5th, accompanied by a reinforcement of 12,000 men, he joined his brother Joseph at Vittoria.

In time of peace Buonaparte has proper persons employed to furnish him with the most correct topographical maps of different territories, on a great scale: by which means, being made acquainted by his generals with the relative positions of the opposite armies, he is enabled to give general directions, even at a great distance.—The campaign had been opened according to his directions, a few days before his arrival.

It would not serve any purpose either of amusement or instruction to enter into a detail of the means

by which the first military commander in the present, and one of the greatest of any age, at the head of a numerous, well equipped, and veteran army, accustomed to conquer, and of which the different divisions were also under the orders of the ablest generals,—it would be idle in the present period of striking events following each other in rapid succession, to detail the steps by which such a commander, with such an army, through the boldness of his tactics, the combination of his movements, and the rapidity of his marches, defeated armies scarcely yet organized, chiefly composed of new levies, without being properly equipped, without regular supplies of provisions, and extended over too large a space of ground without sufficiently strengthening the line of their communication. Agreeably to the general plan of operations above stated, general Castanos crossed the Ebro at the three points with only a shew of resistance, and he was suffered to push forward detachments, and take possession of Lerin, Viana, Caboroso, and other French posts on the left bank of the Ebro. The French did not oppose his onward course towards Pampehna, any farther than was necessary to conceal their own plan of operations. Marshal Moncey, the duke of Corneghiano, was directed with the left wing of the French army to advance along the banks of the Alagon and the Ebro, and instead of opposing the passage, by presenting a weak front, to decoy general Castanos across the Ebro. The stratagem having succeeded completely, Marshal Ney, the duke of Elchingen, with his division, passing the line of the

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Ebro,

Ebro, and dashing forward with great celerity in separate columns, took the Spanish posts at Logrono and Colahora, threw the whole country into alarm and confusion, and cut off the communication between the armies respectively under the command of general Blake and general Castanos.

In a series of actions from the 31st of October, the army under general Blake was driven from post to post; from Durango to Guenas; from Guenas to Valmaseda; from Valmaseda to Espinosa. In a strong position there, the Gallician army made a stand, in order to save its magazines and artillery, in vain. After a brave resistance, continued for two days, they were obliged to retreat with precipitation. During the conflict at Espinosa, a detachment was sent against the last retreat of the Gallicians, Reynosa. At break of day, 11th of November, they were suddenly attacked on both their right, left, and centre. They were forced to consult their safety by flight; throwing away their arms and colours, and abandoning their artillery. General Blake, with the remains of his broken army, took refuge in Asturias. What remained of the corps of the marquis of Romana, that had formed part of the Gallician army, fled first to St. Andero, and afterwards to Asturias. The Spaniards were pursued closely by marshal Soult, duke of Dalmatia, the van of whose army entered St. Andero on the 16th. The bishop of St. Andero took refuge in an English frigate.

In the mean time the Estramaduran army, under the command of the count Belvedere, a young man, was permitted without oppo-

sition, by a stratagem similar to that which had drawn general Castanos to the left bank of the Ebro, to advance to Burgos, of which he took possession without resistance. Here the French fell on him with superior numbers and routed his army, after a gallant resistance for twelve hours, and almost annihilated it. The count, with the small remains of his army, fled to Lerma, and from thence to Aranda.

The French, having routed and dispersed the armies of the north of Spain, and of Estramadura, next fell on the central army under Castanos; and an engagement ensued at Tudela, 23d November, which fixed the fate of the campaign. It is thus described clearly, intelligibly, and, we doubt not in the least, faithfully, in the eleventh bulletin of the proud French army. "On the 22d of November, at the break of day, the French army began its march. It took its direction to Calahorra, where on the evening before, were the headquarters of Castanos. Finding that town evacuated, it marched on Alfaro, from whence the enemy had also retreated. On the 23d, at break of day, the general of division, Lefevre, at the head of the cavalry, and supported by the division of general Morlat, forming the advanced guard, met with the enemy. He immediately gave information to the duke of Montebello, who found the army of the enemy in seven divisions, consisting of 45,000 men, under arms, with its right before Tudela, and its left occupying a league and an half, a *disposition altogether faulty*. The Arragonese were on the right, the troops of Valencia and New Castille in the centre, and the three divisions

sions of Andalusia, which general Castanos commanded more especially, formed the left. Forty pieces of cannon covered the enemy's line.

"At nine in the morning the columns of the French army began to display themselves with that order, regularity, and coolness, which characterise veteran troops. Situations were chosen for establishing batteries, with sixty pieces of cannon; but the impetuosity of the French troops, and the inquietude of the enemy, did not allow time for this. The Spaniards were already vanquished by the order and movements of the French army. The duke of Montebello caused the centre to be pierced by the division of general Maurice Matthews. The general of division Lefevre, with his cavalry, immediately passed on the trot through this opening, and by a quarter wheel to the left, enveloped the enemy. The moment when half the enemy's line found itself thus turned and defeated, was that in which general le Grange attacked the village of Cascante, where the line of Castanos was placed, which did not exhibit a better countenance than the right, but abandoned the field of battle, leaving behind it its artillery, and a great number of prisoners. The cavalry pursued the remains of the enemy's army to Mallen, in the direction of Saragossa, and to Tarragona, in the direction of Agreda. Seven standards, thirty pieces of cannon, twelve colonels, three hundred officers, were taken. Four thousand Spaniards were left dead on the field of battle, or driven into the Ebro. While a part of the fugitives retired to Saragossa, the left wing of the Spanish army

which had been cut off fled in disorder to Tarragona and Agreda. Five thousand Spaniards, all troops of the line, were taken prisoners in the pursuit. No quarter was given to any of the peasants found in arms. This army of 45,000 men has been thus beaten and defeated, without our having had more than 6000 men engaged. The battle of Burgos had smitten the centre of the enemy, and the battle of Espinosa, the right; the battle of Tudela has struck the left. Victory has thus struck as with a thunderbolt, and dispersed the whole league of the enemy."

By the battle of Tudela the road was laid open to Madrid. On the 29th of November, a division of the French army, under the command of general Victor, duke of Belluno, arrived at the pass of the Sierra Morena, called *Puerto*. It was defended by 13,000 men of the Spanish army of reserve, under the orders of general San Juan. The *Puerto*, or narrow neck of land forming the pass, was intersected by a trench, fortified with sixteen pieces of cannon. While a part of the French advanced to the *Puerto* by the road, with six pieces of artillery, other columns gained the heights on the left. A discharge of musketry and cannon was maintained for some little time on both sides. A charge made by general Montbrun, at the head of the Polish light horse, decided the contest. The Spaniards fled, leaving behind them their artillery and standards; and, as the French Bulletin states, their muskets: but this, from subsequent events, appears not to have been truth.

Advanced parties of the French cavalry appeared on the 1st of December,

cember, before Madrid. At this period, the inhabitants of this city were busily employed in raising palisades, and constructing redoubts, breathing a determined spirit of resistance. The enemy was beaten back from certain gates several times: but on the third, they were in possession of the gate of Alcalá; and also of the Reteiro, the reduction of which place cost the assailants very dear, in the loss, it was computed, of near 1000 men in killed and wounded. The junta then hoisted a white flag. The people of Madrid pulled down the flag, and persisted in their design of defending the city; but this enthusiasm soon began to subside, for want of leaders to keep it up and to direct it. And when they learnt for certain that the French were fortifying themselves in the Reteiro, they began to retire to their respective houses.

During the night of December the 3d, a Spanish officer who had been taken prisoner in the affair of Somosierra, brought a message from general Berthier, summoning for the second time Madrid to surrender. The Marquis of Castellar, captain general of Castille, sent in answer a letter to Berthier, demanding a suspension of hostilities, that he might have time for consulting the superior authorities. But there was no need or use in this. The superior authorities, who appear plainly to have had a secret correspondence with the enemy, had already come to a determination on the subject. Madrid was undoubtedly given up through treachery. When intelligence that the French had forced the passage of the Sierra Morena reached Madrid, a council was held, at which the honourable

Mr. Stuart, the British envoy at Madrid, was present. Don T. Morla took the lead, and expatiated at great length on the hopeless state of affairs; and urged the necessity of immediately capitulating for Madrid. When he sat down, another councillor rose, and reproached Morla for his proposal. He said that this advice was more suited to a minister of Joseph Buonaparte, than to one of king Ferdinand. Two days after this discussion, Don T. Morla, together with the prince of Castel Franco, to whom the defence of the capital had been committed by the supreme junta, sent a dispatch to Sir John Moore, describing the formidable Spanish force that was assembled at Madrid; and pressing him to advance, with all possible expedition to the capital. If Sir John Moore had not possessed, in an extraordinary degree, circumspection, penetration, and firmness, the solicitations of the traitors, and those too of Mr. Hookham Frere, minister plenipotentiary from his Britannic majesty to the supreme junta, but a wretched minister of war, would have thrown him and his little army completely into the hands of the French.

We find many misrepresentations in the Spanish gazettes of that time, and are at a loss in some instances whether to set them down to the account of folly, or a traitorous design to lull the Spaniards, prone to be so lulled, into a state of false security and inaction. After general Blake had officially notified to the central junta, about the middle of October, that the army he had been able to collect amounted to no more than from 22 to 23,000 men; we find it stated in the Madrid gazette of October the 21st, that 70,000 men had

had passed through the town of Lago.—At Madrid, November the 23d, was published the following proclamation, “Spaniards, the central junta of the government of the kingdom, after having taken all measures in its power to defeat the enemy, who, continuing his attacks, has advanced into the neighbourhood of Sornosa, addresses you for the purpose of putting you on your guard against the intrigues with which the perfidious agents of Napoleon endeavour to alarm and deceive you, by increasing the number of the enemy’s troops, who hardly amount to 8000 men, according to the report of the general whom the junta has charged with the defence of the important post of Guadarama.”

The letter of the marquis of Castellar, sent to Berthier in the morning of the 4th, produced a peremptory summons to surrender immediately. In the evening of the same day, Don Thomas Morla and Don Bertrando Yriate waited on Berthier, and were introduced by him to Buonaparte: who told them, with a stern countenance, and in a decided tone of voice, that if the city did not tender its submission by five or six o’clock next morning, it would be taken by assault, and every one found with arms in his hands put to the sword. The Spanish troops in Madrid were sent off in the dead of night, by the gates of Segovia and Tudela.

Buonaparte, with affected magnanimity, extended his clemency to the degraded deputation from the junta. To conceal their concert with him, and at the same time to gratify his splenetic humour, he cunningly taunted Morla for his former perfidy in breaking the capitulation with Dupont. “The English,” said he “are not renowned

for good faith: but having agreed to the convention of Cintra, they observed it.” Morla’s fortune and military rank were preserved to him. The same indulgence was shewn to his associates, who having joined him in betraying their country, did not disdain to live under the protection of the usurper. Morla, in a circular letter addressed to the Andalusians, endeavoured to draw them over to the side of king Joseph; who, he told them, was a man of great mildness and humanity of disposition.

Buonaparte addressed a manifesto to the Spanish nation, in which he promised them all good things if they received Joseph for their king sincerely and with all their heart.—If not, he would put the crown on his own head, treat them as a conquered province, and find another kingdom for his brother; for God had given him both the inclination and the power to surmount all obstacles.

The troops that had fled from the Puerto, or gate of Guadarama, having arrived, on the 3d of December, almost under the walls of Madrid, demanded with loud cries to be led to its defence. Their commander, Count St. Juan, who opposed so dangerous an attempt, was massacred.

Though the prerogatives of nature may be often neglected for ages, in the progress of time and events they are asserted sooner or later. Long had men of general views and speculation regretted that so fair a portion of the globe, so abundant in all the necessities and even luxuries of life, and so well situated for the commerce of the world, as South America, should be suffered to languish under a shortsighted system of tyranny and oppression,

pression. The grand interest excited by the state of Spain in 1808, was, the consideration that it would in all probability sever the mother country from the colonies, and open a new theatre on the other side of the Atlantic, that would change the politics and improve the condition of the world. The balance of Europe being overthrown, it was a consolation to look to a balance on a grand scale: a balance of the world. It was not indeed the contemplation of a magnificent order of affairs that at first aroused the Spanish colonies to the exercise of their faculties, but that ardent devotion to the monarch, by which the Spaniards are particularly distinguished, and indignation against his cruel and perfidious oppressor. But it was easy to foresee, that the great Spanish continent in America with the adjacent isles, forced into a situation in which it was under a necessity of governing and acting for itself, would never return to such a state of dependence and dejection as that under which it had laboured for centuries, even though king Ferdinand should be restored to his throne, which became every day less and less probable.

The central junta, in conformity with the uniform intentions of the central juntas, declared that the colonies in Asia and America should not be considered as dependent provinces, but enjoy all the privileges of the metropolis and mother country. This was also declared in the new constitution framed for Spain by Buonaparte.

In the Canaries, in Mexico, and the Floridas, Cuba and the other islands, and throughout the whole of South America, every Spaniard, as if animated by the same soul, breathed the same sentiments of devotion to the king and detestation

of the monster who wished to usurp his throne. The vengeance of many, as is natural in burning climates, would have been wreaked on unoffending individuals of the French nation. In the Floridas the French were so apprehensive of falling victims to the vengeance of the Spaniards, that they fled with their effects into the territories of the United States. But the moderation, wisdom, and justice of men in authority, restrained the fury of the populace. The proclamations of the Spanish governors in the colonies; for sense, reason, and justice equal those of old Spain, and for a fervent eloquence, perhaps even exceed them. The proclamation of Marcius Somernelos, commander in chief of the land forces, and governor of the isles of Cuba, in a proclamation 18th of July, exhorts the natives to repress the natural impetuosity of their character, and to let the peaceable French who had sought an asylum amongst them from oppression, find protection. The marquis of Villa Vicensis, commander in chief of the marine, in one of the same date, says, "Let us swear that if every Spaniard in our mother country should fall, which ought not and cannot be feared, Spain, notwithstanding this, shall not cease to exist. Is not this country also Spain? Are not we also Spaniards? And shall not Ferdinand VII. and his successors reign over us?—Remember!—The French in Cuba are not mercenary assassins! Not servants or subjects of Napoleon." General Linieres, governor of Buenos Ayres, a Frenchman, in his proclamation upon the state of affairs, after recommending concord, said, "Let us imitate the example of our ancestors in this happy land, who wisely escaped the disasters that

that afflicted Spain in the war of the succession, by awaiting the fate of the mother country, to obey the legitimate authority occupying the sovereignty." Hostilities were every where else declared against France, and the most liberal and prompt contributions remitted to the patriots in Old Spain. This year the French were driven out of the islands of Porto Rico, Deseada, and Moric Galante.

The great affairs of Europe in 1808 are exhibited in the contest between Spain and Portugal, with their ally Great Britain, on the one part; and the ruler of France, aided by his vassal princes and kings, on the other. The annals of other countries sink almost into provincial history. What is most prominent and important in the history of Spain, Great Britain, and France, during that period, has been seen in the present narrative. To what concerns France, however, it may be proper to add, that in the beginning of the year Buonaparte, as a preparation for the farther extension and consolidation of his empire, annexed to France, and took possession of the military posts of Kehl, Wesel, Cassel on the Rhine, and Flushing. It was probably with similar views that he established and endowed a Greek bishoprick in Dalmatia. The state of the French empire in its internal as well as external relations, as exhibited by the ministers of Buonaparte, will be found in another part of this volume *. Such papers, notwithstanding their false colouring and misrepresentation of facts, disclose the spirit and views

of government. The most remarkable article in the statement is the creation of hereditary nobility, which is declared to be essential in a hereditary monarchy. The main drift of Buonaparte, in his internal regulations, seems to be to root out all memorials of liberty, and to establish in France a despotic government, a military costume, and a military spirit. Sweden in the beginning of the year might have made her peace with France and Russia. The king, with the general voice of the nation, chose a braver, but more impolitic part. After the basest attempts on the part of the Russians, tutored, it would seem, in the school of their allies the French, to seduce the Swedish nation from their allegiance to their king, and their duty to their country, † and a rapid succession of the most sanguinary battles, where the Swedes were bending, and ready to fall, never to rise again, under the overwhelming power of Russia, the Swedish government signed a convention on the 7th of November, by which Finland, the granary of the kingdom, was virtually given up to Russia. The heroic king of Sweden was not deserted in this extremity of fortune by his ally, Britain. A naval force under admiral Keats drove the Russian squadrons into their ports, where they were held in a state of blockade. A land force of 10,000 men, under the command of Sir John Moore, was sent in the month of May to assist Sweden, against a combined attack from Russia, France, and Denmark. On the 17th of May, this army reached Gottenburgh,

* State Papers, p. 553.

† The base arts of the Russians do not seem to have been altogether fruitless. The loss of the Swedish fortress and flotilla of Sweaborg, there is every reason to believe, was the effect of treachery. The fortress of Sweaborg is second only to those of Gibraltar and Malta.

Gottenburgh, but was not permitted to land. Sir John Moore repaired to Stockholm to communicate his orders, and to concert measures for the security of Sweden. He there found, to his surprise, that though the Swedish army was quite insufficient for even defensive operations, his majesty's thoughts were wholly intent on conquest. It was first proposed, that the British should remain in their ships, till some Swedish regiments should be collected at Gottenburgh, and that the combined forces should land, and conquer Zealand. Upon an examination of the plan, it was found and admitted, that the island of Zealand, besides several strong fortresses, contained a regular force, far superior to any that could be brought to bear against it: and also, that the island of Funen was full of French and Spanish troops, which could not be prevented from crossing over in small parties. It was next proposed that the British alone should land on Finland, storm a fortress, and take a position there. But Sir John Moore represented, that ten thousand British troops were wholly insufficient to encounter the principal force of the Russian empire, which could quickly be brought against them at a point so near Petersburg. Sir John escaped from the resentment of his Swedish majesty in disguise, and conformably to his instructions, brought back his little army to England. In consequence of the disastrous and menacing aspect of affairs in Sweden, Lewis XVIII. of France, with the queen and the duchess of Angoulême, took refuge, in the month of August, in England.

As the Russians acquired an extension of territory on the one hand

by the acquisition of Swedish Finland, they still kept a steady eye on the long-meditated project of extending their empire to the Bosphorus, by the acquisition of Moldavia, Wallachia, and Bessarabia. The number of their troops in Moldavia and Wallachia, in the autumn of 1806, was raised to upwards of 80,000 men. To face these a great number of Turkish troops marched from time to time from Constantinople and other places, to the Danube: and of these no inconsiderable number had been trained in the European manner, and taught the use of the bayonet. The reigning sultan had been deposed, and a new one placed on the throne, under the influence of Mustapha Bairactar, a rigorous, bold, and, for a Turk, an enlightened man. Notwithstanding the many examples of the destruction of those who attempted innovations, he dared, with an energy that shewed no mercy, to give offence to the janissaries, by the introduction of important regulations into the army, which he proceeded in new modelling, as well as increasing its numbers. He was equally attentive to the strength and improvement of the Turkish fleet. He demanded a certain number of hands, not only from all trading vessels, but also from fishing boats. The career of Bairactar, in proportion to its vigour and audacity, was of short duration: on the 14th of November, at day-break, the janissaries fell upon the siemens, principal officers of the Niommi Gedid,* and massacred all the partizans of the grand vizier that came in their way. The siemens were forced to submit, after a long resistance. On the 15th, the janissaries assailed the high walls of the seraglio. Imme-

* See Vol. XLIX. Hist. Eur. p. 191.

dately on this, the grand vizier strangled the unfortunate Mustapha IV. who was a prisoner there, blew himself up in his own palace with gun-powder, of which he had purposely provided a large quantity before-hand, to prevent his falling alive into the hands of his enemies. This was the third revolution that had happened at Constantinople in the space of eighteen months: never before had the turbulent imbecility of the Turkish government been exhibited in so striking a manner.

In Italy the most prominent events were the transference of the crown of Naples to Murat, Buonaparte's brother-in-law, the grand duke of Berg; the usurpation of the papal throne, and annexation of Rome, with all the ecclesiastical states, Piacenza, Parma, and Ancona, to the French empire. The cardinals were banished from Rome, but allowed no inconsiderable pensions. The person of his holiness was secured in a state of confinement. Buonaparte said, that he only took back what had been given to the church for the support of religion and promotion of piety: but as the magnificent donations of his predecessor, Charlemagne, had been used for very different purposes, it was very fit that they should be recalled. The kingdom of Christ, he observed, like a sound divine, was not of this world.

The same pope, Pius VII. that had gone to crown Napoleon at Paris, and agreed to the subversion of the Gallican church, and the diminution of the apostolical power, by the establishment of the concordat, in this terrible crisis, assumed the courage and the character of a martyr. He protested, by a public

manifesto, against the irreligious and unjust proceeding of the emperor of the French towards the holy apostolical see. He formally excommunicated him. In proclamations addressed to the Spanish, Portuguese, and all other Catholic nations, he exhorted them to the defence of the altar and the throne, at the hazard of their lives, as well as the expense of their fortune. The affecting passage in the Evangelists, describing the remorse of the disciple and apostle Peter, at his having denied his Saviour, was finely and pathetically applied by the Roman Catholic to Pius VII. "And the Lord turned and looked upon Peter. And Peter remembered the words of Jesus, how he had said unto him, before the cock crow thou shalt deny me thrice; and Peter went out, and wept bitterly."

It seemed matter of astonishment to many, that so subtle and refused a politician as Buonaparte, should incur the hazard of exciting the indignation, and a spirit of resistance to his aggressions, in all Catholic countries, by the spoliation and imprisonment of the pope. But Buonaparte's power had by this time risen to so enormous a pitch, that he did not think it necessary to manage or keep any terms with the opinions and prejudices of men or nations. His general plan was, to arm and direct one half of the world against the other: ruffians and villains against men of good principles and peaceable dispositions and habits; and to make every thing bend under the weight of military despotism. It is a maxim of Machiavel's, that when a prince wants to establish his power on changes, he should leave nothing of the old system, but make all things

* Luke xxii. 61--2.

things new. Buonaparte, who is no doubt well acquainted with Machiavel, appears not to have considered himself as secure until all the venerable institutions of society had been trodden under foot.—It is possible to overrun and subjugate nations by a war against both morality and religion : but whether a vast empire is to be long preserved without both, is a problem that experience has not yet resolved. The foundation of Buonaparte's empire is military force and ingenious combination ; the spoils of proprietors distributed among military adventurers ; and the efforts of states and kingdoms against one another, dextrously turned to the destruction of the whole. But this career of destruction seems to be calculated, by its very nature, to come, at no great distance of time, to a termination.

The altar indeed was restored, in some fashion, by the concordat, but not religion. Lucian Buonaparte and Portalis, recommending the concordat to the assembly, said, that " Religion was an useful instrument in the hands of government, as well as a consolation to *weak minds and timorous consciences*." Such a nation as the French cannot venerate a system of pomp and ceremony, avowedly adapted merely to such purposes ; and considered by the legislature as mere mummery. The Roman Catholic clergy, too, have been vilified and brought into contempt ; not by the ruling powers of France, but by themselves : by swearing, abjuring, and swearing again, according to circumstances, and by the blasphemous adulation of so many bishops and archbishops, who

in their pastoral letters, as well as their sermons on public occasions, do not hesitate to call Buonaparte a " new Cyrus whom God has chosen and supports for the accomplishment of his impenetrable designs—whom God brought back from Egypt, in order to make him the man of his right-hand. This is the doing of the Lord, and it is wonderful in our eyes."

In British India, the company's ministers made great progress in reducing, according to directions from home, the public expenditure, with other improvements ; and in conciliating the favour of the Persians : both of them subjects to which our attention will be particularly called by events of 1809.

An attempt was made by the government of Bengal to secure the possession of the Portuguese settlement of Macao for the prince regent, under British protection, in the same manner, or by similar arrangements, as Madeira had been. But the emperor of China sent orders to the governor of the district, within which Macao is situated, not to allow the English company's ships to trade, until such concessions and apologies should be made, for the attempt to station a military force in that island, as might be amply sufficient for the purpose of inducing him to pardon them :—concessions were made to the *celestial empire* ; and harmony was re-established.†

The Americans still held out against the British orders in council : and Britain still held out against the American embargo.

CHRONICLE.

* See Appendix to Chronicle, p. 286.

CHRONICLE.

JANUARY.

1st. *The British Navy.*—THE state of the British na-

vy, according to the returns up to the present day, is as follows:—There are in commission 795 ships of war, of which 144 are of the line, 20 from 50 to 44 guns, 178 frigates, 226 sloops of war, 227 armed brigs, &c. Besides which there are building and in ordinary, ships which make the total amount of the British navy, exclusive of cutters and other small vessels, 1000 ships of war, including 253 of the line, 29 from 50 to 44 guns, 261 frigates, 299 sloops, 258 armed brigs.

Particulars of the Loss of the Anson Frigate.—The following further particulars of the melancholy loss of this ship are given, chiefly on the authority of the officers who were saved:—The Anson sailed from Falmouth on Christmas-eve for her station off the Black Rocks, as one of the look-out frigates of the Channel fleet. In the violent storm of Monday, blowing about W. to S.W. she stood across the entrance of the Channel, towards Scilly, made the Land's-End, which they mistook for the Lizard, and bore up, as they thought, for Falmouth. Still

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doubtful, however, in the evening of Monday, Captain Lydiard stood off again to the southward; when a consultation being held, it was once more resolved to bear up for Falmouth. Running eastward and northward, still under the fatal persuasion that the Lizard was on the north-west of them, they did not discover the mistake till the man on the look-out a-head, called out "breakers!" The ship was instantaneously broached to, and the best bower let go, which happily brought her up; but, the rapidity with which the cable had veered out made it impossible to serve it, and it soon parted in the hawse-hole. The sheet anchor was then let go, which also brought up the ship; but after riding end on for a short time, this cable parted from the same cause, about eight in the morning, and the ship went plump on shore, upon the ridge of sand which separates the Loc-pool from the Bay. Never did the sea run more tremendously high. It broke over the ship's masts, which soon went by the board; the main-mast forming a floating raft from the ship to the shore; and the greater part of those who escaped, passed by this medium. One of the men saved, reports, that Captain Lydiard was near him on the main-mast;

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mast; but he seemed to have lost the use of his faculties, with horror of the scene, and soon disappeared. We have not room to go further into particulars, nor language that will convey an adequate picture of the terrific view that presented itself; but justice demands that we notice the conduct of a worthy member of a sect but too much vilified.

At a time when no one appeared on the ship's deck, and it was supposed the work of death had ceased, a Methodist preacher, venturing his life through the surf, got on board, over the wreck of the main-mast, to see if any more remained—some honest hearts followed him. They found several persons still below, who could not get up; among whom were two women and two children. The worthy preacher and his party saved the two women and some of the men, but the children were irretrievably lost. About two *p. m.* the ship went to pieces; when a few more men, who for some crime had been confined in irons below, emerged from the wreck—one of these was saved. By three o'clock, no appearance of the vessel remained. She was an old ship (a 64, we believe, cut down) which accounts for her beating to pieces so soon on a sandy bottom.

The men who survived, were conveyed to Helston, about two miles distant, where they were taken care of by the magistrates, and afterwards sent to Falmouth in charge of the regulating captain at that port. We are aware that general report has stated the number drowned to be greater than we have given it: but of the missing, we understand many are deserters, who

scampered off as soon as they reached the shore. Among the officers saved, we heard of the following:—Capt. Sullivan, a passenger; Messrs. Hill and Brailly, midshipmen; Mr. Ross, assistant surgeon; and some others.

Glasgow, Jan. 2. Notice.—"In consequence of an application from a considerable number of respectable gentlemen, I request a meeting of the merchants and manufacturers of this city, in the town-hall, on Thursday next, at one o'clock, *p. m.* for the purpose of considering the propriety of expressing to his majesty, at this important crisis, their firm determination to support by every means in their power his just rights and the interests of the British empire, and at the same time to congratulate his majesty on the vigorous and active line of conduct which has been pursued in the prosecution of the war, and upon the brilliant successes with which those energetic measures have so happily been crowned, notwithstanding the strong confederacies which have been formed against us.

"JAMES MACKENZIE,
"Lord Provost."

Longevity.—A Mrs. Mary Traction is now living in Kent-street, Liverpool, in good health and spirits, at the advanced age of 110 years, having been born in Scotland the 1st of January, 1698. She had lived in the reign of five successive monarchs, beginning with king William. She bore a distinguished part in the battle of Dettingen, Culloden, Fontenoy, &c. under the duke of Cumberland.

Lately was shot, by George Pringle, at Staingale, near Danby-Lodge, (the sporting-seat of the right hon. lord viscount Downe)

an eagle of the following remarkable dimensions: its breadth between the tip of the wings two yards ten inches, the length from its beak to the tip of the tail, 38 inches, the extreme breadth of the tail 25 inches. When placed in an erect posture, its height two feet seven inches, its weight 16 pounds two ounces; the colour a mixed brown and white, the back almost nearly white. This extraordinary bird has been put into a state of preservation by Mr. Frank, at Danby-Lodge.

Canlincourt, the Russian who seized the Duke D'Enghien, has arrived at St. Petersburg, as representative of Bonaparte, where he has been received with marked distinction. A superb edifice has been purchased for him by the government.

4. The Lansdown library of manuscripts has been purchased by parliament for the British Museum, at an average of the valuation made by three parties, being 4,925*l*. Mr. Planta, the principal librarian of the Museum, estimated their value in the following manner:

Burleigh and Cecil papers,	
120 lots, at 10 <i>l</i> .	£1200
Sir Julius Cæsar's papers,	
50 vols. at 10 <i>l</i> .	500
Twenty-seven volumes of	
original registers of abbeys,	
at 10 <i>l</i> .	270
One hundred and fifty vo-	
lumes, at 5 <i>l</i> .	750
Nine hundred and eighty-	
five ditto, at 2 <i>l</i> .	1970
Forty numbers of royal	
letters, at 5 <i>l</i> .	200
Eight volumes of Chinese	
drawings, at 10 <i>l</i> .	80
	£4970

Colonel M'Carr, of the East-Ind-

dia Company's service, has, within these few days, arrived in town from India. He intended to come over-land, and was charged with a mission to the King of Prussia, but on his arrival at Bagdat, he was stopped, and informed that he could not proceed further. He learned that the Persian camp, which was honoured with the presence of the Persian monarch, was in the neighbourhood; and was told that no foreigners could be received there, unless they had previously visited the Persian capital, and brought certificates from it to entitle them to admission. To the Persian capital colonel M'Carr accordingly went, and having there explained the nature and object of his mission, he returned to the camp, provided with the necessary passports, and obtained admission. On his arrival he learned that a French embassy had been with the Persian monarch at the camp, that he had concluded a peace with all his enemies, and entered into a strict and close alliance with France. Under these circumstances he was refused an audience in the most positive terms, and returned to Bagdat without having accomplished the object of his mission; but there he was not suffered to stop, or to prosecute his journey from it by the usual way; he was obliged to take a new route, and explore a new passage. He crossed the Caspian Sea, entered the territories of Russia, and came to England last from Sweden.

6. His excellency the minister of war addressed to his majesty the emperor, on the 6th of January, the following report, relative to the measures adopted by France in the present circumstances:—

Your majesty has ordered me to form the first and second corps of observation of the army of the Gironde. The first of these corps, under the command of general Junot, has conquered Portugal. The head of the second is already advanced to follow the first, if circumstances require it. Your majesty, whose foresight never fails, wishes that the corps of observation of the ocean, confided to marshal Moucey, should be in the 3d line.

The necessity of shutting the ports of the ocean against our irreconcilable enemy, and of having considerable means upon all points of attack, for the purpose of taking advantage of such fortunate circumstances as may present themselves, in order to carry war into the bosom of England, Ireland, and the Indies, may render necessary the raising of the conscription of 1809.

The party which prevails at London has proclaimed the principle of perpetual war, and the expedition against Copenhagen has revealed its criminal intentions. Although the indignation of all Europe is raised against England; although France never had such numerous armies, this is not yet enough. The English influence must be attacked wherever it exists, until the moment when the aspect of so many dangers shall induce England to remove from her councils the oligarchs who direct them, and to confide the administration to men wise and capable of reconciling the love and interest of the country with the interest and love of mankind. A vulgar policy might have determined your majesty to disarm, but this policy would have been a scourge

for France. It would have rendered imperfect the great results which you have prepared. Yes, sir, your majesty, far from reducing your armies, ought to augment them, until England shall have acknowledged the independence of all powers, and restored to the seas that tranquillity which your majesty has secured to the continent. No doubt, your majesty must suffer in demanding from your people new sacrifices, and imposing upon them new obligations, but you must also yield to the cry of all the French—"No repose until the seas shall be freed, and an equitable peace has established France in the most just, the most useful, and the most necessary of her rights."

9. *Southampton*.—We lament to state, that the disease of canine madness still prevails in a most alarming degree. Two mad dogs went through Titchfield and Stubbington last week, and bit a great number of cattle. There is scarcely a place in this neighbourhood that has not been infested with mad dogs, and the magistrates in the different districts have used every exertion for the protection of the public. In this town, the dogs have been confined for the last three months, and the mayor and magistrates are entitled to the warmest thanks of the inhabitants, for the vigorous exertions of their police, in putting into execution orders calculated to ensure in a great measure the safety of individuals from this most terrible disease.

On the morning of Friday se'n. night, Joseph Gerard, of Pleasington, near Blackburn, died very suddenly. He had supped with the family on ~~meseles~~ the night preceding

ceding his death, and retired to bed apparently well; he awoke about four o'clock in the morning, in the greatest agony, and was a corpse by five. An inquest was held, when the attending surgeon deposed, that in his opinion the death of the deceased was owing to the muscles he had eaten the night before: this testimony was corroborated by other witnesses, and also by the symptoms which usually accompany those who are what is generally called *muscle stung*.

10. Mrs. Elizabeth Williams, now living at Brenton near Tavistock in Devon, is in the 109th year of her age; she has almost a new set of teeth. About 30 years ago she had recourse to spectacles, but at present makes but little use of them, as she can read the smallest print without their assistance. She has two sons living, the eldest 85, and the youngest is only 70 years of age, but remarkably strong; he belongs to a carrier's warehouse, and lately took a case from a wagon of nearly three cwt., and carried it the distance of 500 yards.

13. A covey of partridges, consisting of 13 birds, come daily to the door of Henry Wilson, esq. at St. Helens, near Lancaster, to be fed; they feed among the poultry, and are so tame, that they will even pick corn out of the hands of any of the domesticks.

17. Great preparations are making in the arsenal of Venice for the building of a considerable number of ships of the line and frigates, several are already upon the stocks; in a few years that city will have in its port a formidable fleet.

18. We learn that prince Lucien Buonaparte had, on his return from

Mantua, a conference with the pope, which lasted above two hours.

Paris, Jan. 23. Decree.—The conservative senate assembled to the number of members prescribed by art. 90 of the act of the constitution of the 22d of Frimaire, year 8, having considered the project of the senatusconsultum, drawn in the form prescribed by article 57 of the constitutional act of the 16th Thermidor, year 16.—After having heard, on the motives of the said project, the orators of the council of state, and the report of the special commission nominated in the sitting of the 16th of this month; the adoption having been discussed with the number of voices prescribed by article 56 of the organic senatusconsultum of the 18th of Thermidor, year 10, decrees as follows:

Art. 1. Eighty thousand conscripts of the conscription of the year 1809, are placed at the disposal of government.

2. They shall be taken from among the youths born between the 1st of January, 1789, and January 1st, 1790.

4. They shall be employed, should there be occasion, to complete the legions of reserve of the interior, and the regiment having their depôts in France.

The present senatusconsultum shall be transmitted to his imperial and royal majesty.

The President and Secretaries,
(Signed)

CAMBACERES, Arch Chancellor
of the Empire, President.

T. HEDOUVILLE HERWYN,
Secretary.

Seen and sealed, the Chancellor of
the Senate,

(Signed) LA PLACE.

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We

We require and command, that these presents, sanctioned by the seals of state, and inserted in the *Bulletin des L6ix*, shall be addressed to the courts and tribunals, and administrative authorities, that they may be inserted in their respective registers, and observed, and caused to be observed; and our grand judge, the minister of justice, is charged to superintend the publication. (Signed)

NAPOLÉON.

By the Emperor, the Minister Secretary of State.

(Signed) H. B. MARET.

Seen by us the Arch-Chancellor of the Empire.

(Signed) CAMBACERES.

By another decree of the conservatory senate, in the same form, and in like manner signed by Bonaparte, the towns of Kehl, Wesel, Cassel, and Flushing, are to be united to the French empire. Kehl to the department of the Lower Rhine; Cassel to the department of Mount Tonnere; Wesel in the department of the Roer; and Flushing in the department of the Scheldt.

Holland.—Royal Decree.

Louis Napoleon, &c.

Considering that every European nation ought to co-operate with all its might to the triumph of the cause of the Continent, in a contest which will not be of long duration, and whose result is not doubtful.

Considering that our particular duty as well as the dearest interests of our people command us to accede in all points to the desires of his majesty the emperor of the French, our illustrious brother, and even to surpass his hopes.

Considering that the indemnity and relief which our kingdom has a

right to demand and expect, depend entirely upon the powerful intervention of France.

Considering, in fine, that however great the sacrifices hitherto made by this country may be, and however painful its situation, both under the relations of commerce and those of finance, it is of much greater interest to dissipate all the doubts that might exist with respect to our intention, and to prove to Europe, in the most signal manner, our attachment, and that of our people, to the common cause, have decreed and do decree as follows:

Art. I. From the publication of the present decree all the ports of our kingdom shall be shut against all ships, whatever be their denomination. Those only are excepted from this disposition (and provisionally till a new order), of which mention is made in the 2d article.

II. Armed ships of our allies are not included in the exclusion directed by the preceding article. They may enter and quit our ports, and bring in their prizes, by conforming to the ordinances issued relative to the entrance and departure of ships of war.

III. Ships of the allies or neutral powers, which may enter our ports, to avoid the danger of the sea, shall have no communication with the interior of our kingdom. They shall be subjected to quarantine, and be under the most severe superintendance. The commandant of the port shall make them put to sea as soon as the weather shall permit.

IV. Fishing boats are under the direct superintendance of the civil and military authorities upon the coast. These authorities shall take care, on their responsibility, that no communication take place by means

means of the fishermen, with the enemy's ships and other ships. To that end, there shall be placed as a sentinel, a soldier on-board each fishing-boat. On the return of the boat, the sentinel shall make his report of what has passed during the fishery, contrary to the dispositions of the present decree, and the owner of the boat and crew shall be prosecuted with all the rigour of the laws.

Given at Utrecht, 23d Jan.

(Signed) LOUIS.

The Dutch official gazette contains a very strong article upon the conduct which the Dutch commerce ought to pursue at present. The following are the most striking passages :—

"Abandon common speculation ; do not suffer yourselves to be excluded with impunity from the empire of the seas. Fit out privateers to wrest the prey from the enemy, to procure provisions, become almost of the first necessity : it is in the enemy's ships that you ought to seek for your colonies ; it is at their expence you ought to furnish your correspondents with the merchandise they want. Recollect the courage of your ancestors ; recollect that you are fellow-countrymen of Ruyter and Tromp ! Must the Danes be, of the least popular nations, the only ones who dare attack the English in open sea ? Must history say that the Danes were in the 19th century what the Dutch were in the 17th ? Arm, Dutchmen ! Let all your ports be filled with armed vessels, ready to fall upon the enemy."

28. This morning the trial of

general Whitelocke, before a court-martial consisting of 21 members, commenced at Chelsea College.*

General sir W. Meadows is president, and general Moore the junior officer at the lower end of the table, who will of course be first called upon for his opinion.

The following are the names of the officers composing the court-martial.

Sir W. Meadows, president.

Generals Garth, Norton, Lake, Monson, Moore, Nugent, Holse, Dundas, Pigot, Clanricard, Cuyler, Ogilvy, Fox, sir E. Duffe, Harris, Manners, Welford, Garth, Staveley, and sir C. Ross.

FEBRUARY.

2. Several American vessels have been brought into Leghorn by French privateers, and there condemned as in the ports of France. That place, as well as Curta, Vacchia, and Ancona, according to rumours contained in the foreign papers, is to be united to the kingdom of Italy.

7. Official details of the actions at Buenos Ayres have been published in the Madrid Court Gazette. They are of great length. Liniers asserts, that the English army lost 4,000 men. It is also stated, that General Whitelocke made him a present of a sword, as an acknowledgment for the humanity shewn by the Spanish commander to the English prisoners, and the wounded. In return, general Liniers presented some valuable minerals, and other curiosities, to general Whitelocke.

* For an account of the charges against General Whitelocke, and the result of the trial, see History of Europe, 1807, pp. 221—3.

3. It is with concern we state, that in consequence of the loss of the *Rambler*, belonging to Leith, no less than 150 emigrants, who embarked at Thurso, were drowned in her off the American coast. From whence those emigrants came, is uncertain; but it is said many small tenants have been removed, and their little farms let to sheep farmers, in the parishes of Fare, Lairgs Creech, and Rogart, in the county of Sutherland. The diminution of the inhabitants of our island is at all times a subject of regret, and the annals of our country cannot point out a period when the emigration of the Highlanders would have been more regretted than the present, when recruits for our standing army and militia are so hard to be found. From thirty to forty guineas, is, we understand, the common bounty paid in Scotland for substitutes, and in most of the counties of the kingdom.

A beautiful specimen of virgin gold was lately found in a tin-stream work in Cornwall. It is about the length and thickness of a little lady's little finger, though less regularly formed, and weighs above two ounces. Its intrinsic value is equal to nine guineas; but, as a specimen, it is invaluable; for though gold has been frequently found in the stream-works, and that in larger quantities than is generally known, that is unquestionably the largest and most beautiful specimen ever found in Cornwall.

Downing-street, Feb. 8, 1808.—Captain Berkeley, first aid-de-camp to general Bowyer, arrived yesterday morning at the office of viscount Castlereagh, one of his majesty's principal secretaries of state,

with a dispatch from the general, of which the following is a copy:—

Santa Cruz, Dec. 27, 1807.

My Lord,

Being in a state of preparation and readiness to move a sufficient force against the Danish islands in these seas, in consequence of your lordship's dispatch of the 5th of September, no time was lost (after the arrival of his majesty's final commands, signified to me by lord Hawkesbury's letter of November the third, in your lordship's absence, by the *Fawn* sloop of war, which arrived early on Tuesday morning, the 15th instant at Barbadoes), in embarking the troops at Barbadoes on-board the men-of-war appointed to receive them by rear-admiral sir Alexander Cochrane, who immediately dispatched others to the islands to leeward to take on-board such as were under orders in each of them, with directions to proceed to the general rendezvous, the whole of which, except one hundred rank and file of the 90th regiment from St. Vincents, joined the admiral before, or soon after our arrival off the island of St. Thomas, on the 21st instant. It was then thought proper to send a summons to governor Von Scholten, in charge of brigadier-general Shipley, and captain Fahie, commanding his majesty's ship *Ethalion*, to surrender the islands of St. Thomas, St. John, and their dependencies, to his Britannic majesty, which he did the next day, on terms agreed upon between him and major-general Maitland, and captain Pickmore, of his majesty's ship *Ramillies*, which were afterwards approved of and ratified by rear-admiral the hon. sir Alexander Cochrane and myself; a copy of

of which I have the honour to inclose, and hope they will meet with his majesty's approbation.

On the 23d, in the evening, after leaving a garrison of three hundred men of the 70th regiment, with an officer and detachment of the royal artillery, at St. Thomas's, under the command of brigadier-general Maclean, whom I have also directed to assume the civil government of the same, until his majesty's pleasure be signified thereon, we proceeded to Santa Cruz, the admiral having previously sent his majesty's ship *Ethalion*, with brigadier-general Shipley and captain Fahis, to summon that island; who returned the next morning, the 24th, with a letter from the governor, offering to surrender it to his majesty, provided we would allow three Danish officers to view on-board the ships the number of troops brought against it, which we permitted, that his excellency's military honour might thereby not be reflected on. These officers having made their report to the governor, returned early the next morning, the 25th, to the flag-ship, with a message that the governor was willing to treat for the surrender of the island, when major-general Maitland and captain Pickmore were again sent on shore to settle the terms of capitulation, a copy of which I also transmit; which being approved of by the admiral and myself, troops were landed, and the forts and batteries taken possession of in the name of his majesty the king of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, a royal salute being fired on the British colours being hoisted.

I should be ungrateful in the extreme did I not state to your lordship the great and many obligations

I conceive myself, the officers, and soldiers, to be under to rear-admiral the hon. sir Alexander Cochrane, the captains and officers of the royal navy, who have universally afforded us every comfortable accommodation in their power, and I am sure much to their own inconvenience.

I am convinced, that had it been necessary to have called for the exertion of the sea and land forces employed upon this expedition, that they would have added another laurel to the many already acquired by British valour and discipline.

Copies of the two letters of summons, with the answers of their respective governors, are herewith transmitted, together with a return of ordnance and ordnance-stores taken possession of, both at St. Thomas's and Santa Cruz.

This dispatch will be presented to your lordship by captain Berkeley, of the 16th infantry, an intelligent officer, who will answer any question you may be pleased to ask him, and I beg leave to recommend him to your lordship's notice.

Captain Berkeley is my first aide-camp.

HENRY BOWYER,
General and commander of
the forces.

The summons to the islands, and the terms of capitulation, are of little interest; being couched in the usual expressions and forms.

This Gazette also contains the copy of a letter from rear-admiral the hon. sir Alexander Cochrane, K. B. commander-in-chief of his majesty's ships and vessels at the Leeward Islands, to the hon. W. W. Pole, giving an account of the capture of the above islands.

Hydrophobia.—A professional gentleman, (Mr. Twemlow, of Stone Chair,

Chair, near Lawton, in Cheshire,) observes, in a publication last week, on this subject, that "canine madness, during the last winter and this autumn, has been so frequent in London and its neighbourhood, as to cause universal alarm, especially as the efficacy of the Ormskirk and every other internal remedy is totally disproved."—He then states the case of a man being severely bitten by a diseased dog, and says, "he directly came to me, much alarmed; I washed the wounds with muriatic acid, or spirit of salt, which brought on inflammation, and an abscess was the consequence, but considering the extent of the wound was little trouble to him. He took both the Ormskirk medicine and ash-coloured liverwort, to appease his mind. The dog bit a pig which went mad, and was so violent they were obliged to shoot him." In a second case of a bite from a dog, the author used the same remedies. A third case is given as follows: "John Downs, an apprentice to Mr. Twiss, smith, in Odde Road, was bit by a neighbour's dog: he seized him just above the shoe, and there was a wound at least two inches long, on each side the *tendon achillis*. I did not see him until more than twenty-four hours had elapsed. I washed the wound with muriatic acid, and applied a common poultice to prevent inflammation; on the third day I repeated the application of the acid. He took three or four times a day two spoonfuls of a mixture composed of half an ounce of the acid, a pint of water, and a little syrup. No other means were used, very little inflammation succeeded, and the boy did very well, though several animals went mad that were bitten by the same dog.

This case he says was in June 1806, and I believe the parties are all living. I preferred the muriatic to any other acid, in consequence of the old custom of dipping dogs, &c. in brine, who were bit by a rabid animal, and am confident of its superior success to incision, actual cautery, or any dry caustic, as the washing the wound with the acid finds the depth each tooth penetrates. I am so confident of its success, that I fancy I should not feel the least uneasiness in being obliged to try its efficacy on myself."

7. An inquisition was taken at St. George's hospital on the body of Mary Carpmeal, who drowned herself in the Serpentine river, on the preceding day. The deceased, a fine young woman, 18 years of age, was the niece of the late Mr. Carpmeal, of Bow-street police office, and her father recently kept the Coach and Horses in Mount-street. It appeared in evidence, that the deceased was walking in the Park with her sister and others, whom she had gone that afternoon to visit, and on a sudden she ran away from her companions, and in their sight threw herself into the river. A gentleman's servant who was on the spot, but unfortunately could not swim, tied three handkerchiefs together to save her, which she attempted to seize hold of, but at length sunk. A man of colour plunged into the water soon after, and he succeeded in getting the body to the shore, but every means to restore animation proved unsuccessful. It was stated that a love attachment had deprived the deceased of her senses. Verdict—Lunacy.

A dreadful fire broke out at the printing-office of Mr. Nichols, in

in Red Lion Passage, Fleet-street. There is no certainty as to the manner in which it originated, more than it is generally supposed to have begun from a snuff of candle having been dropped in the ware-room. The whole of that very extensive concern is consumed, and valuable works that have been accumulating for many years have been entirely lost. Messrs. Nichols and Son were insured to the amount of 12,000*l.* but that sum is by no means equal to cover their loss. There is a remarkable circumstance related, which is as follows: A servant girl was in the kitchen, almost suffocated with the smoke, and unable through terror and the deprivation of breath to move; a fireman discovered it, broke open the window, and at the risk of his own life saved the girl's. The Red Lion public-house, Mr. Edwards's printing-office, the Scottish hospital, and some other adjacent places, sustained partial injury. The 3d London and some other volunteers mustered with promptitude, and were extremely serviceable.

The celebrated Major Semple met with another unexpected detention on Wednesday, in Upper Seymour-street, in consequence of his having forgotten to satisfy the demands of a tradesman a few days since, and he met with a very unexpected deliverance by the liberality of the Earl of B. The major called at the shop of a perfumer a few days since, and looked out ornaments to the amount of 25 shillings, and requested the tradesman to give him the change for a 5*l.* note, and on his being about to do so, the major begged pardon, and with an air of affected surprise,

observed that his note was for ten pounds. By this stratagem, which was so dexterously executed, the major obtained possession of the goods, and the tradesman found himself duped. He however espied his customer on Wednesday in Seymour-street, and demanded his money, but the major was destitute of either cash or note, and he took refuge in the house of a Mr. Frear, to avoid the mob, and a constable was charged with him. The Earl of B. was passing by, and on perceiving a crowd, inquired into the business, and on the tradesman making his case known, his lordship paid the demand; but there were other clamorous creditors in the street, and to avoid their unpleasant importunities Mr. Semple decamped from the back part of the house.

*Libel on the College of Physicians.
The King v. Hector Campbell.*

10. The defendant was brought up to receive the judgment of the court, when Mr. Justice Grose addressed him to the following effect: "You have been convicted of a gross libel upon the college of physicians, a body of learned and honourable men, acting in the discharge of an important and useful duty, acting also under letters patent from his majesty, and confirmed by the legislature. Part of their duty was to keep from that learned profession illiterate and presumptuous men, and to confine the practice of physic to persons of real merit. Such a duty is not less advantageous to the individual admitted to practice, than to the public who are benefited by that practice. That body thought proper to interdict you from practice in consequence of your contumacious behaviour, and your subsequent conduct

conduct shewed a conscious unfitness to attend the chamber of the sick. To prevent, therefore, a repetition of such offences, and to prove that the college of physicians were justified in the interdiction they sent, the court adjudges you to pay a fine of 50*l.* and to be imprisoned three months in the King's Bench Prison."

Dover, 11.—Prince Esterhazy and suite embarked here with the heavy baggage of Count Starhemberg yesterday, and sailed for Calais in two cartels about four o'clock this morning, having a fresh wind from the westward; they will save their tide in, and may be expected back to-morrow.

A letter from *Dover*, dated Feb. 12, says: "This morning, about seven o'clock, the wind blew a hurricane, with thick snow. Several vessels between the snow showers were seen to go past with loss of their anchors and cables. Between two and three o'clock, an East-Indiaman was seen going past, and shortly after another, with the loss of main-top-mast and other damage; one of our boats went out to their assistance. Several pieces of timber and wreck continue to go past."

Gottenburgh, 12.—The Stockholm post of to-day has brought the important intelligence that Russia has declared war against Sweden; and some accounts state that the Russians have already entered Swedish Finland. Both M. Alopus, the Russian minister, and Count Moolke, the Danish minister, are about to quit Stockholm. The officers and staff of the Swedish army in Finland, had received orders to join with all possible expedition.

13. Joseph Fawcet, of Kersick New Mill, killed a Hampshire hog which measured, from the extremity of the head to that of the tail, nine feet two inches; and from the hinder feet to the extremity of the head eight feet two inches; and weighed forty-two stone and six pounds.

15. A boy, fourteen years of age, who had been missing since the 3d instant, was found alive in the Lee-field colliery, near Chester-le-street. When he went into the pit, being unwell, and unable to work, he walked into some of the out-workings, and lost himself. He had nothing to eat since the day on which he was lost. He heard persons in search of him several times, and called to them; but being so weak, they could not hear him. Notwithstanding this astonishing fact, he is in a fair way of recovery.

Newcastle, 16.—On Friday night came on from the north, one of the most dreadful storms of snow which has been experienced here for several years. It was accompanied with a severe gale of wind, and continued almost without interruption till the following day in the afternoon. We fear that the accounts of the shipping from the coasts round the island will be highly disastrous, as by the different reports which have already reached us, the storm appears to have been felt very generally. No London mails, nor, indeed, any mail south of York, have reached us since Friday at noon, so that we are led to believe that the storm has been even more severe in the midland and southern counties of England than in the north. Such a circumstance is unprecedented in the memory of the oldest person living:

living : coaches have been sometimes stopped for two or three days, but the mail was never detained above a day, being always forwarded by some route or other on horseback. At York they are completely unacquainted with the cause of the detention of the mail, nor do they even know at what particular spot or place the great interruption is, so completely are they locked up from any intercourse with the south.

A serious affray took place at Shadwell. A drunken sailor passing by the residence of the Lascar seamen, gave one of them some offence. A quarrel ensued, and the sailor beat his antagonist, who ran to his quarters.—The Lascars, nearly 400 in number, then sallied out to attack the sailor, armed with bludgeons, poker, &c. The sailor made an obstinate resistance, and fought desperately, with a knife in one hand, and a bludgeon in the other. In the scuffle the sailor stabbed one of the Lascars in three parts of his body, and finally effected his escape to a public-house. The Lascars then surrounded the house, and brought the sailor out. They would have conveyed him to their quarters, where he would doubtless have fallen a sacrifice to their fury, had not the funeral train of a volunteer happened to obstruct their progress. The volunteers, who belonged to one of the Whitechapel corps, hearing the shouts of the Lascars, and being informed of the cause, immediately cut off the retreat of them, by pushing forward with fixed bayonets on each side the street. The Lascars immediately surrendered. They were then made prisoners in their

quarters, centinels being placed before the doors.

Singular Coincidence.—The only two mansions and estates ever voted by a British parliament for naval and military services, were those of Blenheim, to John, the first duke of Marlborough; and of Trafalgar, to the relatives of our lamented Nelson. It is observable, that in both these cases the heir apparent died before he came of age: the first marquis of Blandford while at the university, and the first viscount Trafalgar in his 20th year. It is further observable, that in consequence of the premature decease of each of these young noblemen, the honours decreed by the nation have passed into the female line. Thus the Churchill honours are vested in the Spencers, and those of Nelson are about to pass into the Bolton family.

Cassel, Feb. 16.—A deputation of the Jews in the kingdom of Westphalia has assembled here, consisting partly of rabbis, partly of elders. On the 8th the deputation were introduced by M. Israel Jacobson, counsellor of finances, to the minister of state, M. Simeon, and afterwards to king Jerome. Mr. Jacobson addressed his majesty in a short speech, and the following is part of the reply which was made:—

“I am satisfied with your speech. That article in the constitution of my kingdom, which establishes the equality of all religions, is in perfect unison with the feelings of my heart. The law ought to interrupt no man in the exercise of his worship. Each subject is as much at liberty to observe the rules of his faith, as the king is to follow his religion.”

religion. The duties of the citizen are the only objects which the laws of the government can regulate."

17. *Court of Common Pleas*.—The rope-dancer and the conjurer! Price v. Moritz. Mr. serjeant Shepherd stated the plaintiff's case: it was an action, he said, to recover ten guineas (being the amount of salary for one month, at the rate of two guineas and a half per week), from the defendant, manager of the *Temple of Apollo*, in Catherine-street, in the Strand. The plaintiff is a lady eminent for her abilities as a *rope-dancer*! She was with her husband at Cambridge, when the defendant was exhibiting his wonderful performances as the *emperor of the conjurers*, and astonishing the grave and learned members of that University, the thoughtless and gay, and, in short, every description of persons!!—Allured by the splendid offer of an engagement for three months, the plaintiff and his wife were induced to come to London, where, under the high-sounding title of *Signora Belinda*, this *conjuring* manager announced his fair client to the world!—She performed, and the consequence was, that crowds ran to witness her performance; the *conjurer* contrived to pocket the cash; and the public was pleased with his *deceptions*. The plaintiff, however, now complained of a species of *deception*, which he had neither inserted in his bills, nor, indeed, in the agreement which he had entered into with her. He had turned her from the theatre, after performing two or three weeks, and refused to fulfil his engagement. The learned gentleman read a variety of hand-bills and bills of performance. Among them was

one in which the defendant challenged that "*lump of arrogance*," Mr. Ingleby (who had denominated himself *emperor of the conjurers*), to a trial of skill in the art of *deceptions*, for the sum of three hundred guineas. He had not only challenged him, but had gone further, and bid the world enter the lists with him—a second Buonaparte, in point of *deception*.—After making some farther observations, he proceeded to prove his case, and called evidence to establish the facts of the engagement at the stipulated sum of two guineas and a half per week—that she was ordered on the 23d of November to quit the theatre, and never come there again; and also, that she had offered her services to fulfil the engagement she had entered into.

Mr. serjeant Best, for the defendant, lamented that the case should not have fallen into abler hands than his. He was no match for his learned brother (Shepherd); he never attended these sort of places; but his learned brother did, and consequently was well acquainted with their *tricks* and *deceptions*; and could of course manage such a cause with better skill. He had described his client wrongly—he was *not* the emperor of the conjurers, nor did he wish to be so considered—he was nothing more than a *professor* of the art of *conjuration*! Whatever skill Buonaparte might have in making and unmaking kings and emperors, *professor Moritz* did not wish to be put on a footing with him in that respect. His was but an humble *deception* of the world! With respect to the present action, the lady had herself to thank for the dismissal;
for

for she had dismissed herself!—Not only that, but she had thrust herself into the private apartment of professor Moritz, while he was adjusting with Miss Wood their *odd matters*, and *balancing accounts*; had struck him with an umbrella, and abused him in the grossest terms; calling him “*a little German humbug!*” Adding, that she would never enter his theatre again, nor *grace* the Apollonian temple with her *agile feats*. Under these considerations the jury would have no hesitation in turning her round, and find a verdict for the defendant.

Several witnesses were called for the defendant.

A Mr. Denham, one of the *vocal corps*, stated that Signora Belinda had, late on Saturday evening, the 23d November, bonnced into the room in which Mr. Moritz and Miss Wood, his partner, were settling the accounts of the evening. That Mr. Moritz requested she would withdraw for a few minutes, as he was engaged. She refused; and then he said, “Am I not your *master*, and the manager, and have the right to insist upon your leaving the room?” The Signora rejoined in warmth, “What! you my *master!* damn you! you dirty little German *humbug!*” Not content with this, she lifted up her umbrella, and struck the manager twice, saying she would not enter his theatre again. Mr. Moritz told her that her wages were not due till Monday; that if she would come then, she should have her money; and never should enter the theatre after that night. He said the lady was *four feet five inches high*.

Several witnesses corroborated

the statement in nearly the same words.

Mr. serjeant Shepherd, in the course of his reply, introduced matter which served to amuse the audience. Among other observations, he said, that the conduct of the *emperor* was such that no *spunky* dame could put up with! There were certain epithets, which, if applied to women, they never either forgot or forgive. No woman likes to acknowledge a *master*, especially if she were in the habit of *wearing the breeches!* Was it to be wondered at then, that this lady should resent such language? None, whatever station of life they might fill, approved of degrading terms. That the *conjurer* was manager, she was ready to admit; but to insult her with the epithet of *master*, was too much. In observing upon the testimony given respecting the attack upon the *conjurer*, he said that could not be seriously meant, for she had been described as a little woman, not more than *four feet high*, and the conjurer was an athletic man, *six feet high* and upwards. (Moritz, who sat behind serjeant Shepherd, rose up, and said, “Here I am, sir, at your service!” This incident excited much mirth; for he appeared to be a *little man*, not more than *five feet*, although possessing a pair of heavy shoulders! Mutual civilities passed between the serjeant and the *emperor*.)

The learned serjeant then proceeded, and observed, that the *emperor*, however, was determined that he should not be *deceived!* The exhibition of his person was certainly intended to do away any impression which the jury might entertain of his intention to *hum-*

bug

bug them! He was, in fact, an athletic man! After some further observations, he concluded with trusting that they would find a verdict for his client, and thereby *out-conjure the conjurer*, and trick him at his own tricks; for this defence was a trick to defeat the plaintiff's just demand.

Sir James Mansfield wished that this unfortunate cause had not been brought into court. It would have been better for these poor persons that some friend out of court had undertaken to settle the differences. Actions of this nature only served the purpose of attorneys! The learned judge then observed, that from the evidence it was clear that the plaintiff had discharged herself! If the jury believed the testimony of the defendant's witnesses, they would find a verdict for him. He saw no reason to doubt the evidence, as they agreed in all the leading facts.—Verdict for the defendant.

A prosecution was instituted by the countess-dowager of Ilchester, for the benefit of the public, against a porter at the White Horse Cellar, Piccadilly, for having defrauded her of the sum of 3s. 4d. in the carriage of a basket of fish from Dorchester. It appeared that frequent complaints had been made against the defendant for extortion in the carriage of parcels, which he was in the habit of delivering, and the parties concerned being desirous of detecting his malpractices, a duplicate of the ticket which was sent with the basket in question, was enclosed in it, stating the real charge to be 6s. 6d. but the defendant, not knowing of this, altered his own to 9s. 10d. which her ladyship's servant paid him. This was fully

proved by Samuel Harris, her ladyship's servant, and W. Robinson, the book-keeper at the White Horse Cellar.

Mr. Lawes, the defendant's counsel, took several objections to the indictment, which lord Ellenborough over-ruled, and the jury therefore, found him guilty.

Mr. Gurney, as leading counsel for the prosecution, observed to his lordship, that the reason why this severe course had been adopted towards the defendant was, that he had defrauded the countess, in this way, no less than seven times!

MARCH.

1. *Hertford*, Mr. justice Heath arrived yesterday morning, and read the king's commission for holding the assizes for this county; but as it was late before his lordship arrived in town, only one cause was tried in the course of the day, which was wholly uninteresting.

Murder at Hoddesdon.—Thomas Simmons was indicted, for that he at Broxbourn, in this county, on the 20th of October last, did make an assault on Sarah Hummerstone, and wilfully gave her a mortal wound in the neck with a knife, of which she instantly died.

This is the case of the inhuman wretch who murdered the two unfortunate women at Hoddesdon, and the court was crowded at an early hour in the morning to hear the trial. It did not last long, as the facts lay in a very narrow compass.

Mr. Pooley, as counsel for the prosecution, stated to the jury, that it was not possible but they must have heard of the case. He in-
treated

treated them to dismiss from their minds all they had heard elsewhere, and attend only to the evidence which would be laid before them. He then stated the facts as below detailed, and called the following witnesses:

Samuel James, a surgeon, at Hoddesdon, deposed, that on the 20th of October he went to the house of Mr. Boreham, at Hoddesdon. On going to the house, he saw Mrs. Hummerstone leaning against the paling near the door; she was then alive, but died in three minutes of a wound in the neck, near the spine.

Sarah Harris, servant of Mr. Boreham, said she had lived four years with him; Simmons, the prisoner, had lived there three years, and quitted it last Michaelmas; the prisoner wished to marry her, but her mistress disapproved of it: they had quarrelled before he quitted the service—on which occasion he beat her; and when he had done, he said he did not care if he had killed her. He has often said, he would make away with her, because she would not marry him.

About half past eight in the evening of the 20th of October he came to the house; she was in the kitchen, and heard him coming along the yard; he was swearing violently. He came up to the window and struck at her through the lattice, and swore he would do for them all. She desired him not to make a noise, as they had company: he said he did not care for the company, he would do for them all. Mrs. Hummerstone hearing the voice, opened the room-door and came to the yard. She told him to go away. He gave her a blow on the head, which knocked off her bonnet;—she ran

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into the house, and he immediately followed her. The witness immediately heard the shrieks of murder, but did not know from whom. All the family were in the room. The three young ladies, Mr. Boreham's daughter, Mrs. Warner, the married daughter, Mr. Boreham and his wife, and Mrs. Hummerstone. In a very short time, the prisoner came to the wash-house to her; she shut the door, and cried out murder! The witness ran into the sitting-room. She there saw some one lying under the window; she immediately ran from thence down a passage; the prisoner followed her; she there met her master with the poker in his hand; in running hastily, her master, who is a very old and feeble man, was knocked down. The prisoner caught her and threw her down, and drew a knife on her. He threw her across Mrs. Warner, who was lying dead, as she believed. He drew the knife across her throat, but she guarded it with her hand, which was cut. He made a second blow, when she wrested the knife out of his hand. He immediately ran away, and she saw no more of him.

Sarah Cakebury said she lived near Mr. Boreham, and heard the cry of murder. She passed Mrs. Hummerstone and went into the house; she saw Mrs. Warner lying dead under the window.

George Britton said, on the evening of the 20th of October he went to Mr. Boreham's, at Hoddesdon: finding what had been done, he went in search of the murderer; in the cow-house he found Tom Simmons's hat; he went in further search, but the prisoner was found by another party.

Thomas Copperwheat went in
B search

search of the murderer. He discovered Simmonds concealed under some straw in a crib in the farm-yard; he had on him a smock frock very bloody: the place where he was found was about 100 yards from the house.

Benjamin Rook, the coroner, said, when the evidence of Harris was read to the prisoner, he said it was very true, he had murdered them, and no one else. He added, that he did not intend to have murdered Mrs. Hummerstone, but he went with an intention of murdering Mrs. Boreham, Mrs. Warner, and Harris, the maid-servant.

The constable who carried him to prison, deposed to the same effect. The prisoner also told him, that when he had got Betsy down, he heard something flutter over his shoulders, which made him get up and run away.

The prisoner being called upon to know if he had any thing to say, answered, in a careless tone—No!

Mr. justice Heath told the jury, the case was so very clear that it must be unnecessary for him to address any observations to them; the prisoner, as they had heard, had more than once voluntarily confessed his guilt.

The jury found him *guilty*; and the learned judge immediately pronounced the sentence of the law—that he should be hanged on Monday next, and his body anatomised.

It is a matter of curiosity to enquire what are the features which mark a wretch of such abandoned principles. The pictures published of him in town do not by any means convey a correct idea of his person. The general outline and character of his face is best represented by the front-face portrait of him—but

he is not so old as there represented, nor has he that yellow cadaverous appearance; on the contrary, he has a very young look, and a good countenance, being rather a well-looking young man than otherwise. He heard the sentence of death with great indifference, and walked very coolly from the bar.—The young girl, whom he attempted to murder, was in great agitation, and was obliged to be supported while she was in court.

A striking display of the omnipotence of love occurred at the High Church, Hull, a few days ago. A young woman having given her heart to a sailor, who was impressed and carried on-board the tender by the interference of her friends, resolved nevertheless to marry the object of her choice. He was accordingly brought on shore, and escorted by the press-gang to the church, from whence, after the marriage ceremony, he was again conveyed to the tender.

Buonaparte has lately fitted up his library in the English taste, and rather plain than otherwise; it is decorated with marble busts of celebrated characters, amongst which are those of Mr. Fox and Lord Nelson.

12. The fifth report of the commissioners of military inquiry consists of 274 closely printed folio pages. The commissioners remark on the great inconvenience arising from a division of patronage, which has occasioned a much greater expenditure than would have otherwise occurred. The army general hospital system has been carried to too great an extent, and has been very disadvantageous. The expenditure for medicines is enormous. The medicines, medical stores, and surgical

surgical stores, and surgical instruments, are supplied both at home and abroad, by a Mr. Garnier, who has a patent for the purpose, though no reason has been assigned for this valuable monopoly. Mr. G. executes no part of the business himself, and receives a salary in addition to his profits, which appear to be very great indeed! His charges on a yearly average amount to 67,340*l*. The whole institution seems to have been conducted in a most extravagant manner, and affords another instance of the mode in which the public money has been squandered. The expenditure of wine, spirits, and porter, has been considerable; for whose use, cannot be easily ascertained. A pipe of wine in ten days, at the York hospital, was a common average. Among the many abuses which the report discovers, are those committed in the accounts of the Plymouth hospital, in the years 1796, 1797, and 1798. These consist of double charges; of alterations in vouchers for the purpose of introducing larger sums in the place of smaller; and of false entries in the monthly charge, under the head of "small bills."

A complete mammoth has lately been found (though not alive) in a state of perfect preservation on the borders of the Frozen Ocean. It was discovered by Schoumachoff, a Tungoose chief, in the autumn of 1799, in the midst of a rock of ice; but it was not till the fifth year after finding it, that the ice had melted sufficiently to disengage the mammoth, when it fell over on its side on a bank of sand. Schoumachoff then cut off the tusks, which he bartered for goods with a Russian merchant to the value of 50 rubles,

(1*l*. 5*5*). He then left the carcase to be devoured by bears and wolves; but, previously to which, he had a rude drawing made of it, which represents it with pointed ears, very small eyes, horse's hoofs, and a bristly mane, extending along the whole of its back.

Mad Dogs.—At Newbury, a greyhound almost tore off the nose of a child about three years of age; soon after he bit a man in the hand, almost through; and it is feared he has bitten many other persons. He was at length killed. Seven persons who have been bitten, about Newbury, passed through that town in a caravan about a week since, on their way to the salt water at Southampton.

Pedestrian Intelligence.—Mr. Halifax, of the Royal Lancashire Militia, who lately, for a considerable bet, walked thirty miles per day for twenty successive days, as detailed in several papers, and who thereby established his fame as a pedestrian, has now undertaken a labour much more severe than the one he has already achieved; it is, to walk two miles an hour for one hundred successive hours. The ground selected for the performance is near Tiverton, on the road to Halberton. He went thither in a postchaise, and commenced the undertaking at four o'clock on Wednesday evening last. This exploit will occupy upwards of four days and nights successively, allowing, at no time, more than one hour for repose or refreshment. The general opinion is very much against his winning:—considerable bets are laid, and of course the odds are in his favour.

A melancholy instance of suicide occurred at Bristol.—A gentleman

of respectability, from Bath, who had been on a visit at a friend's house in that city, cut his throat, and otherwise lacerated himself in a shocking manner. The unfortunate gentleman had been confined to his room for some days through illness; and, at ten o'clock on the above morning, the servant girl, hearing him groan, looked through the key-hole of his chamber door, and discovered him weltering in his blood. Medical assistance was procured, but the wounds he had inflicted on himself were such as to occasion his almost immediate death. A coroner's inquest was held on the body the same day, when it appeared that he had before, on several occasions, discovered strong symptoms of mental derangement. Verdict, Lunacy. — The deceased was 70 years of age.

18.—*Paris.* By an imperial decree of the day before yesterday, an university is established, to which is entrusted the care of supervising public instruction through the whole French empire.

The following is the oath to be taken by the new nobility:

"I swear to be faithful to the emperor and his dynasty; to be obedient to the constitution, laws, and institutions of the empire; to serve his majesty as a good, upright, and faithful subject; to educate my children in the same feelings of fidelity and obedience, and to march in defence of my country as soon as its territory shall be threatened, or as his majesty shall go to the army."

The King of Denmark.—The death of Christian the VIIth, king of Denmark, is announced in the Gottenburgh mail which arrived yesterday. He was born on the 29th of January, 1749. In the

year 1766 he was married to the princess Carolina Matilda, sister of our revered monarch. The unfortunate history of that princess, owing, it is generally supposed, to the enmity of her step-mother, has long been a subject of regret in this country. The late king of Denmark came to England in the year 1767, and was received with every possible demonstration of respect by all ranks of people; as well as by the illustrious family to whom he had been, recently allied. Soon after his return to Denmark, his faculties, which were never bright, sunk into a decay, which wholly unfitted him for the duties of his situation, and his kingdom has ever since been governed under his name, without the least chance that he would be able to resume his royal functions. Before this melancholy event in his life, there was nothing in his character morally or intellectually calculated to excite admiration or provoke censure.

19. The inhabitants of the town of Stoney Stratford were thrown into the utmost consternation by information which arrived from Wolverton; that the three large aqueduct arches under the immensely high embarkment, made about four years ago, for carrying the new line of the grand junction canal across the valley, about a mile below that town, had fallen in; and that the river Ouse was so dammed up thereby, that the town must shortly be entirely inundated to a great depth. The fears of those who hastened to the spot, were much allayed, by finding, that one of these arches, which had been propped up underneath with timber, soon after the centers were struck, was still standing; and that this

this one arch, owing to there being no flood in the river, was able to carry off the water as fast as it came down. On examining the other two arches, it appeared that about twenty-two yards in length of the middle part of each had fallen in, and blocked up the openings, laying the canal above in complete ruins, emptying it as far as the nearest stop-gate on each side, and exposing the remains of five hundred quarters of coke or cinders, which the contractors had laid on the arches. The ends of each of the broken arches were found standing in a crippled state.

Luis Herquiada, for the wilful murder of Francisco Romaro, was conveyed from the new gaol, to the place of execution, near Winchester. He behaved with great penitence, and made a confession of the crime for which he was going to suffer. At the place of execution a most melancholy circumstance took place owing to the hangman not understanding his duty, in fixing the rope on the gallows at a proper time. The rope was put round the malefactor's neck, and the cart instantly moving away, he fell, suspended, and, in the convulsive agonies of death, his feet were partly on the ground; and he underwent a most violent strangulation. His dying groans were shocking. He remained in that situation for some time, and then spoke, in great anguish, requesting to be put out of his misery. One of the javelin men took him round the body, and lifted him up, in order to remove the rope, which was then under his chin, to under his left ear. He was again thrown off, and was some time before death put a period to his sufferings.

This morning a dreadful fire broke out, about three o'clock, at Mrs. Smith's, milliner, in Middle-row, Chelmsford. The inhabitants of the house, consisting altogether of females, seven in number, were in a most perilous situation. They appeared at the windows of the second floor (for the first was on fire), as they had risen from their beds, uttering the most piercing shrieks. As the most likely means of rescuing them, two ladders were procured, and raised against the burning front of the house; but, such was the danger of ascending to their relief, from the violence of the flames, that a momentary irresolution ensued among the spectators of their tremendously awful situation; till, agonized by their screams, and actuated by the feelings of humanity to a contempt of personal safety, a young man, Mr. Henry Guy, and Mr. Sorrel, a near neighbour, made an attempt to preserve them. The former succeeded in rescuing a little girl, about nine years old, niece to Mrs. Smith. The maid-servant, who had got out of the garret-window, and climbed to the roof of the house, was brought down by the latter. Robinson, a waggoner, who first discovered the fire, ascended a ladder, with the intent of bringing down Mrs. Smith; but so extreme was her trepidation, that she was incapable of using any exertion, and it became necessary to drag her from the window by force; in doing which, owing to her convulsive struggles, she fell upon the pavement below, but miraculously without having any bones broken. Almost at the same instant, two young ladies, miss Williams and miss Wilkinson, rendered frantic

by terror, precipitated themselves from the windows into the street, and were so severely bruised, that doubt was long entertained of their recovery, as well as of that of Mrs. Smith. Two amiable young ladies, miss Woolmer, aged 19, whose parents reside at Hornchurch, and miss Eve, daughter of Mr. C. Eve, of Barnish-hall, became victims to the devouring element... Notwithstanding the most strenuous exertions of the populace, and the soldiers from the garrison, by six o'clock the houses of Mrs. Smith, Mr. Peck, druggist, and Mr. Hill, shoemaker, adjoining, were totally destroyed; and those of Mr. Rood, plasterer, and Mr. Nash, hair-dresser, were so greatly damaged that they must be rebuilt.

Epitaph in Kirkeel church-yard :
Here lie the remains of Thomas Nicols, who died in Philadelphia, March 1753. *Had he lived, he would have been buried here.*

23. John Baker, James Baker, Benjamin Baker, and three others, were indicted for assaulting the Rev. H. Williams, and keeping him in imprisonment the whole of the night of Sunday, the 20th of December, and making him sign a promise to pay 5*l.* as a consideration for being released.

The Rev. Mr. Williams was called. He was a young man, and told the following extraordinary tale: he said he was curate of the parish of Kirtford, in this county, and that he permitted John Baker to live in the vicarage house with him, who, in return, performed little domestic services for him. On Sunday, December 20, after the performance of his clerical duties, he returned home, and hearing a great noise in the kitchen, he sent

for John Baker to come to him in the parlour, and remonstrated with him. Baker upon this grew very insolent, clenched both his fists, and thrust them in a menacing manner in his face. Upon this he said he was alarmed, and seeing an old gun in a corner, which he knew to be unloaded, he took it up with a view to defend himself, when Baker seized him, and beat him to the ground; he was joined by the other two Bakers, who dragged him out of doors to the green; on which there were several people, some of whom cried out; "give it him well." They afterwards dragged him to the public-house, and made him sit down in a little room. After he had been there a short time, he ran out, and escaped about 100 yards; but James and Benjamin Baker pursued him, and forced him to return to the house; here they kept him all night, and sung profane and indecent songs in his hearing. In the morning they said they would take him before a magistrate; but by his intreaties, they permitted him to go home and change his clothes. Eldridge and Hillyer accompanied him; and they frightened him by telling him, that he had committed a transportable offence, by having taken the old gun. He was so much alarmed, that he was induced to sign a promise to give them five pounds, if they would let him go.

On his cross-examination, it appeared, that he had actually pointed the gun at Baker, and that he signed the paper, which was written by his own dictation, as a compromise for an assault, which he acknowledged he had committed on Baker. He also contradicted himself in so many particulars, that

the

the jury immediately found the prisoners—*Not guilty.*

Robbery at the Royal Exchange.

—On Saturday se'nnight, about half past three o'clock, the range of offices in the gallery over the Royal Exchange were discovered, by the watchman going his round, to be broken open. On examining more closely, he perceived that not one of the offices in that part of the building had escaped. Some of the doors had been wrenched open with crow, or other burglarious implements; others were found open, without any apparent marks of violence, the locks having been picked. In the merchant-seaman's office the villains found no plunder; 700*l.* which had been set apart from the fund for a payment that morning to the seamen's widows, escaped their hands, owing to the impregnable strength of the iron chest, in which the money was contained. From Mr. Chapman's office two quarters of a lottery ticket in the present lottery were taken. Mr. Hodges lost from his office two pieces of Irish cloth. Mr. Warton's premises were also broken open, but the plunderers found nothing that they could carry off; a fine haunch of mutton, which hung up for this gentleman's Sunday's dinner, fortunately escaped their ravages.

The thieves also broke open the strong iron chest in the counting-house of Mr. Secretan, and strewed all the papers about the room. Mr. Smith lost about 40*l.* in cash, and 700*l.* in bills. Messrs. Rivaz and Angerstein lost about 90*l.* in money. Mr. Parish lost about 40*l.* amongst which was a draft for 5*l.* which the villains contrived to get before the draft could be stopped.

The River-Dee office was likewise broken open, but nothing stolen. Lloyd's Coffee-house being well watched, the thieves did not attempt it. An effort to break open the Royal Exchange Assurance-office was made, but the villains failed. Every exertion is making to trace the robbers.

A shocking accident happened in the Home Park, belonging to his royal highness the duke of Kent, near Kingston. As a labouring man was passing through the park, he was attacked by a ferocious bull, and gored in such a manner, as only to survive a very short time. His royal highness gave immediate orders to the keeper of the park to shoot the animal.

A remarkable occurrence took place at Spithead. A man, belonging to the Salcette frigate was sentenced to be flogged through the fleet for thieving. The boats from all the men-of-war, as is customary upon those occasions, were assembled; when, at the moment the punishment was about to be inflicted, he jumped overboard, and was never afterwards seen. It is conjectured he had previously concealed some shot in his pockets, to prevent the possibility of rising again in the water.

The remains of Miss Eve and Miss Woolmer, the two young ladies who perished in the late dreadful fire at Chelmsford, were on Saturday se'nnight interred in one grave, in the church-yard of that town. The funeral was conducted with peculiar solemnity. Twenty-four young ladies, habited in white, preceded the coffins. The palls were borne by twelve young ladies, in white dresses and hoods, supported by the same number of young

young men in black, with white hat-bands. The relatives and friends of the deceased, and a numerous train of the principal inhabitants of the town, in deep mourning, followed. Mrs. Smith, at whose house the fire broke out, died the same morning. Miss Williams is in a fair way of recovery; but Miss Wilkinson still remains in a very precarious state.

Last week a cat, in Greenock, brought forth the most wonderful and perfect monster of her own species that is to be met with; it has one head, four ears, eight feet, and two tails: it is one body from the navel up, as if it were breasted to breast, and from the navel back forms two distinct kittens; what is remarkable, the one is male and the other female. It has suckled for some days, and, from all appearance, would have lived to maturity; but most unfortunately for the admirers of natural curiosities, was deprived of its life from superstitious motives. It is now in the possession of Mr. Gameron, a surgeon there.

A heifer belonging to Mr. Thos. James, of Waddington, near Lincoln, last week produced the following wonderful calf. It had two heads united just above the eyes, and perfectly formed, even the teeth in each mouth being precisely alike; one neck, eight legs, two tails, four kidneys, two throats, one heart, and one liver. It was full grown, and of a dull colour. The heifer and calf were killed in the parturition.

Alarming Fire at Brighton.—About a quarter before twelve, on Thursday se'nnight, a fire broke out in the lower part of an unfinished lodging-house, belonging to D. Sands, esq. on Marlborough Steyne,

Brighton, about three hundred yards to the north of the Prince's Pavillion. The flames made such a rapid progress in the buildings, that the whole of the lower part of it was completely in a blaze almost as soon as discovered. By four o'clock the danger was considered at an end, though the fire was not entirely extinguished until Friday afternoon.

Horrid Murder.—(From a Jamaica paper.) “I witnessed on Monday last, in the parish of St. Elizabeth, the most horrid and most cruel sight that probably ever was seen before. Mr. James Jennings, who was settling a coffee plantation about three miles from this, had his throat cut; his house-keeper, a Sambo woman, had her head severed from her body; their eldest daughter, about eight years old, her throat cut; the next boy, about six, his throat cut and scalped; the third, a sucking child, strangled; and a black child, about six, his throat cut and scalped; there is also one of Mr. Jennings's brown children missing, about three years old, which, there is not the least doubt, has shared the same fate, as it was seen in company with the others the day before by a gentleman who lives in the neighbourhood; and the murderers, to complete their barbarity, cut the throat of a milch-goat, which they left weltering in its blood along with the other dead bodies. These cruel and barbarous murders were committed on Sunday, the day before I saw them, and supposed to be done by six Coromantee negro-men, purchased by Mr. Jennings about six months ago. We understand that one of the above negroes was discovered in the woods, by a party

party of negroes who were sent in pursuit of them. They found him asleep, and we understand shot him on the spot; his head was afterwards cut off and stuck on a pole. He was wrapped in the clothes of the unfortunate woman they had so cruelly murdered, and her necklace was tied about his ankle."

APRIL.

3. *Fatal Fright*.—(Extract of a letter from Feversham, dated April 3.) "A boy, who had been watching crows, on his return home a few days since, left his gun in the corner of the room. A little fellow, nine years old, running into the room, and taking the gun, exclaimed, "Joe, I will shoot you!" pulled the trigger, and wounded his young friend in the hand and thigh. Two gentlemen riding past, alighted, and gave every assistance in their power. One of them, shaking the little fellow, said he would have him hanged; which had such an effect on him, that the next morning he was unable to rise. He cried, and hoped Joe would get better. He was assured he was getting better, and that he might go and see him: he did so, and appeared more composed; but his feelings were too great for his strength, and on Thursday morning he died. The wounded boy is now walking about."

A Quaker, a few days since, having been cited as an evidence at a quarter sessions, one of the magistrates, who had been a blacksmith, desired to know why he would not take off his hat? "It is a privilege," said the witness, "that the laws and liberality of my country indulge people of our religious

mode of thinking in." "If I had it in my power," said the angry justice, "I would have your hat nailed to your head." "I thought," said Obadiah, "that thou hadst given over the trade of *driving nails*."

6. The Royal Jennerian Society have published a report on the supposed failures of Vaccination at Ringwood, in Hampshire. The inquiry was conducted by a medical deputation, consisting of John Ring, esq. vice-president; William Blair, esq. director; and Dr. J. S. Knowles, the resident inoculator, assisted by Dr. Fowler, an eminent physician of Salisbury, and employed two days at a public meeting, where were also present the right honourable George Rose, Wm. Mills, esq. M. P.; S. Tuncks, esq. a magistrate; the rev. Messrs. Taylor, Davie, and Middleton; Messrs. Westcott and Macilwain, surgeons, &c.

The following is the result of the inquiry as reported by the medical committee to the society, and accorded to by the other medical persons present:

"The small-pox appeared at Ringwood about the middle of September, and rapidly spread through the town and neighbourhood, partly by means of inoculation, and partly by natural infection.

"Vaccine inoculation did not commence until the 23d of October; it is therefore evident, that all those persons who were vaccinated had been previously exposed to the contagion of the small-pox.

"Some of these persons had the small pox at the same time with the cow-pock, in consequence of previous infection. In others, vaccine

cine inoculation did not take effect; and consequently they were not rendered insusceptible of the infection of the small-pox.

"In various instances, dry cow-pock matter, received from several quarters, was dissolved in water at almost boiling, previous to insertion; and it is probable, that on this account, it frequently failed to produce any effect. Above two hundred persons, however, were successfully vaccinated, and have been protected from the small-pox, though much exposed to its infection in different ways.

"It was asserted that the small-pox was more fatal at Ringwood and the neighbouring villages, to those persons who were inoculated for the cow-pock than to others. This report appeared to be totally destitute of foundation. The mortality was indeed considerable, owing, in some instances, to the want of air and cleanliness, and in others to the immoderate use of spirituous liquors, particularly at the time of the eruption, which had been recommended by a thrasher, who inoculates for the small-pox.

"It was reported, that several persons at Ringwood, who were inoculated with the cow-pock some years ago, lately had the small-pox; but no satisfactory evidence was given to establish the fact, as it appeared either that their arms had not been inspected by the inoculator after vaccination, or that there was no proper scar left behind: or, on the other hand, when they were put to the test of variolous inoculation, no other effect was produced than what is occasionally produced in those who have previously had the small-pox.

"It was also insidiously reported, that two persons died of the cow-pock (or, as it has been termed, "the vaccine ulcer;") but it is positively asserted by the surgeons who inoculated them, that no vaccine ulcer, nor cow-pock, took place in either of those instances; and that the patients died of other diseases—one of them of an apoplexy."

Anecdote of the late Countess of Bath.—The following deserves to be recorded among the many charitable actions which distinguished the character of the late amiable and regretted countess of Bath, and will be read with pleasure by those who are acquainted with her numerous virtues.—A curate in one of the parishes in Shropshire, (on the late sir William Pulteney's estates in that county,) who had a small stipend with a numerous family, applied to sir William for a living, which was promised him, when an opportunity offered. Unfortunately the baronet died soon after, and this poor but worthy curate lost all hopes of the living. Some friends, however, suggested to him the propriety of applying to his daughter, the late countess of Bath, and to show her the letter written by her father to the curate, wherein the promise was made. The venerable pastor, in an inclement season of the year, travelled all the way from his parish to London, full of doubts and fears; but both were soon dispersed in the first interview with her ladyship, who, with that cheerful alacrity which characterized her filial affection, declared that it was not only her duty to fulfil her departed father's commands, but even his intentions; and without delay employed a confidential person

son to endeavour to procure a living for the old man, preferring the honourable path of purchasing with her ample means the gift which ecclesiastical pride might have refused her. All methods to procure a living by purchase were ineffectual; and her ladyship paid into the hands of the worthy curate a sum adequate to the income of a living of 300*l.* per annum, with which he returned to his family, imploring blessings on the benevolent countess.

7. Shipwrecked at sea, by the stranding of the ship *Agatha*, of Lubeck, in a storm, not far from Memel, lord Royston, eldest son of the earl of Hardwicke, who would have been 24 years old had he lived till the 7th of May, and promised to become an honour to his house. He left Ireland about two years ago for the continent, accompanied by two servants, both of whom perished with him. This amiable and accomplished young nobleman had been above four years from this country; and not one of those by whom he was accompanied has survived him. His tutor, private secretary, and steward, all died a natural death some time since; and his other attendants, together with the companions of his tour, sunk with him into the watery grave. His lordship had twice, since he went to the continent, narrowly escaped being drowned. In the course of last winter he went down in a sledge, and was rescued by a Mr. Poole, who took him out of the ice by the hair of the head, for which Mr. P. was handsomely rewarded by lord Hardwicke. By his lordship's death, the reversionary interest of the earl of Hardwicke's family in

the patent-place of clerk of the common pleas in the court of exchequer in Ireland is reduced to the two lives of his lordship and his son, the hon. Charles Yorke. There were on board 19 passengers, of whom three were children and six were servants; and there were nine belonging to the vessel. The following were washed overboard and drowned: lord Royston and two servants; colonel Pollen and one servant; D. T. Barclay, from Petersburg; — Renny, from Riga; — Becker, from Hamburg; and one servant, one nurse, and five of the ship's crew. Mr. Focke, of Hamburg, and one servant-maid, died on-board the vessel during the night of the 7th and 8th. Of those who were brought on shore, and who likewise died, were one sailor and the youngest child of Mrs. Barris. The others who were rescued were, the lady of colonel Pollen; Mr. Holliday, from Petersburg; Mrs. Barris, with two children; M. Pereira, who was sent by the Portuguese chargé des affaires from Petersburg to Portugal, and who died the next day, in consequence of his extraordinary exertions; the captain of the vessel and servant, and two sailors; in all, ten souls.—Colonel Pollen, aforesaid, was the only son of the Rev. George P. of Little Bookham in Surry. He was in the 33d year of his age; and, possessing a fine and vigorous understanding, highly improved by education, and by his very extensive and interesting travels, there is no doubt, if he had returned to his native country (as he was attempting to do when this dreadful accident put a period to all his hopes), but he would have

have proved a distinguished ornament of it. His fortune would have been large, and his abilities and his experience would have amply qualified him for a seat in parliament. In 1796, on his coming of age, he opposed the interest of the duke of Norfolk, for the representation of the populous borough of Leominster, which he carried by a majority of *one*. He afterwards raised a regiment of fencibles at his own expense, for the service of government, and attended with it on its being ordered to Halifax, in Nova Scotia; but for several years he has been constantly travelling on the continent. At St. Peterburgh he married one of the daughters of sir Charles Gascoigne (sister to the countess of Haddington, now married to Mr. Dalrymple), who was with him when the wreck took place, but who was happily saved.

9. *Breaking out of Prison.*—Charles White, a notorious swindler, was indicted for breaking out of Tothill-Fields Bridewell, a few weeks since, he having been fully committed for fraud.

The prisoner had been tried and acquitted on no less than four indictments during the present sessions, by points of law; and on being arraigned for this offence, he at first pleaded guilty, but afterwards recalled his plea and took his trial, which disclosed some curious circumstances. It appeared that the prisoner had broke out of bridewell by forcing an iron bar, and he was afterwards heard of, at Stratford, where Anthony the officer and the prison-keeper of Tothill-fields went to secure him.

The prisoner made a stout resistance, and, together with a ferocious bull-dog, kept the officers at a

distance for some time; but after an attack was made, the dog seized his master on the body, and very much maimed him. After he had loosed his hold, he seized Anthony by the hip, and the officer being within reach of a knife, which he took off the counter of a chandler's shop, he cut the throat of the dog, and released himself. The prisoner was at length secured. The warrant of commitment was produced, and the prisoner was convicted.

Extraordinary Pedestrianism.—It has been stated that a Mr. Paul had matched himself for 100 guineas, on the first event, and 50 guineas on the second, to go from Knightsbridge to a spot near Windsor in two hours and a half, a distance of something more than 20 miles, and to return to Knightsbridge in three hours within twelve hours. The pedestrian started at eight o'clock on Wednesday morning, walked 9 miles within the first hour, and had arrived within a mile and a half of Slough at the expiration of the second hour. He then had two miles and three-quarters to walk in the other half-hour, which he did with ease. After laying on a straw bed between blankets four hours, the pedestrian started on the next match to return in three hours, but the rain fell in torrents, and he went seven miles in the first hour with an umbrella. He would, in fair weather, doubtless have won both matches, but on his arrival on the second, at Hounslow Heath, with wind and weather against him, he prudently resigned, winning 50 guineas by his day's fatigue.

The Chase.—The earl of Derby turned out a fine stag, on Thursday se'nnight. The day being very fine, and being his lordship's last hunt this

this season, a numerous field of sportsmen assembled by half past ten, at Walton Heath, where the stag was turned out, and went off in fine style, across Box Hill, and by Dorking. He then made for the Sussex road, towards Brighton, after which he headed back, and was taken three miles on the other side of Horsham, after a hard run of five hours and a half. Only seven gentlemen were in, several of the horses being knocked up; one of them dropped down dead, and two others are not likely to survive. It was allowed to be one of the greatest days' sport of the season. His lordship took a chaise and four from Horsham to town.

Lately, a very valuable mare, belonging to Mr. Padmore, farmer, near Hawarden, Flintshire, was suddenly taken ill, after drinking some water in a pond, and all efforts to get her to swallow any thing proved ineffectual. She swelled remarkably large, and lived two or three days in the most excruciating agony, when she died. On opening her, nothing was found in her bowels that could occasion her death; but, on cutting open the windpipe, a large toad was discovered alive!—which she is supposed to have taken into that orifice on drinking the water.

Suicide.—Mr. L. an eminent stockbroker, put an end to his existence on Monday last, by shooting himself with a pistol. He rode to town that morning from his villa in the country, about 14 miles distant. When he reached his house in Cornhill, he read a letter put into his hands by his servant, which seemed to affect him much. Shortly afterwards he complained of fatigue and indisposition, and said

he would retire to his bed-room. He did so, and was found there, in the course of the day, dead, with the pistol lying by him. It was supposed that the pistol was fired about eleven o'clock, but no report was heard by the servants. Mr. L. it appears, was under considerable embarrassments, which were unknown even to his partner or family, but which had occasioned a depression of spirits that led to the unhappy catastrophe. On a minute examination into his affairs, it appears that he is minus to the amount of 60,000*l.* and upwards. One person alone is a sufferer to the amount of 36,000*l.* another twenty, and many others in smaller sums. Mr. L. left behind him a letter, the tendency of which, was to exculpate Mr. C. his partner, from any blame which might be imputed to him. The deceased was in an extensive line of business; gave elegant entertainments to the nobility in the country; and had a taste for building. He has left a wife, and we believe a family. The coroner's inquest has returned a verdict of—Lunacy.

10. We have seldom witnessed a more tremendous gale of wind than that which commenced on Monday, and raged with uncommon violence from ten till near three o'clock. Several ships in the river drove from their moorings. About one o'clock a large sheet of lead was raised, by the violence of the wind, from off the top of a house in Ludgate-hill, and thrown down on the pavement. In its way it broke a part of the parapet wall, which fell on the ground with a terrible crash. The hand of Providence was never more visible than in this instance, for though the street

street was crowded with passengers, yet none received the smallest injury.

Small-Pox.—The following affecting instances of the fatal effects of the small-pox, evince the urgent necessity of the inoculation for that disease being either prohibited, or at least put under such restriction, that the public may no longer suffer so severely by its contagion, as they have recently experienced:—At Lyme Regis, in Dorsetshire, a gentleman not being able readily to procure vaccine matter, insisted on having his child inoculated with the small-pox; the contagion was thereby communicated to the inhabitants, and so great was the mortality in that small town, that sixty persons lost their lives in a few weeks. Mr. Mansfield, No. 9, Bishopshead-court, Gray's-inn-lane, has recently lost all his four children by the small-pox. At the School for the Indigent Blind, in St. George's-fields, two thirds of the objects admitted into that charity have lost their sight by the small-pox.

11. *Murder.*—At Stafford assizes, on Monday last, William Hawkeswood was found guilty of poisoning his master, Mr. Parker, of Swindon, in Staffordshire, by administering to him poison (corrosive sublimate), in a cup of camomile tea. The prisoner, when called upon for his defence, offered a written paper wherein he acknowledged his having administered the poison, without the knowledge of any other person, but that he did not do it with an intention of injuring any one; that he thereby meant it as a “trick upon the old woman, the house-keeper.” He also spoke very highly of his r (the deceased)

kindness towards him. The prisoner was found guilty, and executed on Wednesday morning.

The late king of Sweden, a few hours previous to his demise, ordered that a large collection of papers in his own hand-writing, should be deposited in an iron chest, under three keys, and placed in a certain department of the University of Upsal, with a strict injunction that the chest should not be opened till the end of twenty years after his death. It is supposed these papers contain some very interesting articles on the state of Europe at the time that prince died.

16. *The late James Paull, Esq.*—An inquest was held upon the body of the late James Paull, esq. at his house, No. 2, Charles-street, St. James's-square. The first witness called was the butler, Mr. Paull's confidential servant. He stated, that a great alteration had taken place for several months in the conduct of his master. His orders were frequently contradictory—he was irresolute, fluctuating, and depressed in spirits. The change was so remarkable as to be perceived by every one acquainted with his master, who, he was convinced, was very much disordered in his understanding. About half after four on Friday, knowing that Mr. Paull was engaged to dine out, he went up to his bed-room, knocked at the door, and reminded him of the engagement. The answer was, he should be rung for shortly. Having remained below for some time, he was alarmed by the screams of the servant maid, who had attended Mr. Paull in his long illness. He instantly returned to the bed-room, which he entered, and found his master weltering in his blood, reclining

dining upon the bed, with his throat completely severed from ear to ear, a vein opened in his right arm, and another wound in the upper part of the arm. He said Mr. Paull was left-handed. He found near the bed, a basin, on his dressing table, nearly two thirds full of blood, a razor, and a lancet, both of which were bloody. He lost no time in sending for surgeon Brodie, who had attended his master during his late illness.

Surgeon Brodie deposed, that having attended Mr. Paull in his long illness, he had many opportunities of observing both then and from that time the alteration which had taken place in his mind. He was perfectly convinced that his intellects had undergone a material derangement; and stated, that his death was caused by the wounds which had been inflicted on Friday. The testimony of Mr. Brodie, as to the derangement of his mind, was fully confirmed by Mr. Paull's friends, Mr. Sloper and Mr. Butler.

The servant-maid, who discovered Mr. Paull in the dreadful situation described, was next called. She said that, knowing her master was to dine out, she went to call him, between four and five. She knocked at the door, and was answered by him, in a very faint voice, that he would ring presently. She was much affected at the tone in which he spoke, and recollected his late alteration in conduct, and more particularly what he had said to her some days before, when, expressing his concern for the great trouble he had given her, he added, "an end will be shortly put to it all." She acquainted the butler with her fears, and determined to

go into the bed-chamber by a side-door, which opened from a dressing closet. She accordingly went up again, and having entered that way, she found her master in the situation described by the butler, whom she called up by her shrieks and screams. The jury, after a short deliberation, returned a verdict of—Lunacy.

Sleeping Beauty.—Sarah Smith, the young woman who slept at Cuckfield nine days in August last, namely, from the 15th to the 25d of that month, has, since that time, had frequent sleeps for several days and nights, without the possibility of being awakened. This extraordinary female has lately been married to a son of Mars.

On Sunday last, George Tapp, alias Godbeare, was committed to the Devon county gaol, for the wilful murder of Robert Leach. The following circumstances which attended the commission of this crime, as singularly premeditated as it was inhuman, have been confirmed by Tapp since his apprehension. It appears, that the prisoner and the deceased (the former a taylor, the latter a butcher,) were both inhabitants of the parish of Morchard-bishop, about thirteen miles from that city, and lived on-terms of the greatest intimacy.

On Sunday, the 24th of April, they were seen at a public-house in the village, and were observed to quit it together; after which time Leach was missing. Various enquiries were made respecting him; but on the Friday following, his friends being alarmed at his continued absence, investigated more diligently the events which preceded his sudden departure; when a strong suspicion fell upon Tapp, from his having

having been the last person in whose company he was noticed, and from his being observed to have more money than usual: added to which, information was given by a neighbour, that on the Saturday preceding the 24th of April, Tapp was observed, very late at night, digging a pit in his garden; and, on being questioned at the time, his reason for working there at so late an hour, he replied, it was merely for the purpose of burying some dung to make a cucumber bed.

On these grounds, search was made in the garden, when, shocking to relate, the mangled body of Leach was found, thrown into the very pit which appears to have been previously designed for its reception. Tapp was immediately apprehended, and, when in custody, voluntarily confessed his crime, which he stated to have committed in the following manner:—That they walked together from the public-house to that of the prisoner, and, on going into the garden, Leach complained of a pain in his head, and sat himself down on a fallen tree; that while he was in the act of tying a handkerchief round his head, Tapp came behind and struck him a violent blow with an old axe, which he had fitted up for the purpose, repeating his blows till he had finished his bloody deed; that after taking from the pockets of the deceased cash and bills to the amount of about sixty pounds, he threw the body into the pit he had prepared for it;—that he afterwards burnt the handle of the axe, and put the iron part into a running stream to wash off the blood. He also burnt his hat, and cut off the marks of blood from the tree with a hook.—On being asked how

long he had premeditated the murder, he replied, about a week.

It does not appear that there had been any quarrel whatever between the parties; on the contrary, the strictest intimacy existed between them. There had been some money transactions, in which the prisoner was considerably indebted to the deceased. These, added to a knowledge of his having property about him, are supposed to have instigated him to the commission of this atrocious murder.

Tapp's mother has since been committed as an accomplice.

An extraordinary circumstance is stated to have happened recently at Bath. A gentleman of family and fortune entertained, some time ago, a young man in his service, who was seized with a sudden indisposition, which required that he should be immediately bled. Professional assistance was not at hand, and the gentleman, who understood phlebotomy, proceeded to bare the arm, when he discovered the initials of his own name, which had been inserted in the manner common among sailors. This brought to his recollection, that, many years ago, a child of his own had been thus marked, before it was entrusted to the care of certain persons in an inferior situation of life; and upon an enquiry, consequential to this discovery, the gentleman ascertained that the servant was his own son! On this *romantic anecdote*, we shall not make any farther observation, than that the *master*, who has not any other children, has now placed the young man in his proper relation—and is likely *hereafter* to perform the duties of a *father*.

MAY.

Madrid. Second Gazette Extraordinary, April 22.

The board of government, presided over by his most serene highness the infant Don Antonio, has, this day, received dispatches, with the welcome intelligence, that our lord the king safely arrived at Irun on the 19th instant, at eleven o'clock at night; and that his majesty expected to have, on the next day, the satisfaction of seeing his intimate and faithful ally and friend the emperor of the French, king of Italy.

For this reason, and on account of the uncommon attachment which the loyal inhabitants of Vitoria and of the province of Alava have expressed to our lord the king, upon his setting out from that town, his majesty has been pleased to issue the following royal decree, which the board has received in print:—

Copy of the royal decree issued by his majesty at Vitoria, on the 19th of April, 1808.

“The king feels the utmost gratitude for the extraordinary attachment of the loyal inhabitants of this town and of the province of Alava; but is concerned at its exceeding all due bounds, and being liable to degenerate into want of respect, under pretence of giving him proofs of that sentiment. His majesty, however, being aware, that his subjects are actuated by their tender love for his royal person, and by the solicitude to which it gives rise, conceives himself bound to undeceive all and each of them, by assuring them that he would not undertake this important journey, if he could not depend upon the sincere and cordial friendship of his ally the emperor of the French, and that it will be attended by the

happiest consequences: wherefore he enjoins them to make themselves easy, and to hope, that, before four or five days are elapsed, they will thank God, and the prudence of his majesty, for the absence, which, at present, gives them uneasiness.”

MAY.

From the French Papers.

Bayonne, May 2.—Our newspapers contain the following particulars respecting the journey and arrival of the Prince of Peace:—

“The Prince of Peace was, on his arrival, accompanied by colonel Maries, aid-de-camp of his imperial highness the grand duke of Berg; he appears to have suffered much during his imprisonment. Not a day passed by, during which persons did not come to his dungeon, and tell him he would soon be led to the scaffold. When he was taken from prison, in order to be delivered over to the officer who was to take him to Bayonne, he had a long beard; during a whole month he had no clean shirt; he had no person to wait upon him.

“On the road, he had the consolation of receiving a letter from king Charles IV. and the queen, full of testimonies of their affection. It is said, that on receiving the king's letter, there were the marks of his tears. When the prince received this, he said, ‘See there, the only consolation I have had this month; every one abandoned me except the king; the ungrateful, whom I had loaded with benefits, did not dare to raise a voice in my favour. The *gards du corps*, who sold their king, will sell his son also. I have no other am-

bition now, than to find an asylum in France, and to have my children about me.'—The officer who accompanied him, shewed him on the way the newspapers, which affirmed that he possessed a fortune of 500 millions. The prince answered—'Slander will never cease to stain my actions; yet I dare challenge my bitterest enemies to lay any thing to my charge in this respect. Nothing further could be found by me than the sums necessary to discharge the daily expences of a house like mine. I possess no funds in England, France, Italy, or Genoa, and I can appeal to the testimony of the merchants of those countries. I have employed the benefactions which I have received from my sovereign in purchasing estates in Spain, which every one knows, and which have now been taken from me by injustice and arbitrary power. Having now witnessed the horrid deeds which I foretold, I wish now for nothing but peace and repose. The approbation and friendship of Charles IV. are enough for my conscience.'

The following important document has been published here:—

"By authority, travellers and the public are informed, that all passports and other instruments issued by the Spanish government in the name of Ferdinand the Seventh, since the 29th ult. will not be acknowledged by French civil and military officers."

2. At this period of the year it is very uncommon to experience such severity and change of weather as has been for the last ten days. The fall of snow during the last week was almost general throughout the country. Accounts from Cambridgeshire, Lincolnshire, and

Scotland, mention that it lay on the ground for two days.

6. A litter of six young foxes was a few days since discovered in the ivy over one of the gateways of Warwick Castle.

New Game Laws.—Many persons are of opinion, that fieldfares, larks, and sparrows, might be included in the class of game, with as much propriety as woodcocks and snipes. However this opinion may be well or ill founded, those at all acquainted with rural economy, know that it must be as mischievous to protect rabbits by this description as it would be to include rats therein. Where the soil is dry and light, if rabbits are suffered to abound, the mischief they do is incalculable, not only by devouring corn, turnips, clover, &c. but still more by undermining and thereby destroying fences, and eating down the young quick and newly planted trees of every description; and it is only by continual attention, and no inconsiderable degree of labour, that they can be prevented from swarming wherever they once gain a footing. Naturalists have calculated that a single pair of rabbits may, in the space of four years, increase to the astonishing number of 1,274,840.

Caution.—Ann Watts, of Bury, in Lancashire, eat a quantity of plums in September last, and *swallowed the stones*. In December she began to be ill, and continued so till January, when she felt so overloaded in her stomach as to be induced to take an emetic, and threw up a few plum-stones. She afterwards took several emetics, and each time threw up more stones; the last emetic was taken on Friday evening, when she threw up sixty-four stones, making in all one hundred

dred and ninety-six stones so discharged, since the first of January. She began to be unwell very soon after she had swallowed them, and wore away as if in a decline.

A man undertook one day last week, for a small wager, to carry copper to the amount of 10*l.* in money from Stockport to Manchester without resting: it weighed 108 pounds; and he effected the arduous task with difficulty in two hours.

A singular instance of canine sagacity occurred a few days since in the Thames below Blackwall: Mr. Turnbull, the master of a coasting trader, kept a Newfoundland dog on board. Whenever the vessel dropt anchor in the river, the dog swam to shore, and generally swam on board again the same evening. Having recently attempted to get to the ship in his usual way, the tide drifted him with so much velocity, that he could not reach the vessel; he was consequently forced to re-land, and to the astonishment of all who witnessed the sagacity of the animal, he went near half a mile from the spot where he had first started up the bank, and by swimming across the stream, made an angle, which enabled him to gain the ship. The master of the dog does not say the animal is a mathematician, but he asserts, with reference to this instance of sagacity, no waterman on the river could have reached the ship with more judgment.

7. About half past nine o'clock on Saturday night, the house of Wright Izzard, of Great Paxton, in the county of Huntingdon, was broken into, and Ann Izzard, his wife, was dragged out of bed by a man, at present unknown, who,

with the assistance of two other men, with great violence forced her into the yard without any clothes on; here a most barbarous assault was committed upon her person by three women, aided and abetted by several men: her head was injured by the pin or stick which fastened the door on the inside; she received a wound under her right eye; her right breast was very much bruised, whilst her arms and legs and other parts of her body were lacerated with pins or some sharp pointed instruments, till they were literally covered with blood. On the next evening an assault, very nearly similar, was again made upon her. The parties offending were brought before the bench of magistrates of Huntingdon on Saturday se'nnight, and were bound over to keep the peace, and to appear at the ensuing assizes, to answer the charges which shall then be preferred against them.

8. *Bonaparte and the Royal Family of Spain.*—The following particulars respecting the Bayonne usurpation, are given in a private letter from that city, dated May 8:—

“On the first arrival here of prince Ferdinand, there were a number of private interviews between him and Napoleon; in the first of which the emperor offered to him the crown of Etruria, and his niece in marriage. Subsequently to them, however, Ferdinand was deprived of his carriage and of his guard of honour, remaining only with the commandant of his private guard, a Jewish officer of the national guard of Bayonne.

“The object of these conferences seemed to be that of gaining time for the arrival of Godoy, and

ing amongst the others, he found there were two more living, and following their dams with their necks bloody, and in the same state as the dead one. The small ones of the other two died. In the afternoon, Mr. John Scarnell, a near neighbour, sent down to him a large male cat, as judging him to be the murderer by the following circumstances: His servants having two kittens in the hay-loft, near half-grown, and not having seen them in the course of the day, one of the men went up to see if he could find them, this cat was found lying by them; he shut the door and secured him. On taking the kittens, they were found to be sucked just under the ear, in the same way as the lambs were, and one of them having the hind part and half the body, with its inside, eaten up. Mr. Burton had observed, when the ground was covered by snow, the footing of a cat quite around the turnips, and among the ewes and lambs; but yet never thought that a cat would interrupt the lambs.

10. *Dover*.—A fire broke out on Tuesday afternoon in the warehouse of Messrs. Fector and Co. adjoining the ordnance storehouses and buildings, through the carelessness of some people employed in co-opering some casks of turpentine throwing the snuff of a lighted caudle on the floor, which caught some oakum that had been wetted with turpentine: it was prevented from blazing for some time by about 120 bags of wool in a loft over where the fire commenced; but the flames having at length reached many casks of turpentine, it burst forth with a fury nothing could resist. The whole range of store-

houses of Messrs. Fector, which fronted the York House, are entirely destroyed, with a very large quantity of prize goods taken from the Danish ships; the Ordnance storehouse, at the back of the storekeeper's house, is also entirely consumed, and many of the adjoining buildings much damaged. A Greek ship at the quay was also damaged. Some of the adjoining buildings were depositories for Mr. Congreve's rockets and other combustible, which could not all be got out, and several explosions took place, the last of which carried away the roof, rafters, and materials of the buildings, and caused great alarm. No further damage was however done, and the fire was got under between eight and nine in the evening. The loss is supposed to exceed 30,000*l*.

The Duchess of York's Fête at Oatlands.

On Saturday se'nnight a grand fête was given at Oatlands in honour of her royal highness's birthday. The preparations were unusually costly. The king, queen, the princesses Augusta, Elizabeth, Mary, Sophia, and Amelia; the prince of Wales; dukes of York, Kent, Clarence, Sussex, and Cumberland, were present. Indisposition only prevented the duke of Cambridge from attending. Their majesties and the princesses arrived about two o'clock. The duke and duchess of York were in waiting to receive their illustrious relatives; from the bottom of the flight of steps leading into the great hall, the duke escorted the queen to the grand saloon. After viewing and admiring the improvements made on the lawn, &c. the royal party par-

took

took of a most sumptuous banquet, served up in a costly service of silver gilt plate. During the time of dinner, the duke of York's band, in full uniform, played under the viranda on the green. The king wore the Windsor uniform. The queen and the princesses were dressed in plain white. His majesty, it was remarked, looked uncommonly well, and possessed his usual flow of spirits. Their majesties and the princesses departed about eight o'clock, escorted, as usual, by a party of dragoons.—About nine o'clock the fun and merriment took place. The duchess having ordered the park gates to be thrown open, the populace (principally composed of the neighbouring peasantry) rushed in, and made the best of their way to the lower part of the house, wherein a vast number of tables were set out with hot fowls, veal, ham, beef, and mutton; together with abundance of strong ale and porter, all arranged with perfect order. After partaking of this good cheer, a *magnus bonus* (about six quarts) of excellent punch was placed upon each table. The lively notes of the fiddle aroused the lads and lasses about nine o'clock. The tables were instantaneously deserted for the library, where the duchess led off the first dance called *the Labyrinth*, with the hon. colonel Upton. Her highness never appeared to better advantage; she is improved in health, and is grown rather *embonpoint* than otherwise. The very awkward manner in which the country people paid their respects to the heir apparent (in their going down the dance) excited the risibility of the royal party to an extreme degree. It was not until two o'clock

in the morning that the music ceased, and then the company retired.

The prince of Wales slept at Oatlands that night. The duke of York returned to town the same night to attend a military council.

A similar entertainment was given at York House in the Stable-yard, the same night.

France.—Bonaparte's Usurpation in Spain.

Bayonne, May 11.—By a treaty concluded between the emperor Napoleon and king Charles, and which has been acceded to by the prince of the Asturias, and the infant Don Carlos, Don Francisco, and Don Antonio, who compose the whole of the members of the house of Spain, all the existing differences have been adjusted. We are still ignorant of the conditions of the treaty. According to the constitution of our government, it cannot be made public till it has been communicated to the senate. But we perceive by the proclamation of the king of Spain, and that of the prince of Asturias, that the emperor Napoleon is clothed with all the rights of the house of Spain. King Charles and queen Louisa Maria, queen Maria Louisa, and the infant Don Francisco, dine to-day with the emperor, and set off to-morrow for Bourdeaux. They will make this journey in four days, and will repair to Fontainebleau, whence they will go to Compeigne. It is believed that this residence has been destined by his majesty to king Charles, that he may spend the remainder of his days there. The prince of Asturias, the infant Don Carlos, and the infant Don Antonio, spent their evening yesterday with their majesties the emperor and empress. They will

will spend two days at Bourdeaux, and will afterwards proceed to Valency, whence it is probable they will go to Navarre. It is believed that his majesty has ceded to them that superb domain, and the forest appertaining to it. It is said, that many Spaniards of distinction are on the road to Bayonne, where it appears that the emperor is about to hold a general junta. It is presumed that he will be occupied, not only in regulating the succession to the throne, but also in fixing certain ameliorations, which all good Spaniards call for. Every thing is entirely tranquil in Spain. Things are on the best footing there.

Lord Glentworth's Marriage.—*Dublin, May 14.*—This morning, in the Court of Chancery, the attorney-general (Mr. Saurin) moved the court on the part of the Earl of Limerick, for an attachment against Mr. Wm. Beaumont of Sackville-street, an eminent solicitor of that court, and against his wife, Mrs. Beaumont, on the ground that they had advised and procured the marriage of Miss Edwards, Mrs. Beaumont's daughter, by a former husband, with the noble earl's eldest son, lord Glentworth, who is a minor of only nineteen years of age, although a prohibitory order had issued from that court, cautioning them against such proceeding, and that the same would be considered as a high contempt. Mr. and Mrs. Beaumont's affidavits were afterwards read, in order to oppose this application. Mr. B. admitted he was well aware of the intimacy that prevailed between lord Glentworth and his daughter-in-law, but declared, that he had carefully abstained from taking any step to further it. Mrs. Beaumont admit-

ted she was made very uneasy by the continuance of that intimacy, which had become the topic of public conversation; that she had, in consequence, consulted with some female friends, who thought that the business would be best settled by a marriage, and that an intimation to that effect some way or other, though not strictly from Mrs. Beaumont, conveyed to the young couple, who, it was admitted, were since married at Gretna-Green. The cause shewn against the attachment was allowed as to Mr. Beaumont, and Mrs. Beaumont was ordered to answer farther personal interrogatories; the attachment was not to issue in the mean time. Miss Edwards, now lady Glentworth, is a beautiful girl of 17 years of age, and is niece to Sir Jonas Barrington. The court was amazingly crowded. The duchess of Richmond was accommodated with a seat on the bench, and near her were arranged all the fashion, rank, and beauty Dublin can boast. The marchioness of Donegal and Thomond, lady Elizabeth Littlehales, lady Edward Somerset, lady Denny Floyd, lady Rossmore, lady Cox, &c. &c.

15. *Subterranean Treasure.*—A letter from Trieste, dated May 15, in the foreign papers, states the following curious particulars:

"Some time back an old Greek merchant died, amongst whose papers was found a manuscript left him, as some persons state, by his father, or, according to others, by a clergyman, on his death-bed, with particular request to preserve it carefully. The manuscript was ordered to be translated. Its contents were in substance found to be, that in a particular spot near the town,

town, which was most minutely described, there lay concealed a large quantity of money. It stated, that on digging a good way down, there would be found a stone pavement; below this a quantity of human bones; still further down, a second stone pavement; and on removing that, a well secured wooden door, which would open into a vault containing the treasure. The governor of Trieste thought proper to transmit the paper to the minister at Vienna; but the court declined any further inquiry into the business, regarding it as a story merely calculated for the amusement of children. Upon this some private individuals in this place subscribed a sum of money to defray the expence of digging up the spot pointed out. The experiment completely agreed with the description in the manuscript; but, on reaching the door, it was thought necessary to apply to the governor, and he has now stationed a centinel there, to prevent its being opened until the pleasure of the court is further signified. The curiosity of every body is excited with respect to the contents of the vault. We omitted to mention that between the human bones and the pavement over them, were found, as the paper also described, a bier and several small empty coffins."

Paris, May 15.—Great preparations are making in Auch for the reception of their majesties, who are expected soon to arrive there. One of our journals contains a letter from Toledo, in which the following expression has been particularly remarked:—"The security of Spain requires, that she should be united to France, by bonds far more strict than treaties. Her possessions must be preserved invio-

late, and the integrity of her monarchy must be maintained. Respect and eternal gratitude to him, to whom she shall be indebted for those benefits."

With respect to the Prince of the Peace, reports differ as to the place fixed for his residence. One paper asserts, that he is to live along with the king and queen of Spain, in the palace of Compiègne; another asserts, that he is to reside at Bourdeaux.

Mr. Sparks, who has a large farm near Guildford, had upwards of 800 sheep together, when being affrighted by a dog, they jumped into an adjoining field, which is on a great descent, and they followed each other over the gap of the hedge so fast, that 123 of them were killed.

In the present high price of oats, it should be known, that barley has been found, by repeated experiments, to be equally wholesome, much more nutritious, and in the whole cheaper food for horses, as well as other cattle, than oats. All who keep large numbers of horses should make accurate comparisons of the merits of those two articles of fodder.

On Thursday, the village of Stockland, in Dorsetshire, was visited by a most afflicting calamity. A little before one o'clock in the afternoon, a fire broke out in the house of Mr. William Mathews, which, in the space of about two hours, entirely consumed the same, together with nine other dwellings, being nearly half the village; whereby more than forty inhabitants were bereft of their comfortable homes, and scattered for refuge among their sympathizing neighbours. The misfortune is supposed to have arisen from some surze in the room, the

use of which, many recent disasters shew to be very dangerous, unless attended to with great care. Had not a part been insured, the loss would have been ruinous to some, and will now be severely felt.

On Thursday, at the poor-house, Stoke-upon-Trent, Hannah Bourne, a deformed dwarf, measuring only 25 inches in height, was, after a tedious and difficult labour, safely delivered of a female child of the ordinary size, measuring 21 inches and a half, being only three inches and a half shorter than the mother. The child was in every respect perfect, but still-born; the mother, contrary to expectation, is likely to do well. This very singular instance furnishes the medical world with an extraordinary case, that will throw some additional light on the obstetric art.

16. About four months since, Mr. Bartlett, of the Halfway-Houses, died suddenly, as he was going to receive his pay. One of his daughters, who had lost the use of her limbs, upon seeing the dead body of her father brought into the house, received such a shock, that, from that time, she began to recover, and is now in perfect health, and has the full use of her limbs. She attributes her recovery to the effect produced on her frame by the sudden death of her father.—*Hampshire Telegraph*.

A copy of a very remarkable instance of Old Age and a numerous Offspring; taken out of an old Register, belonging to the parish of Tregaen, which is a part of the Rectory of Llangefni, in North Wales.

There died on the 11th of March, 1581, in the parish of Tregaen, in the county of Anglesea, one Wil-

liam ap Howel, ap David, ap Yerwerth, aged 105. He had been thrice married, his first wife was Ellen ferch William, by her he had 22 children; the second wife was Catherine ferch Richard, by her he had ten children; and the third wife was Ellen uch William, now living, by her he had four children. He had also two concubines, the first was Jonet ferch William, by her he had two children, and the other was Lecky Lloyd, and by her he had five children. His eldest son was Griffith ap William, now living, aged 81.

He has children's children to the fourth generation in abundance. His youngest son is also called Griffith ap William, aged two years and a half, now living in the said parish; and the difference between the two brothers' age is 81 years and a half, for the eldest was of that age when the youngest was born. His eldest daughter is called Alice ferch William, aged 72; she has been thrice married, and hath a numerous offspring. There is now living of the said old man's offspring, in the said parish, 80 persons; and at his funeral there were computed to be about 300 persons that descended from him. The said old man was of a middle stature, of good complexion, never troubled with the cholic, gout, or stone, seldom sick, of moderate diet, lived by tillage and fowling, and had his senses perfect to the last.

Paris, May 20.—The conservative senate has just been convoked for an extraordinary meeting on Friday next. After the important document relative to Spain, published by the official journal, there is every reason to suppose that this extraor-

extraordinary meeting must be connected with the affairs of that kingdom: and it is probable that the treaty by which the emperor Napoleon has just acquired all the right of the house of Bourbon to the throne of Spain, will be communicated at this sitting to the chief public body of the state. We are also assured, that there will be presented for the sanction of the senators, the project of a *senatus-consulte*, relative to the union of Tuscany with the empire; and that the government general of those departments which heretofore composed the kingdom of Etruria, will be erected into a great dignity of the empire, and given to general Menou. It is added, that in this case there will be established in that country a junta, over which a governor-general will preside, and which will be composed of three masters of requests, and an auditor of state council, performing the functions of a secretary-general. Besides the official papers relative to Spain, published in the *Moniteur*, and the insertion of which we have begun in our paper of this day, the *Moniteur* has published also a proclamation addressed to the inhabitants of Spain, by the prince of Asturias, and the other princes of the royal family: wherein their highnesses announce to the Spaniards, that they have ceded all their right to the crown of Spain to the emperor Napoleon. On the 15th inst. the king and queen of Spain arrived with their suite at Bourdeaux. A mandate from king Charles to the junta of the government, announces the nomination of the grand duke of Berg, lieutenant-general of the kingdom; and a proclamation addressed to

the Spaniards, both dated on the 4th of May; a proclamation of the 5th of May, from the junta to the inhabitants of Madrid; a circular (proclamation) sent on the 6th by the inquisition, to all the tribunals of the kingdom; and finally, a letter from the king to the supreme council of Castile, and to the council of the inquisition. The first two of these pieces are to the tenor following:—

To the Supreme Junta of the Government.

“Having judged it expedient to give one same direction to all the forces of our kingdom, in order to maintain security of property and public tranquillity against enemies, as well exterior as interior, we have thought fit to nominate our cousin, the grand duke of Berg, lieutenant-general of the kingdom, who, at the same time, commands the troops of our ally, the emperor of the French. We command the council of Castile, and the captains-general and governors of our provinces to obey his orders. In the same quality he shall preside over the junta of the government.

“Given at Bayonne, at the imperial palace, styled the palace of the government,
4th May, 1808.

(Signed) “I, THE KING.”
Proclamation.

“Spaniards—My beloved subjects, perfidious men seek to mislead you. They would put arms into your hands against the French troops; they seek alike to arm you against the French, and the French against you. The sacking of all Spain, calamities of every kind, would be the result. The spirit of faction, the sad effects of which I have already felt, is still in motion,

motion. In the midst of these important and critical circumstances, I am occupied in concerting with my ally, the emperor of the French, all that concerns your welfare. Be-ware of listening to the enemies of it. All those who speak to you against France, thirst for your blood; they are either the enemies of your nation, or agents of England, who are busily availing themselves of circumstances, and whose intrigues would involve the loss of your colonies, the separation of your provinces, or a series of years of calamity and trouble for your country.

"Spaniards! trust to my experience, and obey that authority which I hold from God and my fathers; follow my example, and think that in the position in which you stand, there is no prosperity and safety for Spaniards, but in the friendship of the great emperor, our ally.

"Given at Bayonne, from the imperial palace, styled Palace of the Government, May 4th, 1808.

"I, THE KING."

Madrid, May 20.—The king, the prince of Asturias, their royal highnesses the infants, Don Carlos and Don Antonio, have abdicated the crown and their right thereto, as appears by the following documents, viz.

"I have thought proper to give my beloved subjects this last proof of my paternal love. Their happiness, tranquillity, prosperity, and preservation, and the integrity of the dominions that Divine Providence had placed under my sway, have been the sole objects of my constant care during my reign.—Every

step and measure that have been adopted since my exaltation to the throne of my august ancestors, have been directed to those just purposes and could not be directed to any other. This day, in the extraordinary circumstances in which I am placed, my conscience, my honour, and the good name I ought to leave to posterity, imperiously require of me, that the last act of my sovereignty should be solely pointed to that end, viz. to the tranquillity, prosperity, security, and integrity of the monarchy whose throne I quit, to the greatest happiness of my subjects of both hemispheres. Therefore, by a treaty, signed and ratified, I have ceded to my ally and dear friend, the emperor of the French, all my rights to Spain and the Indies, having stipulated that the crown of Spain and the Indies is always to be independent and entire, as it was under my rule, and likewise that our holy religion is not only to be the predominant one in Spain, but the only one to be observed in all the dominions of the monarchy. Of all which you will take due notice, and communicate it to all the councils and tribunals of the kingdom, chiefs of provinces, civil, military, and ecclesiastical, and to all the justices of districts, in order that this last act of my sovereignty may be notorious to all and every one in my dominions of Spain and Indies: and you are all to concur and assist in carrying into effect the dispositions of my dear friend, the emperor Napoleon, as they are directed to preserve the peace, friendship, and union between France and Spain, avoiding disorder and popular commotions, the effect of which

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prince of As-
ants Don Carlos
o, grateful for the
ant fidelity that all
ve manifested towards
the most poignant grief
in the present day plunged
the greatest confusion, and
atened with the most direful
alamities resulting therefrom; and
knowing that it arises in the major
part of them, from the ignorance
they are in of the causes of the
conduct their royal highnesses have
hitherto observed, and of the plan
now chalked out for the greatest
happiness of their country, they
can do no less than endeavour to
undeceive them, in order that its
execution may suffer no impediment;
and at the same time to
testify to them the sincere affection
they possess for them.

"They cannot consequently
avoid manifesting to them, that the
circumstances in which the prince,
by the abdication of the king his
father, took the reins of govern-
ment, many provinces of the king-
dom, and all the frontier garrisons
being occupied by a great number
of French troops, and more than
60,000 men of the same nation, si-
tuated in the metropolis and its
neighbourhood, and many other
data that no other person could
possess; all conspired to persuade
them, that being surrounded by

rocks and quicksands, they had no
other remedy, but to chuse among
many evils, the one that would be
the least productive of calamity—
as such they fixed upon a journey
to Bayonne.

"On their royal highnesses' ar-
rival at Bayonne, the prince, then
king, unexpectedly found that the
king his father had protested against
his abdication, pretending it had
not been voluntary. Not having
accepted the crown but in the good
faith that the abdication was volun-
tary, he had scarcely ascertained
the existence of the protest, when
through filial respect he restored
the crown; and shortly after, the
king his father renounced in his
name, and in that of all the dy-
nasty, in favour of the emperor of
the French, in order that, looking
to the welfare of the nation, he
should elect the person and dynas-
ty who are to occupy it hereafter.

"In this state of things, their
royal highnesses, considering the
situation they are in, the critical
circumstances of Spain, in which
all the efforts of its inhabitants in
favour of their rights, will not
only be useless, but mournful, as
they would only cause rivers of
blood to flow, and cause the loss at
least of a great part of the provin-
ces, and of all the ultramarine
possessions; and reflecting, on the
other hand, that it would be a most
efficacious remedy against so many
evils, for each of their royal high-
nesses to adhere by himself sepa-
rately to the cession of their rights
to the throne, already made by the
king their father; reflecting also,
that the said emperor of the French
binds himself in this case to pre-
serve the absolute independence and
integrity of the Spanish monarchy,

and of all ultramarine possessions, without reserving to himself, or dismembering the least part of its dominions; to maintain the unity of the Catholic religion, property, laws, and usages, which he secures for the future, and on a sound basis; also the power and prosperity of the Spanish nation:—Their royal highnesses believe they give the greatest proof of their generosity, love and gratitude for the affection they have experienced in sacrificing, as much as is in their power, their personal interest for the benefit of the country, adhering as they have done, by a particular agreement, to the cession of their rights to the throne, absolving all Spaniards from their duty in this respect, and exhorting them to look to the interest of their country, remaining tranquil, and expecting their happiness from the sage disposition and power of the emperor Napoleon, and by shewing their readiness to conform thereto, they will give the prince and the two infants the greatest testimony of their loyalty, as their royal highnesses give them of their fatherly love and affection, by giving up all their rights, and forgetting their own interests to make them happy, which is the sole object of their wishes.

“ I, THE PRINCE.

“ CARLOS.

“ ANTONIO.”

Italy.—Tyranny of Bonaparte at Rome.

Rome.—His holiness persists still in the same disposition with respect to the concessions which have been required of him. Towards the end of the last month, his holiness addressed, through his secretary of state, the following

circular letter to all the cardinals who had received orders to quit Rome, conceived in these terms:—

“ His holiness, our master, has commanded his secretary of state, cardinal Doria Pamfili, to make known to your eminence, that his heart has been penetrated with the most poignant grief, on being informed of the order given by the French general to so many members of the sacred college, to quit Rome within three days. His holiness, who clearly sees that this measure tends to overthrow the empire of the church, since those members are removed from his person who are necessary to the direction of his affairs, and at last his minister, his vicar, cannot in conscience permit this departure. He prohibits, therefore, every one upon his oath of obedience to remove from Rome, unless absolutely compelled by force: and his holiness foreseeing this case, that after having torn your eminence from his bosom, you might be left at a certain distance from Rome, is of opinion that you should not continue your journey, unless compulsion should be used, to the place designated to you; in order that it may be a matter of public notoriety that your removal from the head of the church has not been voluntary, but from compulsion. The virtues of all the individuals who have received the order to depart, alone support the afflicted soul of his holiness, and are a pledge to him, that, according to his example, they will support these persecutions with patience, and that the sentiments of the sacred college, far from being weakened, will be strengthened.”

Extract

Extract of a Letter from a Lady in Madrid to her Brother in Dublin.

"Words cannot describe the horror with which we have been surrounded since the first of this month; the approaching storm was expected, but on the 2d, immediately after breakfast, it broke out in the most furious manner. Our friend T. had provided a retreat at his country-house, about six miles distant, to which we were to remove that very evening, but the storm overtook us, and stopped our journey. The thunder of the artillery announced the beginning of the business, and in a few minutes after the whole male population of the city appeared in arms; wherever a French soldier was discovered, he was instantly cut down or shot; six of them were put to death under our windows: the scene was dreadful beyond description. After two or three hours' carnage, particularly in our great street called Alcala, a reinforcement of Frenchmen poured into the town, and in their turn became the assailants; our doors were burst open by the defeated populace, and seven or eight of the inhabitants took refuge under the couches, and in different parts of the house; but the French soldiers followed them, and in my presence they most unmercifully bayoneted those who had first entered the room, where I and my children sat shivering with horror. The presence of a young French officer protected us; and he had the humanity to continue in the house the entire of this fatal day, to whom I certainly owe the lives of myself and children. All night the inhabitants were forced to illuminate their windows, and fifteen dreadful-looking fellows took

entire possession of the lower part of the house; they soon broke open the cellars, which they plundered, nor could the presence of the friendly officer I have mentioned prevent them. The following morning was indeed a scene of horror. Almost every person that passed through the streets was stained with blood, and the dead bodies lay in heaps; it was reported, and I believe with some truth, that Murat, the French general, intended to erect some works outside the town, to batter it to the ground, in revenge for the lives of his soldiers. This, however, he abandoned. The next day, when the tumult had a little abated, T. and I got some articles of plate and the books of the house, and through the intercession of our French friend were suffered to remove to his residence at Ombro, where we now are with the children. You shall hear from me by the first possible conveyance. The chance I have of sending this to Lisbon is but small, but it may possibly reach you."

21. A decree was published at Rome, in the name of the French government, whereby the pope was deprived of all his territory, because his holiness refused to declare war against England at the requisition of Bonaparte, and under the pretext that the states of the church had been granted by Charlemagne for the prosperity of the Roman religion, and not for the assistance of heretics. Against this decree the pope protested.

Manchester, May 25.—In consequence of the rejection of the bill for fixing the *minimum* of wages, a very great agitation has been excited amongst the weavers in this town and vicinity. Yesterday

day and this day many thousands of them assembled in a field near St. George's church, by Newton-lane, and appointed delegates to attend the magistrates with a statement of their grievances, which they assert arose not so much from a scarcity of employment, as from the unparalleled reduction which the prices of their work have recently experienced, insomuch, that, after labouring for six days, at the rate of fourteen or fifteen hours per day, they cannot possibly earn more than seven or eight shillings! A pittance which will not support nature. Their employers, on the contrary, insist that, owing to the stagnation of trade, they cannot afford to pay higher prices, and promise to increase them to their wonted standard as soon as the restoration of peace shall enable them.

—Be this as it may, a very serious alarm has been excited. The people have this day flocked hither from all the circumjacent townships, viz. Stockport, Bolton, Bury, Oldham, Ashton-under-Line, Eccles, &c. and became so formidable, though certainly at first orderly and quiet, that the military from the barracks (4th dragoons) were drawn out, and all the volunteer corps assembled. The magistrates repeatedly requested the people to disperse, and used every possible means to appease them; but as they persisted in their right to assemble, and remained unmoved on the field, the Riot Act was at length read, and the soldiery made several apparently furious charges, merely with a view to enforce compliance, at the same time carefully avoiding any serious injury. Notwithstanding this forbearance, however, the mob persevered, and con-

siderable mischief has been done; one man is killed, and many wounded. About 20 persons have likewise been apprehended, and committed to prison. The utmost consternation still (at eight o'clock, *p. m.*) pervades the town, and every one dreads the result.

Eleven o'Clock.—"All is quiet; but I have been informed, that in the course of the evening two men have been shot, who are since dead, and several have been wounded by the swords of the cavalry. About forty prisoners have been committed to the New Bailey."

On Saturday morning the house of sir Vicary Gibbs, at Haves, in Kent, was robbed in the following extraordinary manner. When miss Gibbs, daughter of sir Vicary, awoke in the morning, she discovered that all her clothes were taken away, the quilt off the bed, and every thing that was portable in the room. On examining the premises, it was discovered that the robbers had, by tying some hurdles together, made a ladder, and ascending a colonnade, which goes round the house, found easy access to miss Gibbs's room, and made off with the property without awakening her. A large stick was left upon the bed.

Another Suicide.—The last ten days have perhaps produced more acts of self-destruction than has rarely been heard of. There have been no less than ten recorded, which have taken place in this metropolis and its environs; and the eleventh occurred on Saturday morning, in a gentleman, a native of Switzerland, of the name of Bourvden, who has been in this country from a youth, and who had considerable reputation as an artist,

artist, who shot himself with a pistol, at four o'clock that morning. He had laboured under depression of spirits during the week, and he had spent the evening of Friday with a party of friends. The landlady of the house, and Mr. B.'s servant, were alarmed by the fatal report, and on going into his bed-room, it was perceived that the ball had entered his left ear, and gone through the top of the head. The unfortunate man languished half an hour.

The following displeasing intelligence has been received in town from Liverpool, in a letter from a gentleman who arrived there from Demerara on Thursday last: "I am extremely sorry to inform you, that the 4th West-India regiment (blacks) at Surinam, have risen upon their officers, and murdered several of them." The letter gives no farther particulars of this melancholy event, but goes, on to state, that at the time the writer left Demarara, "there was a plentiful supply of lumber and provisions from America, and that, notwithstanding the abolition of the slave-trade, there were so many negroes for sale, that a market could not be found for them."

Paris, May 25.—On Monday at noon, the king and queen of Spain arrived at Fontainebleau, accompanied by the Prince of the Peace and a numerous retinue. Every preparation was made for their reception, under the direction of the prefect of the imperial palace, and the inspector of the household of the crown, both of whom had arrived at Fontainebleau a few days before, to give the necessary orders. A squadron of the horse chasseurs, and a detachment of the imperial

foot guards, had also arrived some days before; and notwithstanding the present time of the year is not the proper season for hunting, the emperor, who knows the predilection of his royal guests for this enjoyment, has sent the whole imperial hunting état to Fontainebleau. — Their majesties reside in the apartments intended for the king and queen of Holland, and known under the appellation of the pope's apartments. It is in the same part of the palace where Charles V. lodged in 1559, when he passed through France to quell the insurrection at Ghent.

The prince of Asturias and his brother Don Carlos, arrived on the 19th inst. at the castle of Valency, belonging to the prince of Benevento, and situated in the department of the Indre, at five leagues distance from the town of Loreux.

Several persons of the first rank rode to Fontainebleau yesterday, to pay their respects to the king of Spain.

At Cardiff assizes, which terminated on Saturday se'nnight, William Williams, aged 19, was tried for the wilful murder of David Williams, of Lanttrissent, about 12 years of age, under circumstances of peculiar atrocity. It appeared in evidence, that the prisoner and the deceased were in habits of intimacy, and that the latter had mentioned to one of his playmates, that the prisoner had been guilty of a horrid crime. This coming to the knowledge of the prisoner, he threatened to kill the boy, and throw his body into the river. The deceased resided with his grandfather, whose house he left on Sunday morning, the 23d of August last, and was traced to

D

a farm

a farm in the neighbourhood, where he remained playing with some boys till about 12 o'clock, when the latter were called to dinner, and the deceased returned homeward, promising to meet his companions in the evening, but was never seen alive afterwards. His absence occasioning alarm, search was made, and on the following Tuesday his body was found in a ditch, with seven wounds on the neck, and one on the belly, all of which appeared to have been inflicted with a sharp instrument, and each was stated to be mortal. On the day the body was discovered, the prisoner absconded; but a verdict of wilful murder having been returned against him, a search took place, and the clothes he had worn on the Sunday morning were found in his father's house, with evident marks of blood-stains attempted to be washed out. Pursuit was immediately made after him, and he was apprehended at Gellygare, where he had applied for work, saying he had come from Danharry, a place about six or seven miles distant from Lantrissent, and had been employed by one Llewellyn Yorath, but having quarrelled with his master, had quitted his service. A clasp-knife was found upon him when taken. In the prisoner's defence it was stated, that he came home about twelve o'clock on the Sunday, eat dinner with the family, went with them in the evening to a place of worship, afterwards visited a young woman to whom he was attached, then returned home, went to bed, and followed his usual labour for two succeeding days, during the whole of which he manifested the most perfect composure of mind. The evidence having been

summed up, the jury shortly after declared the prisoner guilty. He heard his fate without emotion, but confessed that he was guilty, and seemed penitent. He was executed on Monday last, on the New Drop, at Cardiff, amidst a great concourse of people, who assembled on the occasion.

Cambridge, May 26.—On Thursday morning, about ten o'clock, a terrible fire broke out at Aldrey, in the parish of Haddenham, in the Isle of Ely, which raged with great fury for several hours, and destroyed nine dwelling-houses, with barns and out-buildings belonging. Part only of the property was insured. It was occasioned by a farmer's son incautiously firing at a hawk who was carrying off some poultry, when part of the wadding fell upon the thatch of a barn.

Lately, in digging into a mound of earth adjoining the south side of the ruins of Tynemouth Priory, a capacious cemetery or arched tomb was discovered, with several human bones of a large size, and skulls on the floor. It is not known that the place has been opened since the dissolution of the priory in 1539. It is to be converted into a gun-powder magazine.

The late admiral Rainier has left property to the amount of nearly 250,000*l.* and after providing amply for his near relations, he made the following bequest:

"I bequeath one-tenth part of my personal property to the chancellor of the exchequer, for the time being, towards the reduction of the national debt, in acknowledgment of the generous bounty of the national establishment of the royal navy, in which I have acquired the principal part of the fortune

time I now have, which has exceeded my merit and pretensions."

An order has been issued to increase the number of the royal marines serving in the navy, as follows:—25 to a ship of the first-rate; 20 to a second-rate; 15 to a third-rate; 10 to a fourth-rate and large frigates, and in proportion to smaller ships.

JUNE.

1. The duchess of Brunswick's Anniversary-bill was read a third time, and passed.

Manchester, June 1.—"I am sorry to inform you that the numerous body of cotton-weavers, in this town and neighbourhood, are yet still dissatisfied with the proposals which the master manufacturers have agreed on at their meeting last night at the Bull's-head inn here, which is 10 per cent. advance on all kinds of cotton goods weaving, to take place this day (June 1), and 10 per cent. again advance, to take place the 1st of August next—this makes a full 20 per cent. which does not meet the approbation of this great body of useful men. Their demands are, and they do stand out and persist in having 6s. 8d. to the pound sterling advance, an advance which is 33 1-3d per cent. so that between the manufacturer and weaver there is just 13 1-3d per cent.; and I am sorry to add, at this moment, not any of them will go to the loom, neither here nor in any part of the neighbourhood, and upon a moderate calculation, there are not less than 60,000 looms, in the cotton trade only, standing still in this town and neighbourhood of twelve miles. If any of them are at the shuttle, parties rush into the

house, cellar, or garret, and take it from them. This, I am sorry to say, is too true. Great numbers of weavers walk in small parties about the streets, and in a peaceable manner. I am happy to say all is quiet.—Past 10 o'clock, Wednesday night, June 1."

We are sorry to learn, that on Monday last, the market day at Rochdale, 12 miles from Manchester, a tumult took place amongst a number of working weavers, several of whom were apprehended and committed to the New Prison. The mob, however, in the evening, released the prisoners, and set fire to the gaol, which was burnt to the ground.

2. The following is a copy of the bill from the weavers of Manchester:—

"To the Public in general, and to the Cotton Manufacturers and Weavers.

"A number of hand-bills have been printed and circulated, purporting that an agreement has taken place betwixt the masters and weavers:—This is to inform the public, that the persons who signed such an agreement (if any) were not authorised in any respect, on the part of the weavers, to do so, and we declare the same null and void; and that nothing less than six shillings and eight-pence in the pound (being one-third in advance upon our present wages) will be sufficient for our support; and all manufacturers that will give the above advance, their weavers will immediately go to work; that all goods that may be taken in from the date hereof, shall be paid for by the yard, according to its length, breadth, and strength, and a list of the prices will be prepared for the

use of the public as soon as possible.

"Signed on behalf of the weavers,

" M. MORRAY."

" Manchester, June 2, 1808."

3. *Ireland*.—A most daring attack has recently been made by the Thrashers on a respectable gentleman near Ballynamore, in the county of Roscommon. After having forced their way into the house in the middle of the night, the usual oath was tendered to him, which he refusing to take, one of the villains exhibited to his astonished eyes a dreadful machine in the form of a wool-card, filled with crooked iron spikes, and a weighty hammer, ready to infix them in his back at one blow. It is not to be wondered at, that this horrid preparation produced his immediate compliance to their demand, and they then swore him to the following terms:—“1st, That he should not purchase tithes, except from a minister; 2dly, That he should pay only the old dues to the Roman clergy; 3dly, That he should not give evidence against a Thrasher in the court of justice; 4thly, That he would be faithful, and bear true allegiance to captain Thrasher.” On the next morning he surrendered himself, and gave an account to lord Ashtown, who immediately apprehended several of the miscreants, and lodged them in gaol.

Madrid, June 3.—This day was published, in the name of his majesty the emperor of France, &c. a proclamation to the Spanish nation. The following is a translation of the more important passages:

“Spaniards! after a long lingering disease, your nation sunk into decay. I have seen your sufferings;

I will relieve them. Your greatness makes a part of mine.

“Your princes have ceded to me all their rights to the Spanish crown. I will not reign over your provinces, but I will acquire an eternal right to the love and gratitude of your posterity.

“Your monarchy is old; it must be renovated, that you may enjoy the blessings of a renovation, which shall not be purchased by civil war or desolation.

“Spaniards! I have convened a general assembly of the deputies of your provinces and towns, that I may know your desires and wants.

“I shall lay down my rights, and place your illustrious crown upon the head of one who resembles me; securing you a constitution, which will unite the salutary power of the sovereign with the liberties and rights of the Spanish nation. It is my will, that my memory shall be blessed by your latest posterity, and that they shall say— he was the restorer of our country.

“Given at Bayonne, 25th May, 1808.”

By virtue of a mandate of his imperial and royal highness the grand duke of Berg, dated the 22d instant, the existing commission of consolidation of the royal *Valer* is abolished. The commission is in future to be composed of the president of government, of the supreme council of Castile, two ministers of the same council, a minister of the council of the Indies, and of the council of the factory, and a secretary. The functions intrusted to this commission are to secularize and sell, as far as is requisite, the church lands, and to dispatch all other pressing business.

His

His imperial highness has nominated colonel Cabarrus to be intendant-general in chief of the consolidation of the royal *Vales*, with the title of master of the accounts, and the functions of minister of the commission of the government.

4. Saturday was the anniversary of his majesty's birth-day, which completed his 70th year; and, with the exception of his eye-sight, his general health is as good as it has been at any period of his reign.

The morning was ushered in with the ringing of bells, and at noon the Park and Tower guns were fired.

Their majesties received the junior part of the royal family at Buckingham-house in the morning, where they breakfasted, and congratulated their royal parents on the return of the day. Soon after one o'clock, the queen and the princesses prepared to leave Buckingham-house, and they arrived at St. James's at a quarter past two, escorted by a party of life-guards. Her majesty was ushered into the council-chamber by his grace the duke of Portland, with whom she conversed for some time. The princesses formed, as usual, on the left of the queen, agreeably to seniority. The lord-chamberlain waved his wand for the performance of the ode, under the direction of sir W. Parsons.

Inland Promissory Notes.—Mr. Huskisson moved for leave to bring in a bill to restrain the circulation of inland promissory notes, and bills of exchange of small value. He observed, that notes were issued under twenty shillings in the potteries and other manufactories, and in the collieries, some of which were now taken and of no value, and

the existing act did not empower the offenders to be taken before a magistrate, and many of them were forged. He therefore moved "for leave to bring in a bill to restrain the negotiation of promissory notes, or bills of exchange, under twenty shillings, in that part of Great-Britain called England." After a few words from sir J. Newport and Mr. Parnel, the motion was put and agreed to.

The old accustomed pastime of Green-meeting, was revived on Saturday se'nnight at New Morton, in the parish of Ellesmere, Shrewsbury, where the largest assemblage of persons met that was ever known in that part of the country. The first dance was taken by Mr. N. Davies, gent. (who is now in his 93d year), with all the hilarity of a youth of 16; after the meeting broke up, he attended his fair partner to her home, and enjoyed her company many a happy hour till the moon reminded him of returning to his home.

General Milhaud, who commands at Hanover, has received from Buonaparte the title of count, and a pension for life of 30,000 francs. Similar favours have been conferred on numerous other French generals.

Shocking Murder.—Early on Thursday, as a man was going to attend some cows in a field at the back of the Queen's-head and Artichoke public-house, leading to Camden-town, he found a man, genteelly dressed, who appeared to have been shot. He proved to be a Mr. Joachim, of Pratt-place, Camden-town. In the afternoon, he went to visit Mr. Moss, who resides at Cumberland-place, Lisson-green, and received some mo-

ney. When he left Mr. Moss, he said he was going to Salisbury-place, where he stopped to see some persons play at skittles till a late hour. It is supposed Mr. Joachim was attacked by robbers, and that he, being a resolute man, had resisted their attack. In corroboration of this, his stick was found with some large marks upon it, as if it had given some violent blows. His watch was stolen, and it is supposed he had bank-notes about him to the amount of 100*l.* of which it is conjectured the villains had by some means had information. On Thursday a surgeon opened the body, and found that a large bullet had entered the left side, through the ninth and tenth ribs, and passed through his heart.

Friday, an inquest was held at the Southampton-Arms, Camden-town, on the body. The evidence went chiefly to establish the fact of the murder, but did not differ very materially from the circumstances already stated. His pockets were rifled, and his money was taken away, but his pocket-book, with some notes and drafts, remained in his pocket. On the whole evidence adduced, the jury found themselves justified in bringing a verdict of "Wilful murder against some person or persons unknown;" but at present we understand there is no clue whatever to lead to the detection of the villainy. In some respects the fate of this unhappy gentleman reminds us of that of the unfortunate Mr. Steele, and may be as long in coming to a discovery.

Manchester, June 5.—The report, mentioned in my last, of the prison at Rochdale having been burnt, is but too true. The mob, in order to release some of their

confederates, broke into and actually set fire to the building. Further mischief would probably have been effected, had not a detachment of dragoons from Manchester, and the Halifax volunteers, arrived in time to prevent it. Several persons are in custody, charged with riotous proceedings in Rochdale and its vicinity. At Oldham also some injury has been done to factories and dwellings, such as breaking windows, &c.

Soldiers are pouring into Manchester from all quarters, though the town is perfectly tranquil; three regiments, one of cavalry and two of infantry, are expected in a day or two. I pity the publicans, who are likely to be severe sufferers on this occasion.

A special commission is expected to be appointed for trying the prisoners, in order to make a striking and speedy example of the guilty.

7. Yesterday the magistrates had information where the committee of the weavers had assembled; the constables, with three companies of the West York militia, went and surrounded a house (sign of the Plasterer's arms) in Newton-street, Ancot-street, in this town, in which they took 37 men, with a large bundle of papers. Some of the men were dismissed, as not having any connection with the weavers. There are about twenty of the latter kept in the New Bayley prison, to be examined in a day or two. The magistrates have all this day been very busy in looking over these papers, and to make such arrangement as may appear necessary. The town appears very quiet, and many of the weavers are contentedly taking their work again. This morning I was informed, by a friend

friend from Bolton, that yesterday at noon there assembled many weavers, but the two troops of cavalry that are stationed there soon dispersed them in every direction, pursuing several of them for three or four miles upon the moor, which is close by the town....P.S. I am this moment by authority informed, that information has been given to the magistrates of this place, of there being an intention of some of the weavers to meet at a place called White Moss, a few miles from Manchester. There is not the smallest doubt of their being soon dispersed, as there is every exertion made according to the necessity of the times.

A shocking circumstance occurred in the neighbourhood of Wolverhampton, on Wednesday se'nnight: Mr. Webb, of Moseley, was married on the preceding Sunday to an amiable young lady of that place; and only a few hours after, he astonished the family with symptoms of insanity. In this sad state, he on Wednesday destroyed several sheep, and obtained a pair of loaded pistols, with which he alarmed the neighbourhood by threatening to fire upon many persons. He next got possession of a razor, and, dreadful to relate, he first cut his wife's throat, and then his own; almost every person who attempted to secure him was wounded. Neither he nor his wife are expected to recover.

Last week as the carriage of sir Thomas Gooch was travelling on the road from London to Suffolk, with four post-horses, near the 15-mile stone, it overtook a cart, in which were Mr. Mead, a farmer, of Bassilden, his wife, and a female acquaintance. The post-lads wish-

ing to pass the cart, called out in a manner that frightened Mr. Mead's horse, insomuch that he became ungovernable; they still persevered in following his cart, and kept up the same noise; the dreadful consequence was, that just as the carriage was passing the cart, Mr. Mead's horse sprang out of the road, threw the cart over, and precipitated all the passengers directly under the wheels of the carriage, which passed over the head of Mr. Mead, and the breast of his wife; they received so severe an injury, that a few minutes after being removed to the Nag's Head, Brook-street, they both expired, leaving a family of nine children to lament their melancholy fate.

America. Fire at Trinidad.... We have been favoured by a correspondent with the following account of the dreadful and extensive conflagration of the town of Port d'Espagne, in the ill-fated island of Trinidad, where every house has been burnt to the ground. The fire began at a chemist's shop in Frederick-street, about ten o'clock in the evening of the 24th of March; by eleven o'clock that street was consumed, and before twelve the whole front of the town was burnt, extending from the corner of the old Ordnance-yard in the east, down to Unwin's corner in the west, excepting the commissary-general's house and stores, Mackintosh's and Ciprian's brick buildings, which are opposite on the seashore, and which were saved by knocking down the wooden buildings at each end. From Unwin's corner, the fire extended up to the new buildings owned by Dr. Williams and others, to the north of Brunswick-square, from whence it

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ran up obliquely to the end of St. Ann's-street, and to the market-place in the east, where it stopped. This describes the circumference of this dreadful conflagration; within which there is not a house standing. Such was the rapidity of the flames, that many of the inhabitants with difficulty escaped with their lives. The consequences that must ensue from the dreadful havock made by this fire are at this time (April 3d) almost incalculable. It is said that 1500 houses are consumed, together with their furniture and stores of merchandize, supposed to be the value of one million and a half sterling, and that 10,000 people are without houses, beds, clothes, and food.

Some time last year a young man at Lochside, in the parish of Blairgowrie, Scotland, having shot at and wounded a young otter, carried it home, where it soon recovered, and has now become as tame as a lap-dog. It follows the young man wherever he desires it, and obeys his commands with punctuality. Lately it has been in the practice of accompanying him to the loch and rivers in the neighbourhood, where it dives for fish, brings them to land, leaves them with its keeper, and returns in search of more.

Social Suicide!—A letter from Charleston, (America) dated March 21, states as follows:

"Last night a fellow belonging to Major Rouse, and a wench, his wife, belonging to Mrs. D'Azevedo, put an end to their existence by strangling themselves with ropes. It is supposed that the fellow, who was about to go into the country for some time, anticipated some infidelity in his wife during his absence, as he had been heard to ex-

press himself to that effect. Sooner, as it appears, than labour under the tortures of jealousy, he formed the dreadful resolution of committing suicide, and had influence enough over his wife to prevail on her to quit the world with him. From the situation in which the wench was found sitting, it is supposed the fellow had assisted in her death before he proceeded in the execution of himself. The hands of both were at liberty, so there is no room to suppose that either had not consented to die. They evidently had been drinking, as two empty bottles were found near them, both of which had contained brandy."

France. Paris, June 10.—In the *Moniteur* is contained the following from Bayonne, dated the 4th instant:—"The day before yesterday his majesty received at his levee the deputation of the grandees of Spain, and had a very long conference with them."

From Madrid we learn the following, under the date of the 30th of May:

"Yesterday the council of Castile held an extraordinary assembly, in pursuance of a command communicated by their excellencies Don Sebastian Pinuela and Don Arias Mon, the seniors of the council:

"Sir, his royal highness the grand duke of Berg, lieutenant-general of the kingdom, commands that at eight o'clock in the morning of to-morrow, the 30th of May, the council do assemble, in order to proceed to the execution of a decree and a proclamation of his majesty the emperor of the French, king of Italy, and protector of the confederacy of the Rhine.

"In this decree it has pleased his

His imperial and royal majesty, by virtue of the rights to the crown of Spain which have been ceded to him, to inform the council of Castile of the measures which he has taken in order to fix the basis for the new government of the kingdom. His majesty commands at the same time, that his highness the grand duke of Berg shall continue to fulfil the functions of lieutenant-general of the kingdom; and he requires the council of Castile to publish and affix the said imperial decree, that no one may pretend ignorance of the same.

"Pursuant to this, and an express command from his serene highness the lieutenant-general, I give your excellency notice, that the court will assemble to-morrow morning early."

The imperial decree itself was to the following effect:

"Napoleon, emperor of the French, king of Italy, protector of the confederacy of the Rhine, &c.

"The king and the princes of the house of Spain having ceded their right to the crown, as is known by their treaties of the 5th and 10th of May, and by their proclamations published by the junta and the council of Castile, we have decreed, and do decree, ordered and do order as follows:

"Art. 1. The assembly of the notables, which has already been convened by the lieutenant-general of the kingdom, shall be held on the 15th of June at Bayonne. The deputies shall be charged with the sentiments, desires, and complaints of those they represent; and also with full power to fix the basis of the new government for the kingdom.

"2. Our cousin, the grand duke of Berg, shall continue to fulfil

the functions of lieutenant-general of the kingdom.

"3. The ministers, the council of state, the council of Castile, and all civil, ecclesiastical, and military authorities are, as far as is requisite, confirmed. Justice shall be administered under the same forms, and in the same manner as is usual.

"4. The council of Castile is charged with the publication of this decree, and with the affixing it on all places where it may be necessary, that no one may pretend ignorance of the same.

"Given at our imperial royal palace at Bayonne, the 25th of May, 1808.

(Signed) "NAPOLEON."

Extract from the Oviedo Gazette of the 11th of June.

"The governor of Carthageña, who has received orders to give up the place to the French, and was about to execute them, experienced the same fate as Alvala. The Almighty, who watches over the lives of the innocent, and who regards his loyal and catholic people with an eye of compassion, ordained that on the approach of the enemy's squadron to this port, with 8000 French troops for disembarkation, it should fall in with one belonging to the mighty island of the ocean. The latter came up with, attacked, and defeated them; two of their frigates and all their transports were sunk, and two ships of the line which remained were boarded, and their crews put to the sword. The English lost two frigates, and received some damage in the other ships. The engagement took place between Alicant and Carthageña on the 24th of last month, and lasted two days.

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"A French ship having on board arms, stores, and money for Carthageana, believing that port still in possession of the French party, entered it on the 28th, and was immediately compelled to strike.

"The Andalusians have fortified the Sierra Morena with artillery."

The whole province of Arragon is stated to be in a situation of the greatest ferment. The Duke de l'Infantado is believed to have indignantly rejected the proposition of going to Bayonne to humble himself at the feet of Bonaparte.

The per centage due to Mr. Palmer, on the net revenue of the Post-office beyond 240,000*l.* from the 5th of April, 1793, to the 5th of Jan. 1808, deducting the produce arising from increased postage and restriction in franking (according to the amount at which they were severally taken), and also the sum of 3,000*l.* a year received during that period, amounts to 69,347*l.* 5*s.* 4*d.*

Mr. Hammond, formerly pilot of the Saturn, (a person well known in this neighbourhood) has been arrested in France as a spy, and shot, by order of the French government. Other accounts state, that he was beheaded, and his body dragged round the town, the name of which is not mentioned. He had been sent from the Saturn, on board l'Aigle, captain Wolfe, to reconnoitre the French coast, and landed at a port near L'Orient; he had been on shore twelve days, and was preparing to come off in a boat, when he was arrested by two custom-house officers. He received a pension of 50*l.* per annum from our government, for the information he obtained some time since, by landing on the enemy's coast.

He was a Frenchman by birth, but had been many years in our service, in the course of which he had more than once risked his life, by making incursions into France, and returning in an open boat to our ships off the coast.

An extraordinary Case.—For some time past, a sow pig, belonging to Mr. Tudor, of Leominster, has been increasing in bulk, and was supposed to be breeding; but not farrowing within the usual time after she was perceived to be enlarging, and daily increasing in bulk, Mr. Tudor suspected that she was not breeding, and consulted a medical gentleman, who, upon viewing the animal, pronounced that her complaint was the dropsy; and last week, the sow, under the direction of an eminent surgeon, was tapped, and full 16 gallons of water was taken from her, and she is now recovering.

Manchester, June 11.—We lament that the refractory spirit amongst the weavers in this town and neighbourhood still exists. It has been continued by acts of the most oppressive kind towards their fellow workmen who have been inclined to follow their employment. From these, besides taking away their shuttles, their pieces have, in several instances, been cut. To prevent such daring outrages, the military have patrolled for several miles on the different avenues to the town, for the protection of the industrious and well-disposed workmen.—That the weavers are as a body, a loyal people, we cannot doubt; but it seems certain that artful agents amongst them have mixed political sentiments with their claims, and have thus been the cause of continuing

aining a temper that seems to rise in its demands, as the manufacturers offer conciliation. May they see their error, and return to their true interest! Could the government suffer itself to be forced by violence into particular measures, there would be a proof of its inefficiency, and that it could not afford protection to peaceable subjects. Such attempts must, therefore, be resisted by force.

KING'S BENCH, June 11.

The King v. Governor Picton.

This cause came on again to be tried this day, and occupied the court (which was extremely crowded the whole day), from nine o'clock in the morning until eight at night.

Mr. Garrow, in stating the case on the part of the prosecution, observed, that as the evidence which he was again about to adduce in support of this prosecution, had been already fully laid before the public, he had no matter of novelty to state to the jury; and whatever might be the personal feelings on the other side, he protested for himself, that out of this case he knew nothing of the defendant, and had no other view but wishing justice might be done to all parties, determined on his part to do his duty to the public. The horrid barbarities charged against this defendant were such as had never before been charged against any British governor, that of cruelly torturing a female of the tender age of fourteen years. He then stated, that in the year 1801 the island of Trinidad was ceded to the British forces, under general sir Ralph Abercromby, when the defendant was appointed governor of that island, and it was stipulated that the people of the

island were to be governed by their own, namely, the Spanish laws, until his majesty's pleasure should be known. It was the custom of that country that persons should marry at an early age; and the unhappy female, who gave rise to this prosecution, (Louisa Calderon,) had been contracted to a person of the name of Pedro Lewis; but by the artifices of his servant Carlos Gonzalez, she was by him seduced, and he afterwards robbed his master of 2000 ducats. The robber escaped, but the girl was taken up, and application was made to the governor, to permit torture to be inflicted, in order to compel her to confess what she knew of the facts. The manner in which this torture was inflicted, he should abstain from describing, but the jury would have the pain to hear it described by the unfortunate sufferer herself, corroborated by other evidence. Before inflicting the torture, it was necessary however to show that the defendant, a British governor, had consented to it. In answer to this, it was said, that the defendant was authorized by the law of Spain in such cases; but in reply to this, he should show that no such law existed in the Spanish code, that no Spanish governor could have inflicted such a punishment, and that it was reserved for governor Picton to be the first to introduce torture into that island, which by the Spanish laws could only be resorted to in cases of witchcraft, and Louisa Calderon was the only instance of the kind ever known in that island, where torture was inflicted for a different crime. If, however, something should be shown on the other side, from the old Spanish books, recognising torture in such cases,

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he would show, on the contrary, that such laws were obsolete, and that this, and this only, was the one solitary case where torture had ever been inflicted, and he was sorry to repeat that it was first introduced by a British governor; and he should further contend, that from the introduction of the British government, all such laws, if they ever did exist, must cease, and be wholly void and nugatory.

Louisa Calderon was then examined, and described the manner in which the torture was inflicted, in nearly the same way she had done on the former trial, with the exception that she now gave her evidence in the English language, with much fluency and correctness. Having described the pike on which she stood, suspended by a rope and pulley from the ceiling, her fainting, &c. &c. she further stated, that the persons present were Begerot, the judge, who first applied to the governor for the order to torture; de Castro, the escribado, or secretary to the judge; and Ralpho Shando, the alguazil or constable. She also stated, that when brought before the governor, he said if she did not declare who had got the money, he would make the hangman pass his hands over her.

Ralpho Shando corroborated her statement.

The order for applying the torture was then produced, and appeared in the words following:—

“Appliquez la question à Louisa Calderoni.”*

(Signed) THE GOVERNOR.

Mr. Dallas, in stating the case of the defendant, admitting the facts to have been fully proved; but the

jury were to recollect, that the idea of applying the torture did not originate with governor Picton, but with the judge of the country. With respect to its severity, he had nothing to say, but it must be recollected that the prosecutrix was accused of a crime which, in this country, would be considered a capital offence, and lead to an ignominious execution. In order that the jury might judge rightly of the case, it was necessary they should see and understand what the charge truly was. It was not for causing Louisa Calderon to be cruelly tortured, but giving an order that torture should be applied. He did not, however, mean to say, that if his conduct was illegal, he was not by the laws, and in a moral point of view, answerable; but the imprisonment and severe treatment were not applicable to him, unless the governor was to be considered as the gaoler and executioner. The only point, therefore, which the jury had to try was, whether governor Picton had ordered the torture to be applied unlawfully and maliciously, or otherwise; but, in fact, the malice might be of course inferred, if the thing was done illegally. If the law was in existence, he was authorized and bound by it to exercise that power.

A great number of depositions were then read to prove the laws of Spain on this subject.

After a vast body of evidence being adduced, to show that torture was authorized by the Spanish laws, and much argument on both sides, it was at length agreed that a special verdict should be taken; and after a charge from lord Ellenbo-

* The torture.

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rough, in which he observed, that however the law of Spain authorized torture, and that governor Picton had not acted maliciously, in his opinion he had acted extra-judicially, for the dernier appeal was not to the governor, but to the king of England, and therefore the court would infer that he was guilty of the fact.

The jury then returned a special verdict: That, at the time of the cession of the island of Trinidad to the British force, the law of Spain authorized torture, and that governor Picton had not acted maliciously, except so far as the law inferred from the facts. Upon the other counts of the indictment, the jury found a general verdict of—*Guilty*.

The trial did not terminate until near eight o'clock at night.

Affecting Narrative.—We have already mentioned the melancholy fate of Lord Royston. The following letter from one of the passengers on-board the vessel gives further particulars of this unfortunate event:—

“*Memel, April 12, 1808, N. S.*

“On Saturday, the 2d inst. N. S. at 12 o'clock at noon, we sailed from Liebau with a fair wind, and ice for about two versts only, after which we got into clear water, and from that time saw no more ice. This fair wind continued for about twenty-four hours, and carried us within forty English miles of Carls-crona. The ship began to make a little water the first night, but it was a trifle; the second night however increased so much, that Messrs. Bayley, Becher, Renny, Focke, and Pereyra, who were lying upon hay, were obliged to move to a higher place; but as I lay in my

kibitker, the water never touched me till the last night, when I was also obliged to move. When we came within forty miles of Carls-crona, the wind became direct west, and blew a gale: we were several times close to the island of Oland, but could not land on account of the ice; but that would not have prevented our attempting it, had not the captain said that there was no place for anchorage, nor was there a harbour; so we tacked about till the 6th, all the time the pumps going, and all hands baling the ship; but we did not gain on the leak, and had always four or five feet water in the hold.

“On the 6th inst. at noon, colonel Pollen asked the captain if he thought the ship could stand the sea? He answered, that ‘It was impossible;’ whence it would appear, that had colonel P. not put the question, the ship must the next day have foundered with us all.

“Upon receiving that answer from the captain, colonel Pollen ordered him immediately to put back, and make the first port (this was Memel); and as it blew a gale, and the wind quite fair, we were sure of reaching it early next morning. During the whole of the day and night, we were employed in clearing the ship of water, and prevented it exceeding five feet. At two o'clock in the morning of the 7th, we saw the coast, and, at four, Memel. I immediately went into the hold, opened my desk and took out what money I had there, placing it in the pocket of my kibitker, that I might secure it at a moment's warning, in case of danger; I then locked my desk, and left my servant to put it away.

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"When I came upon deck, we were close to the bar; I had not been there five minutes, when the ship struck with such violence, that the ladies and children in the cabin, and the passengers in the hold, had just time to reach the deck, when the ship filled with water, and immediately after the rudder was knocked off.

"The women now took refuge in the sailors' cabin upon deck, where I also put the children.

"The sea running dreadfully high, we were obliged to cut away the mast, to prevent the ship upsetting; the boats were then cut loose and launched, and Lord Royston, with four or five others, jumped into them, but were upset in a moment.

"I determined to take my chance with the women, and followed them into the round-house, where I found eleven persons; Mrs. Pollen, and three servants, Mrs. Barnes, three children and maid, Pereyra, and Focke. All the rest of our dear friends, except those who were lost by getting into the boats, were immediately washed overboard.

"Shortly after, the life-boat came alongside, and found the captain and three sailors upon the bowsprit, who telling the captain of the life-boat that every one else was washed overboard, it put off, leaving us twelve in the round-house, in water up to the middle.

"There was only one dry bed-place, into which we put the children, but Mr. Focke prayed for God's sake we would permit him to go in too, as he could not endure the cold. Mr. Pereyra sat upon a chest, and had Mrs. Pollen

on his knees; Mrs. Barnes sat upon another chest, with her little one at her breast, the water covering the chests.

"That night we all went to prayers, forgave our enemies, and resigned ourselves to the Almighty.

"Next morning at eight o'clock, Anthony, who was out, gave notice that the life-boat was at the bowsprit. I went out with Mrs. Pollen and the youngest child; Mrs. P. with great difficulty reached the life-boat. I was twice knocked down by the sea, with a child in one arm, but succeeded in keeping fast hold with the other. Finding, however, my strength failing me, I gave the child to Ann (Mrs. B.'s maid), desiring her to remain where she was, till I could send one of the men from the life-boat to take the child. Whether she attempted to follow me or not I cannot say, but just as I threw myself into the boat, the sailors called out that the woman with the child, and a man, were washed overboard; this man was Hearn, Mrs. Pollen's servant.

"The weather was too boisterous to permit the boat to remain long where it was; it therefore put off with Mrs. Pollen, her servant Anthony, Mrs. Pereyra, and myself.

"When we reached the shore, I told the people there were still four living persons on board, viz. Mrs. Barnes, her two children, and the third servant of Mrs. Pollen. They were with difficulty persuaded to return, and succeeded in saving them.

"Mr. Focke had died during the night, from cold, in the little bed-place before described; the body is now on shore, and is to be buried to-morrow,

to-morrow, according to the directions he gave me about half an hour before his death.

"Mr. Pereyra is not expected to survive this day.

"Mrs. Barnes is laid up, having had her feet frozen. Mrs. Pollen is tolerable, but, as you can imagine, very low. We were upwards of forty hours without meat or drink, and must have all perished, had we remained six hours longer.

"An estafette has been sent to the king at Koningsberg. The French consul here is very civil, and has offered to do any thing in his power to assist us, even to write to Paris for passports.

"I have lost every thing belonging to me; and there is little hope of my recovering any thing, as the ship is going to pieces. Mrs. Barnes saved only a small trunk of the children's linen.

"The hospital...y and attention we poor survivors meet with at this place, are beyond expression."

LOST.

Lord Royston, and man servant.

Colonel Pollen, and one man-servant.

Mrs. Barnes's man-servant, maid-servant, and youngest child.

Mr. Halliday's servant, Thomas D. Bayley, Mr. Becher, Mr. Renay.

Mr. Focke (died on board), and Mr. Pereyra (since dead on shore).

ALIVE.

Mrs. Barnes, and two children; Mrs. Pollen, and two servants.

Mr. Halliday, captain, and three sailors.

Manchester, June 15.—Parties of the weavers assembled yesterday at and near the New-cross, and in Newton lane; but they dispersed peaceably, after being cautioned by

the general sent hither to command the troops, sir Charles Ross, I believe, who humanely advised them to return to their employment, lest a contrary conduct should subject them to disagreeable consequences. Every thing has been tranquil during this day.

Manchester, June 21.—Owing to the perfect tranquillity which reigned here during the greater part of last week, I had cherished the hope that every thing was settled, and any further communication from me, on so disagreeable a subject, rendered unnecessary. This hope, however, I regret to say, has been disappointed. Yesterday, large bodies of refractory weavers again assembled in St. George's-fields and neighbouring streets, and not only stopped all the looms they found at work, but intercepted every weaver coming in with finished pieces, or going out with fresh work, forcing the workmen to return from whence they came. Some pieces, indeed, are said to have been actually cut out, or destroyed in the looms. Considerable bodies of the above deluded artisans have likewise met in the same places this day, but indicated rather a peaceable disposition. Parties of the fourth dragoon guards have patrolled the streets in that vicinity during the day; a measure which has probably prevented a repetition of the scenes of yesterday, and afforded the well-disposed country-weavers a quiet ingress and egress.

22. *Duel extraordinary.*—A very novel species of duel has lately taken place at Paris. M. de Grandpree and M. Le Pique having quarrelled about Mademoiselle Tirevit, a celebrated opera-dancer, who was

kept by the former, but had been discovered in an intrigue with the latter, a challenge ensued. Being both men of elevated mind, they agreed to fight in balloons, and in order to give time for their preparation, it was determined that the duel should take place on that day month. Accordingly, on the 3d of May, the parties met at a field adjoining the Thuilleries, where their respective balloons were ready to receive them. Each, attended by a second, ascended his car, loaded with blunderbusses, as pistols could not be expected to be efficient in their probable situations. A great multitude attended, hearing of the balloons, but little dreaming of their purpose: the Parisians merely looked for the novelty of a balloon race. At nine o'clock the cords were cut, and the balloons ascended majestically amidst the shouts of the spectators. The wind was moderate, blowing from the N.N.W. and they kept, as far as could be judged, within about 80 yards of each other. When they had mounted to the height of about 900 yards, M. Le Pique fired his piece ineffectually; almost immediately after, the fire was returned by M. Granprec, and penetrated his adversary's balloon; the consequence of which was its rapid descent, and M. Le Pique and his second were both dashed to pieces on a house-top, over which the balloon fell. The victorious Granprec then mounted aloft in the grandest style, and descended safe with his second, about seven leagues from the spot of ascension.

I am extremely sorry to say, that the refractory weavers have met again this day, and evinced a more turbulent disposition

than at any period of the dispute. They have burnt in effigy several respectable manufacturers, whom they deem the most hostile to their claims, and stopped every loom in that part of the town, which is unfortunately the scene of their unlawful meetings. Many pieces of different goods have been maliciously destroyed by means of spirit of vitriol or aqua fortis, which they artfully convey to the looms through the medium of a syringe, from which the destructive ingredient is squirted through the broken panes in the windows; and sometimes it is dropped upon the bags hung over workmen's shoulders, containing pieces.

The women are, if possible, more turbulent and mischievous than the men. Their insolence to the soldiers and special constables is intolerable, and they seem to be confident of deriving impunity from their sex. Two men were apprehended yesterday, and three this day, and lodged in the New Bayley prison. One of the persons concerned in burning the prison at Rochdale has likewise been taken into custody, and committed to Lancaster-castle.

To such a length have these deluded men carried their audacity, that written papers were this day stuck upon the walls in Newton-lane, &c. threatening destruction to the houses of all weavers who shall attempt to throw a shuttle, until every manufacturer agrees to an advance of wages.

The military continue upon duty night and day, and the magistrates and constables are indefatigable in their exertions to preserve the public tranquillity. With exception of this town and its vicinity, all is quiet,

quiet, most of the weavers having resumed their work.

Singular Animal.—A respectable farmer of Westrip, in the county of Gloucester, has a calf, now about seven weeks old, which has but three legs. The two fore legs are perfect, but there is only one behind, which, however, serves him to walk with; which he does with as much freedom as if he possessed the other.

An extraordinary large fish was caught a few days ago, in a mackerel net, at Mount's-bay, of a species to which the fishermen were strangers; but we are informed, by a gentleman of considerable zoological science, who saw it, that it was a male of the fish denominated the basking shark. It was full 30 feet long, and of great bulk. Its liver alone was estimated at a ton weight. A man might easily have crept down its throat. The strength of its jaws was so great, that the fisherman having thrust his boat-hook into its mouth to turn it, while struggling in the net, it snapped off the shaft of it, he said, as if it were a pipe-stem. A female of the basking shark, but of less bulk, was caught a few years ago on the coast of Dorsetshire.

Ireland, June 27.—On Monday evening, the scaffolding which has been raised round the spire of St. Patrick's cathedral, Dublin, (in order to reach the top, some time since disturbed by a thunder-storm,) having been completed to within ten feet of the ball, a thoughtless wretch, for a small wager, determined to be the first who should reach the ball. He accordingly clambered up by his hands and knees, and, to the extreme terror of a multitude of spectators, placed

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himself astride that part of the spire which the storm had bent into a horizontal position; he had scarcely done so, when, to the horror of those below, the whole gave way, and, with the ball and about one ton of the stone-work, the unhappy wretch was precipitated in a moment: he fell upon the first scaffold, and was carried by the weight through the two next stages, when his clothes entangled in the timbers, and he was detained; the ball passed down to another stage of the scaffolding, and the stone-work, hurled from an height of 200 feet, was forced nearly a yard beneath the surface of the pavement in Patrick's-close. The man soon extricated himself from his difficulties, descended exultingly to the street, and was carried in perfect safety to the next whiskey-shop, to celebrate this extraordinary exploit. The ball was put up in the year 1754.

27. This morning his reverence the nuncio from his holiness the pope had his final audience of Messrs. Canning and Perceval. He afterwards took a friendly leave of his grace the duke of Portland and lord Mulgrave respectively. Between eight and nine at night, his reverence left town for Portsmouth, from whence he is to proceed with a very large convoy of merchants, adventurers, and Portuguese emigrants, for the Brazils, of which territory he is to be the metropolitan.

JULY.

On Friday the following letter was sent by lord Castlereagh to the lord mayor:—

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Downing.

Downing-street, July 1, 1808.

"MY LORD,

"I have the honour to acquaint your lordship, that dispatches have been received from major-general Spencer, dated off Cadiz the 6th ultimo, by which it appears that a negotiation had been entered into between his majesty's naval and military commanders off that port, with deputies appointed on the part of the provisional government of the province of Andalusia, assembled at Seville, the result of which had been forwarded for the approbation of the said government.

"Every arrangement had been taken for the reduction of the French ships, and admiral Purvis had been invited by the Spanish commanders to anchor his fleet at the mouth of the harbour, with a view to co-operate in compelling the common enemy to surrender.

"It appears that the southern provinces of Spain had declared against France; and dispatches of the 4th ult. received from lieutenant-general sir H. Dalrymple, at Gibraltar, mention that the Spanish army before that fortress, reinforced by the greater part of the garrison of Ceuta, had mutinied against the French. I am, &c. &c.

"CASTLEREAGH.

"*Right Hon. Lord Mayor.*"

10.—A remarkable instance of the fatal effects of the introduction of virulent animal matter into the human system, lately happened in the case of James Grey, a shepherd, in the service of Mr. Archbold, of Hetton, who, in the act of skinning a sheep which had died of disease (the thorter ill) and was at the time in a state of putrescence, accidentally cut one of his fingers with the knife. The effect of the

poisonous matter was truly astonishing; for on his going home in the evening, he complained to his wife "that he had inoculated himself, and he already began to feel the bad consequences of it over all that side of his body on which the finger was cut." At five the next morning, medical assistance was sent for, but no kind of relief could be given; and with such rapidity did the morbid matter attack his system, that he became a corpse, in the highest degree of putridity, by eleven o'clock that day, being less than twenty-four hours from the introduction of the matter.

13. *Death of the Marquis Solano.*

—The death of the marquis Solano, late governor of Cadiz, did not, as it has been confidently stated, take place at the village of Chiclana, about three leagues from Cadiz, but at his palace, or the government-house, in that city. Solano's intimacy with the French admiral, and his great attachment to the French interest, had long been the subject of much suspicion and distrust with several of the principal inhabitants; but it was not until the reported approach of the French troops from Madrid, the arrival of which, under the command of Dupont, he anxiously looked for, that the popular indignation broke forth. The people, in great numbers, and headed by several Spanish officers and merchants, having collected about his palace, made an earnest and formal demand for arms and ammunition. Solano presented himself at the balcony, and, in a long speech, endeavoured to convince them that the power of Bonaparte was irresistible, and that by having recourse to force, they would ac-
celerate

celebrate their own ruin. He was heard for a considerable time with great patience, but was at length overpowered by the shouts of "Arms! ammunition! long live Ferdinand the Seventh!" They insisted upon admission, and endeavoured to force an entrance. Solano then entreated a conference with any two delegates they might nominate, to whom he promised admission, provided the people would desist from violence. His request was granted. The two deputies were accordingly appointed, and allowed to enter the house. The instant they entered the apartment in which he was, he shot one of them through the head with a pistol; the other was seized by him and his attendants, and precipitated from the balcony into the street. This desperate violence, instead of inspiring the populace with terror, as Solano might have hoped, served but to excite their animosity, and inflame their indignation. The doors were forced in an instant, all his guards and attendants were disarmed, and Solano himself, after attempting to escape by the roof, was seized and conveyed for execution to the public square or place. While threatened with immediate death, such was his pestiferousness in favour of France, that he continued to extol Bonaparte, and menace his countrymen with destruction, for what he called their rebellion. Among the various expressions of that nature, having fervently exclaimed that "he was ready to die in the cause of the great Napoleon," one of the persons near him was so exasperated, that he struck him on the head with a club, and literally beat out his brains. His body was nearly

cut or torn to pieces, and his heart was taken out, suspended on the point of a spear or pike, and carried through Cadiz as that of an infamous traitor to his king and country.

A singular instance of the sagacity of a Newfoundland dog occurred a few days since on the river. As Mr. Cook, who keeps a tavern in Cleveland-street, and a party of friends, were returning from Richmond, where they had been spending the day, the boat upset a little below Kew-bridge, in consequence of Mr. C., who is a very corpulent man, shifting from his side of the boat too suddenly. Having a Newfoundland dog on board, the faithful animal immediately laid hold of his master, and took him on shore, and returned again with an astonishing speed to the boat, and continued to go backwards and forwards until he had rescued six men from their perilous situations in less than a quarter of an hour, to the admiration of a multitude of spectators, who had assembled on the bridge.

The following account is given by the gardener of the rev. Dr. Drake of Amersham, respecting the extraordinary produce of a single grain of wheat in the garden of that gentleman. "On the 1st day of August, I sowed, or rather set, a single grain of red wheat; and in the latter end of September, when the plant had tillered, I took it up, and slipped or divided it into four sets of slips. Those four sets I planted, and they grew and tillered as well as the first. In the end of November I took them up a second time, and made thirty-six plants or sets. These I again planted, which grew till March, in

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which

which month, I, a third time, took up my plants, and divided them into 256 plants or sets. For the remaining part of the summer, till the month of August, they had nothing done to them, except hoeing the ground clean from the weeds, till the corn was ripe. When it was gathered, I had the ears counted or numbered, and they were 3,511; a great part of which proved as good grain as ever grew out of the earth. Many of the ears measured six inches in length, some very middling grains, some very light and thin. This was the reason I did not number the grains; but there was better than half a bushel of corn in the whole produce of the one grain of wheat in one year."

Soap-suds, after washing, is not only an excellent manure, but is a remedy against the insects which infest wall trees; it will dislodge and destroy the insects which have already formed their nests among the leaves, and if used early in the year, will prevent their settling on them. Common potash, dissolved in water, may be used instead of soap-suds, and six or eight waterings at the beginning of the spring will secure the plants from insects.

Manor-house, Hues, Middlesex, July 13, 1802.

The extraordinary heat of yesterday and to-day, which exceeds any ever previously experienced in England, induces me to send you a correct account of it, as observed in a north open aspect at this house, by two thermometers, by Ramsden and Cary, quite detached.

On Tuesday the 12th inst. at two P.M. both stood at ... 87 deg.

At midnight 69

At half past eleven this morning 90

And at this instant, at one, have fallen to 88

The hot Sunday and Tuesday, in the year 1790, only amounted to 83 degrees in open shaded situations. The average heat of the West Indies is about 82 degrees.

The thermometer under the northern entrance of the Royal Exchange, was Thursday at noon at 87. The thermometer in the shade at a window in the open air, opposite St. James's park, (without any reflection of heat), was on Tuesday last, at three o'clock P.M. at 88½, and on Wednesday at 94. In a transparent glass thermometer at a window in the Strand, on Wednesday afternoon, it was 101.

The heat of the atmosphere in the north-eastern parts of Lincoln, on Wednesday the 13th, exceeded what it is stated to have been in any other part of the kingdom. A thermometer, made by Nairne and Blunt, hanging in the shade, in a north aspect, at Gainsborough, at one o'clock in the day stood at *ninety-four degrees* (ten degrees higher than the meteorological records of this country state it to have ever been before). Human efforts were paralysed under such a temperature, and many of the brute creation died. A respectable correspondent assures us, that "a large quantity" of sheep was found dead at Burgh in the Marsh, and in the neighbourhood of Spilsby, which had perished by the heat.

On Friday se'nnight, after a day of the most oppressive and excessive heat, the neighbourhood of Bath was visited with a more tremendous storm of thunder, lightning, and hail, than was ever remembered

membered to have been experienced. The rolling of the distant thunder, and quick succession of the flashes of vivid lightning, completely illumining the hemisphere for a considerable length of time, formed to the inhabitants of that city a truly grand and awful spectacle. The storm extended beyond Bristol, in which city, hailstones were picked up of nearly an inch in circumference. At Newton, Corston, and Kelston, most of the windows that lay in the direction of the storm have been broken, as well as the glass of the hothouses, &c. in the gardens of Gore Langton, esq. at Newton, and sir Caesar Hawkins, &c. at Kelston, where considerable damage has been done to the young plantations, as the hail descended in several places in large flakes of two inches in thickness.

The effects of the storm in Somerset and Gloucester are most distressing. Some farmers have suffered damage in their corn, &c. to a considerable amount—from 2 to 3, 4, and 500*l.* and upwards.

14. *Law Intelligence.*—In the king's bench, an indictment was tried against Edward Brown, Edward W. Roberts, and Elizabeth Dorothy Roberts, alias Brown, alias Cole, for a conspiracy to cheat divers tradesmen of their goods, by deceit and misrepresentation:—Brown took a house at No. 36, Great Coram-street, Russell-square, and Mrs. Roberts passed for his wife. They had a chariot and servants proper for such an establishment, and their habit was to drive to tradesmen's houses and give their orders, the mansion in Coram-street serving as a convenient dépôt for the articles furnished. The almost uniform representation

by Brown was, that he was a wine-merchant of eminence, and carried on business in the city, where he had a suitable counting-house; and that he had estates in Scotland. The fraud was consummated by confessing a judgment to Roberts, who having entered the house upon that judgment, sought to sell the goods in execution under the sheriff's hammer. In defence, it was attempted to be shown, that Roberts was not a party to the misrepresentations, and that the confessed judgment was given to him for monies he had lent Brown. It was also insisted, that, notwithstanding Mrs. Roberts had passed for Mrs. Brown, nothing criminal had taken place between them, and that she was the unseduced wife of Roberts. The jury found all the defendants guilty.

Law Report.—*Sheriff's Court, Bedford-row, Tuesday, July 19. Crim. Con. Lord Boringdon v. Sir A. Paget.*—An inquisition to assess damages in the above action, was held this day before Mr. Burchall, the deputy-sheriff of Middlesex. The action was brought by the noble lord, the plaintiff, against sir A. Paget, for criminal conversation with lady Boringdon, and the defendant had first pleaded the general issue; afterwards he withdrew that plea, and suffered judgment to go by default.

Mr. Parke, on the part of the plaintiff, addressed the jury:—He stated that the noble plaintiff was a person of the highest rank, who complained against the defendant for one of the greatest injuries which a man could suffer in civil society. The defendant was also a person of high rank, and was the second son of a noble family, and

had been entrusted by his sovereign with high official situations. The plaintiff and defendant had been at college together, and were co-students on the same foundation, which was a circumstance, as he thought, of great aggravation. The lady to whom the plaintiff was united, was the second daughter of the earl of Westmoreland, who, at a very early age, attracted the affections of the plaintiff. He became acquainted with her in the month of May, 1804, and in the June following they were married; the lady at that time not being much more than eighteen years of age. They continued to live together in a state of the utmost harmony and felicity, as he should prove by many witnesses of the highest respectability, until the period when her affections were seduced by the artifices of the defendant. When, or at what period the criminal intercourse took place, he was not prepared to prove; but it was remarked, that lately Sir Arthur Paget was very constant in his visits to the lady, and those visits were always when the plaintiff was from home. His lordship was in the habit of strictly attending to his parliamentary duties; and as soon as he had left the house, the defendant came there; so that he must absolutely have been upon the watch, to avail himself of the moment of his lordship's absence. Lady Boringdon was also in the habit of going to Kensington-gardens in the morning, and Sir Arthur Paget as regularly met her there; and as soon as they met, she parted from her nurse and her child, and walked away in private with the defendant. This intercourse continued for some time before it

came to the knowledge of the plaintiff; but at last he received an intimation of the frequency of the defendant's visits during his absence, which induced him at length to mention the fact to the lady, and enquire into the occasion of them. The result of this was, that on the next day, the 10th of May, the lady quitted her husband's house, and had from that time been living under the protection of the defendant. The province of the jury now was, to determine what damage they would give the plaintiff, as a recompence for the injury sustained. He asked not vindictive damages, for he admitted their duty was not to punish the defendant, but to recompence the plaintiff. They were not the *custodes morum* of the people, but their duty was to say what was the fit measure of damages to be awarded to the plaintiff for the injury he had sustained, and surely no injury could be greater, nor had ever man deserved it less. His lordship defied the world to show any spot on his character, either as a husband or as a man; and with respect to his conduct to his wife, her own letters would show how fondly attached to him she was before her affections were seduced. The learned counsel here read extracts from two letters, dated in 1804 and 1806, replete with expressions of fondness and affection, in one of which she apologizes for not going to church, according to his orders, on the ground of her ill health; and in the other she lamented the delay of his company for a single day. Having concluded these topics, Mr. Parke said he demanded such a verdict, as justice, reason, and religion demanded.

Lord Amherst said he had known lord Boringdon for nineteen years. He married the second daughter of lord Westmoreland in June 1804. He had lived with them in great intimacy, and they always appeared a very happy couple.

The hon. George Villars said he married the sister of the plaintiff, and the families lived in great intimacy. The plaintiff and his wife appeared mutually affectionate, they frequented church, and partook the sacrament together.

Dr. Vaughan had attended lady Boringdon in illness, on which occasion the plaintiff had shown the solicitude and anxiety of an affectionate husband.

Sir W. Elford lived in their neighbourhood in Devonshire; he visited them, and they appeared affectionate, attentive, and polite to each other.

The rev. Mr. Hade, vicar of Crompton, in Devonshire, in the parish lord Boringdon's seat was, said he was much with them when alone, and they appeared to live in great affection and harmony.

Elizabeth Croft, nurse to lady Boringdon's child, said the family came to town last January. As the spring advanced, they went every day to Kensington gardens; there they always met sir Arthur Paget, who walked with lady Boringdon at a distance from her and the child.

Elizabeth Daniels, lady's-maid, said, sir A. Paget always visited at the house when his lordship was out; he continued with her lady in the back drawing-room for two hours at a time, and went away before his lordship's return.

The porter and a footman also

spoke to the visits of sir Arthur in his lordship's absence.

Mr. Garrow then, on the part of the defendant, addressed the jury. He insisted on the known inability of sir Arthur to pay large damages, and attributed the lapses of the lady to the fashions of high life, which leaves a woman exposed to the attacks of a seducer, and that she falls frequently before she is aware of her danger.

The jury, after some consideration, found damages Ten Thousand Pounds.

20. Joseph Bonaparte has at length entered Spain: he was crowned king at St. Sebastian's on the 9th instant. The most gloomy silence prevailed during the ceremony. From St. Sebastian's he proceeded to Tolosa, and thence to Victoria, where he was again proclaimed on the 10th, and intended to have prosecuted his route to Burgos. Advices from marshal Bessieres had, however, induced him to delay his departure, and he remained at Victoria on the 11th.

The conduct of the bishop of St. Andero is highly extolled by the friends of the good cause. Bonaparte had addressed a letter to him, full of promises, and inviting him to attend at Bayonne. The following is said to have been the prelate's answer:—"I cannot make it convenient to attend; and if I could, I would not. I judge of your sincerity towards Spain by your conduct towards Portugal, and other kingdoms with which you have interfered. If you are in earnest in your offer to befriend the Spanish nation, let the first proof be your liberating our sovereign and family, and withdrawing your troops from

from among us: but this we do not expect you will do of your own accord; and therefore it becomes the Spanish nation to unite, as I trust they will, to compel you."

21. *Execution of James Gilchrist.*

—The following particulars of the execution of James Gilchrist, for the murder of his wife, contained in a letter from Glasgow, dated July 21, will be found interesting:—

"This unfortunate man died as he had lived, solemnly declaring his innocence of the crime for which he was to suffer. Soon after one o'clock, he was attended in his room by the rev. Mr. M'Lean, of Gorbals, Mr. Brodie, of Dovehill, and Mr. Macdonald, of Edinburgh. They conversed with him for some time, in the course of which he repeated his declaration of innocence in the strongest terms. Taking up one of the books, lying beside him on the bench on which he sat, and holding it before Mr. M'Lean, he said, 'I am as innocent of the crime for which I am to suffer, as that book is;' then rising from his seat, and going to the window of the room, he poured out some beer or porter from a bottle into a tumbler, and turning round before he drank it, he said, 'I never did any injury in my life to any man.' This gave Mr. M'Lean occasion to observe, that such a declaration would certainly not bear an unqualified interpretation; for we might unintentionally and unknowingly injure our neighbour: every thing wrong in our behaviour gave him a bad precedent, and we might thus injure him by our bad example. He then explained, and said that by injury he meant "violence."

"Just as Mr. M'Lean had finished prayer, Mr. Gardner, the jailor, came into the room to tell him that it was the time, and it was an unpleasant part of his duty to add, that he must allow himself to be bound. He expressed his ready acquiescence; and, before leaving the room, requested that, in any future devotions, none of the clergymen should say any thing that looked like suspicion of his guilt, or doubt of his veracity in declaring his innocence. This seemed to refer to a sentence in Mr. M'Lean's prayer, in which he had alluded to the embarrassment and perplexity which the most candid mind must feel, in considering the judgment of an upright court, as set in opposition to his positive and continued declarations of innocence. The clergymen gently hinted to him, that it was not their province to decide on the one or the other, but to take them precisely as they stood.

"What passed in the hall may be summed up in a few words. After part of a psalm was sung, James asked for a glass of wine from Mr. Gardner. When the first prayer was finished, he requested the attention of all present, and, in a clear audible voice, 'called the lord provost, and all who heard him, to witness at the tribunal of God, that he was innocent of the crime for which he was to suffer.' After the second prayer, the lord provost told him he might still have a little time longer. He replied 'I am ignorant of the rules of this place—I am ready—I go as a sheep to the slaughter.' The lord provost then suggested that Mr. M'Donald might pray with him. James expressed his

his satisfaction. The third prayer being over, Mr. M'Lean requested he would excuse him from going to the scaffold, to which he readily consented. Before leaving the hall, he repeatedly declared his innocence. His last words to the lord provost were, 'My lord, you are parting with an innocent man.'

"He appeared on the scaffold at a quarter past three precisely, decently dressed in black. There he acted just as he had done in the hall, calling attention, and declaring his innocence almost in the same words. Indeed, before he left the hall, he said, he thought it was his duty to do so, as it might be the means of saving some other innocent man, and asked permission from the lord provost to speak to this effect. After singing two portions of the 51st and 102d psalms, both selected by James himself, and which he sung with a clear and steady voice, he, with the most astonishing firmness and composure, mounted the platform, and at twenty minutes past three was launched into eternity. After hanging about half an hour, he was cut down, and his body sent to the professor of anatomy for dissection."

24. *Lacon v. Moscau*.—This was an action to recover the sum of £24. for necessaries, &c. It was a case which excited an uncommon degree of interest. The plaintiff, a milliner and dress-maker, arrested the defendant under peculiar circumstances. It may be necessary to mention, that the defendant was the unhappy young woman who received sentence of death at the Old Bailey, many months since, for purloining certain articles, the pro-

perty of Mr. Lacon. She afterwards received his majesty's pardon. On being liberated from confinement, the plaintiff arrested her for the above debt, contracted, as stated by two witnesses, during a residence at Brighton, in the autumn of the last year. The learned judge summed up the evidence. The jury, after a short deliberation, returned a verdict for the defendant. Mr. Garrow advocated the cause of the latter with great energy and feeling.

25. *A singular Character*.—A most eccentric character has lately appeared among the picture-dealers in the garb of a Polish Jew. A mania for painting and dirty canvas has rendered this man very conspicuous in London. About three or four years since, he filled the exalted station of driver of a stage-coach, and he has recently driven a trade among the connoisseurs at Christie's, and other public picture-sales, which excites wonder.—While the whip occupied his ambition, he exhibited pugilistic talents in the true Belcher style. Among his friends, the late George Morland stood foremost; and from the conversation of that celebrated artist, he was induced to quit his stable, and become a pupil in the school of picture-dealing. With a few drawings obtained from his friend George, he opened a shop in the neighbourhood of Golden-square, and commenced cleaner and dealer. He then frequented a house near Seven-dials, the resort of painters and artists, who formed themselves into a society, under the insignia of a pallet. He obtained his admission by describing Hogarth's line of beauty, and was duly

dely elected an artist. In this asylum he studied many technical terms used by the connoisseur, and in a short time he was able to spit upon a filthy piece of painting with profound gravity, wipe it, then shake his head, and pronounce it a vile copy of the divine original, which he had seen at Rome, the Louvre, the earl of Wilton's, the marquis of Stafford's, or in the collection of some nobleman, who, according to his information, was an admirer of the arts. By pretension he obtained some celebrity, and many picture-dealers considered him an instrument very useful in their line. He was missing among the fraternity some time since, during which he suffered his beard to grow over his breast; and he finally made his *entrée* at the sales as a Foreign Jew of great learning; his garments, like the priests of the tribe of Levi, are long and loose, and he performs the part of a Jew admirably. It does not, however, appear, that any of the tribes of Israel have acknowledged him to be a convert, and many of his old companions are at a loss to determine whether his disguise is occasioned by insanity or design. He lately sat to several distinguished artists for a figure in their historical pictures; and, under all the circumstances of his conduct, he is considered a most extraordinary character.

Joseph Bonaparte's Government.—The French papers state, that Joseph Bonaparte, in his assumed character of king of Spain, has made the following appointments:

Ministers.—Their excellencies don Louis Mariano de Urquijo, secretary of state; don Pedro Cevallos, minister for foreign affairs;

don Michael Joseph de Azanza, minister for the Indies; admiral don Joseph Massaredo, minister of the marine; general don Gonzalo O'Farrill, minister of war; don Gaspar Melchor de Jovellanos, minister of the interior; count Cabarrus, minister of finance; and Sebastian Pinuela, minister of justice.

Captains of the Body-guards.

Their excellencies duke del Parque, grandee of Spain; duke de St. Germain, grandee of Spain.

Colonels of Guards.—Their excellencies duke de l'Infantado, colonel of the Spanish guards; prince Castel Franco, colonel of the Walloon guards; marquis d'Ariza, great chamberlain; duke de Hijar, grand master of the ceremonies; count Ferdinand Nemes, grand huntsman; count Santa Coloma, chamberlain. (All grandees of Spain.)

The following chamberlains have been appointed to attend king Joe, on his journey to Madrid:—

Their excellencies count Orgaz, grandee of Spain; marquis Santa Cruz, grandee of Spain; duke D'Ossuna, grandee of Spain; count Castel Florida; and duke De' Sola Mayer, grandee of Spain.

Constantinople, July 31.—This capital has been, since the evening of the 28th, in a state of the greatest consternation. Sultan Selim wished to re-establish the authority of the Porte, and to keep a well-paid standing army on foot. It was this which occasioned his fall on the 28th of May, 1807. Meutapha Bairactar, pacha of Rudschuck, a man of the best intentions, proposed a plan for re-establishing that which the 28th of May had destroyed. He came to Constantinople with a corps of trusty

trusty troops, caused the famous Kavagky-Oglou, commandant of the castles of the Dardanelles, and chief author of conspiring against sultan Selim, to be beheaded, the mufti and all the new ministers of the sultan Mustapha to be deposed, the aga of the janissaries to be strangled, and the most important posts of Constantinople to be occupied by his troops. The grand vizier, the new mufti, and several other members of the divan, declared themselves the partisans of Mustapha Bairactar.

The sultan had no suspicion of his project: on the contrary, he thought himself as secure, that on the 8th instant, he repaired in the morning to Besostach. But the sultan mother having got information of it on the 28th, Mustapha IV. returned with all expedition by sea to the seraglio, whilst the pasha of Rudschuck was entering it by land. The pacha caused the new mufti to inform him that Selim only was lawful emperor. Mustapha, far from following the example given on the 28th of May by his uncle Selim, who voluntarily descended from the throne, ordered the inner gates of the seraglio to be shut. The soldiers of the pacha, however, speedily effected an entrance, but they found the unfortunate Selim dead, and covered with blood. Seized with horror at this spectacle, Mustapha Bairactar and the grandees of the porte, caused prince Mahomet, the last branch of the reigning dynasty, to be immediately proclaimed emperor. This prince, who is about fifteen years of age, has for the last fifteen months been confined with the sultan Selim, who during that space

instructed him in the art of government.

On the 29th, the unfortunate Selim was buried at Your, by the side of his father. The pacha of Rudschuck, the whole of his army, and all the respectable inhabitants of this capital, attended the funeral. During these melancholy occurrences, the public tranquillity was not in the slightest degree interrupted. The greater part of the assassins of Selim have been executed. We know not whether the deposed sultan is still living. Some people assert that he has been strangled. Mustapha Bairactar has taken possession of the grand seal. The grand vizier is a prisoner in his camp, for having revealed to the sultan mother the plan of replacing Selim on the throne. There is no doubt that the pacha will soon be appointed grand vizier.

Eleven of the principal partisans of the sultan Mustapha were this day strangled in the seraglio. The kisa-aga (chief of the eunuchs) who assisted in the murder of Selim, was executed on the 29th.

AUGUST.

From the Oviedo Gazette Extraordinary.—Madrid, Aug. 2.—On the 29th ultimo, about four o'clock in the evening, it was reported that Joseph Napoleon was marching, that all the troops in the city were following him. The report was confirmed by the movements made by the French millnars, and all those of that nation who did not belong to the army. The same evening they withdrew from the hospitals,

hospitals, and conducted to Retiro all the infirm soldiers. They put in requisition all the carriages and horses that could be found, and the troops prepared to march. In fact, that very night, and on the morning of the 30th, a great part of the army, the sick, milliners, tradespeople, &c. of the French nation, set out. On the whole day of the 30th, there followed preparations for the march of Joseph and the remainder of the army. He dined at half past four in the afternoon, in order to proceed, in the dusk, to sleep at Chamartin. The carriages were harnessed, and repaired to the court of the palace, but the coachmen and mule-drivers, and most of the attendants of the royal carriages, had disappeared; on which account Joseph could not depart that night, and was obliged to suspend his journey to the morning of the 31st, when he departed on horseback, as he was unable to put the carriages in motion. The same morning, he took from the stables all the mules, horses, and harness, and shamefully sold all at the lowest price. In the evening of the same day, they forced open the gates of the public treasury and bank, putting the people in such terror that we passed a most anxious night, thinking that a general pillage was about to take place. They took from those buildings above fourteen millions. At two in the morning of the 1st instant was heard a cannonade, which, though at first it was taken for a fatal signal, was in fact but the precursor of the brightest and happiest day that ever rose over Madrid. On this signal all the guards were withdrawn, and all the French filed off

towards the parade, whence they marched off. Scarcely did day appear, when all the people ran through the streets, and the posts of the guards, but nothing was to be found. They passed to the Retiro, and there they found only a few dying wretches, and here and there a dead body. They beheld, with amazement, the ditches, palisadoes, and terrible batteries, directed against this city. The gun-carriages were in flames, above 70 cannon were spiked, and about 2000 barrels of powder thrown into a large pond. The inhabitants of Madrid, on seeing themselves delivered from this destructive apparatus, gave thanks to the Supreme Being, and immediately began to assume, for their badge, the portrait of Ferdinand VII.

The house of a supposed pauper, in Colchester, who has taken relief from his parish for nine years past, to the sum of 42*l.* 7*s.* was lately searched under circumstances which led to a supposition that he had sufficient property to support himself; when the sum of 189*l.* 7*s.* 6*d.* in cash, was found hoarded upon the premises, together with seven chests, each having from three to six locks, and containing the following articles:—32 coats, 11 jackets, 42 waistcoats, 36 pairs of breeches and pantaloons, 33 pairs of stockings, 20 sheets, 6 new hats, 12 pairs of boots and shoes, 7 pairs of silver shoe and knee buckles, 14 silk and other handkerchiefs, &c. all of which it appeared he had regularly purchased at different periods, and which were of the best quality.

A plain stone in Carmarthen church-yard covers the remains of the once celebrated sir Richard Steele,

Steele, whose house in that town is now converted into the Ivy-bush inn.

4. *Grand Dinner to the Spanish Deputies, by the Merchants and Bankers of London, at the City of London Tavern.*—This sumptuous feast, indicative of the sympathy which England feels in the glorious cause of Spain, was on Thursday attended by a company of noblemen and gentlemen, comprehending a very large proportion of the mercantile wealth of the British metropolis. No former occasion within our memory, was equally distinguished by the respect and opulence of the company. It was not a party meeting, for men of all parties are equally ardent and zealous in the cause which has aroused the people of Spain. And we saw, therefore, embodied the heads of all the great companies of the first mercantile and banking-houses, together with several ministers of the country, statesmen out of place, foreign ministers, and other illustrious characters—all eager to testify to the illustrious deputies from Spain, the interest which they felt in the deliverance of their country.

The company did not sit down to dinner till seven o'clock. There were six tables lengthways, and one cross table in the large room, in which 328 noblemen and gentlemen sat down; and in the adjoining room there were 72, making together 400 persons; and it is not an exaggeration to say, that their united property was not less than fifteen millions of money. The decoration of the head table was splendid.

The parterre, or sand work, represented, in one place, Britannia offering her assistance to Spain; in

another, Fame supporting a medallion, on which were inscribed the names of the different provinces of Spain who have stood the foremost in resisting the common enemy; in another, the figure of Time crowning the Spanish Patriot's flag with laurel; in another, the figure of Hope leaning on the rock of Justice; in other parts, the arms and standards of Spain intermixed with those of England, with different mottos, such as "Vencer ó Morir," "Success to the Spanish Heroes," &c. &c. The ornaments stood from seven to eight feet high, portraying in one part, the battle of the Nile, with the blowing up of l'Orient; in another, trophies of flags, &c. &c.; at the tops of all, the royal standards of England and Spain, the whole finished with garlands and bouquets of flowers, China figures, vases, &c. &c.

The dinner consisted of one *full service, with removes*—a plan of dinner for so large a company infinitely better adapted to comfort than that of division into several courses. It was served with the regularity and alacrity of a private board. There was drest for the day 2500lbs. weight of turtle, and the intervals between the tureens had every delicacy in season—the removes were haunches of venison. The dessert was extremely magnificent in ices and fruits, and contained about 600 pieces.

Inn-keepers and others, who keep horses to run this very hot season of the year; ought to provide the following medicine, that every coachman or post-boy may have it in readiness to give to those horses taken sick upon the road:—

Recipe.—Take tincture balsamic, and compound spirits of ammoniac, each

each one ounce; prepared kali, two drachms; one cordial ball, or, in its stead, one ounce of ginger root, fresh powdered: to be given in a pint and a half, or a quart, of cold water. This will greatly refresh the animal; and in general prevent those ill consequences which occur daily through heat and over-driving. If the beating or palpitation of the heart be severe, add two drachms of tincture of opium to the above, which may be repeated every two hours, if required.

Brighton, August 4.—A melancholy affair took place on-board the Port Mahon gun-brig, lying to off the town, on Tuesday evening. Mr. Thorn, the surgeon of the vessel, who had long been in rather a deranged state, committed an act of suicide, by cutting his throat in a most dreadful manner with a razor. He had retired to rest in the vessel about nine o'clock on Tuesday evening, having previously observed to his servant that he was ill, and desired him to procure an opium pill from the medicine chest, which the man accordingly did, and then left him. On the following morning, on entering his master's room, he found him quite dead and weltering in his blood; and to all appearance he had been so for several hours, as the blood had coagulated about him, and the body was cold and stiff. The wound was inflicted under the right ear, towards the windpipe, the latter not being injured; in length about four inches, and in depth quite as many. The body was removed from the vessel to the Town-house here last night, where the coroner's inquest was held to-day. Verdict—*Lunacy*. His remains will be interred this evening.

A curious *lusus nature* appeared in a breed of three young canaries, hatched lately at Aberdeen in a breeding-cage.—The birds are all healthy, and now fully fledged, but they are entirely without feet.

Summary Execution of Justice.—On Wednesday evening, about seven o'clock, as the daughter of a noble peer was walking up the Haymarket, leaving her carriage at the entrance into Pall Mall, she was accosted by a middle-aged person in the most indecent manner. She paid no attention to what he said. At last, however, he attempted to kiss her, and take other indecent liberties, when she screamed, and fainted with fright. A gentleman caught hold of her and supported her. The culprit was seized by some gentlemen who had witnessed his misconduct, and conducted to a pump, where he was drenched for half an hour. They then delivered him to the mob, who introduced him to another pump at Charing-cross, where they amused themselves by pumping upon him for an hour longer, and then allowed him to depart, with a number of bruises and a broken head.

Joseph Bonaparte arrived at Madrid so early as the 20th of July, seven days before he was expected. He was received with sullen silence; no guns were fired by the Spaniards, nor did any species of rejoicing take place on the occasion. The bell-ringers refused their usual office, which being considered an unpardonable offence, three of them were taken into custody, and on the following day, after a summary trial, put to death. It is said, that a few hired tinkers (menders of saucepans and kettles) appeared before the palace, and saluted

lated the new sovereign by the noise produced by beating their pots and kettles with sticks, and these men cried, "Long live king Joseph." The people positively refused to assemble on the occasion, and every appearance indicated a speedy renewal of the occurrence of the 2d of May.

12. The following official bulletin was issued by our government on the 11th inst.:

Intelligence was this morning received by government from lieutenant-colonel Doyle, dated Coruna, August 4, at midnight. The lieutenant-colonel states, that he had read a letter, dated Madrid, 27th July, which says, that on that morning the French had commenced their retreat from that city; that Joseph Bonaparte had quitted Madrid, and had taken away every thing of value belonging to the court. Every Frenchman was following him, and they were taking the direction to Burgos. The writer of the letter is nephew to a member of the junta of the Gallicias.

The entry into, and retreat of the would-be king of Spain from the capital of Madrid, afford a contrast at once striking and gratifying. With a parade blazoned forth in the foreign papers, Joseph Bonaparte enters Spain, his route is marked out with the utmost nicety; to-day at Bilbao, to-morrow at Victoria; on the 16th at Burgos, on the 20th at Madrid. Europe was desirous to believe that this notice of his route was given, that the impatient Spaniards might be prepared to receive him with fêtes, with illuminations, and with all the pomp and circumstance which generally attend accessions. We

were told, that clemency and affability were in his train,—he pardoned the guilty, he conversed with the utmost graciousness with the poorest of his new subjects; his march was described rather as the march of a monarch who had saved his country, and who, after some great and decisive victory, was returning in triumph to his capital, amid the thanks, the gratitude, and the benedictions of his people. He enters the capital on the 20th, and on the 27th he sneaks from it in the dead of the night with fear and trembling; he enters it with all the pride and retinue of an eastern sultan, and he is glad to depart with the court plate in his pocket to pay the expences of his journey. On the Monday he exposes his august person to the eager view of the populace, and on the Saturday he is glad to take away his august person with all possible secrecy and dispatch: he enters Madrid as a powerful monarch, he quits it as a petty thief. Pride and insult accompany his arrival; fear and felony attend his departure. Such are the Bonapartes: if they cannot govern, they can steal; and if they are not permitted to play the parts of kings, they will content themselves with playing the parts of thieves.

The Pope's Protest.—The pope has published a very long and energetic protest against the usurpations of Bonaparte, and his unprincipled attacks on the holy see, particularly the decree of spoliation of the pope's temporal states, and the other decree, which enjoins all cardinals, prelates, and officers, holding any employment at the court of Rome, who are natives of Italy, to return, under the penalty of their whole

whole property in case of disobedience. Therefore his holiness protests against a law, which spares not even distinguished ecclesiastics, chosen to assist him in his labours for the church of God. His holiness at the same time strongly protests, in the face of all the earth, against the usurpation of his states. He solemnly declares it to be unjust, vain, void, and of no avail; and that it can never truly affect the imprescriptible and legitimate rights of sovereignty and possession of his holiness and successors for ever; and if force shall deprive him of its possession, he is determined to maintain the integrity of his rights, because the holy see can recover the real possession, when it may please the true and faithful God, who fights for justice, and who hath inscribed on his garments and forehead the King of kings and Lord of lords.

Sir J. Piers, who has been so long an exile from Ireland in consequence of the verdict against him for seducing lady Cloncurry, has committed suicide in the isle of Man, which has been some time the place of his retreat. The cause of this unfortunate man's catastrophe is of a most melancholy nature. He had debauched the daughter of a respectable clergyman, who, on discovering his disgrace, instantly shot himself; and it was upon hearing of this that Sir J. Piers put an end to his existence by shooting himself through the head. The unhappy female is in a state of distraction that threatens her life.

Ireland. Armagh Assizes.

Trial of Major Campbell, 21st Regiment.—Alexander Campbell, brevet major in the army, and a captain in the 21st regiment, stood

indicted for the wilful and felonious murder of Alexander Boyd, a captain in said regiment, by shooting him, the said Alexander Boyd, with a pistol-bullet. To support this indictment, the first witness produced was—

George Adams, who stated, he has been assistant-surgeon in the 21st regiment since April twelve months; he knew major Campbell and captain Boyd. In June 1807 they were quartered in the barracks in the county of Armagh, side of Newry. On the 23d of said month captain B. died of a wound he received by a pistol-bullet, which penetrated the extremity of the four false ribs, and lodged in the cavity of the belly. On that day the regiment was inspected by general Kerr, and after the inspection the general and officers messed together; about eight o'clock all the officers left the mess, except major Campbell, captain Boyd; witness, and a lieutenant Hall. A conversation then commenced by major Campbell, stating, "general Kerr corrected him that day about a particular mode of giving a word of command, when he conceived he gave it right;" he mentioned how he gave it, and how the general corrected him. Captain Boyd remarked, "neither was correct, according to Dundas, which is the king's order." (This observation, witness stated, was made in the usual mode of conversation.) Major Campbell said it might not be according to the king's order, but still he conceived it was not incorrect. Captain B. still insisted, "it was not correct, according to the king's order." They argued this some time, till captain B. said, "he knew it as well as any man." Major

for C. replied, "he doubted that much." Captain Boyd at length said, "he knew it better than him, let him take that as he liked." Major Campbell then got up, and said, "then, captain Boyd, do you say I am wrong?" Captain B. replied, "I do—I know I am right according to the king's order." Major C. then quitted the room. Captain B. remained after him for some time; he left the room before witness or lieut. Hall, but no observation was made on his going more than any other gentleman that had dined there. Witness and lieut. Hall went out together in a short time after; they went to a second mess-room, and there captain Boyd came up and spoke to them; (the conversation was not admitted, as major Campbell was not present at it.) They then went out together, and witness left captain Boyd at lieut. Deivaris's. In about 20 minutes after he was called on to visit captain Boyd; he went, and found him sitting on a chair vomiting; he examined his wound, and conceived it a very dangerous one; he survived it but 18 hours; he staid with him till he died, during which time he got gradually worse till his dissolution.

On his cross-examination, he stated, there was something irritating in captain Boyd's manner of making the observation alluded to; so much so, that he conceives major Campbell could not, consistent with his feelings, pass it over; but if a candid explanation had taken place, he does not conceive the melancholy affair would have occurred.

John Hoey stated, that he is mess-waiter of the 21st regiment, and was so then. He remembers

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the night this affair took place; knew major Campbell and captain Boyd; he saw major C. that night in a room where he was washing glasses: major Campbell had quitted the room about ten or fifteen minutes; as major Campbell was coming up stairs, capt. Boyd was leaving the mess-room, and they met on the stair-head; both went into the mess-waiter's-room, and there remained ten or fifteen minutes, when they separated. Prisoner, in about twenty minutes, came again to witness, and desired him to go to capt. Boyd, and tell him a gentleman wished to speak to him if he pleased; he accordingly went in search of capt. Boyd; he found him on the parade-ground; he delivered the message, and capt. Boyd accompanied him to the mess-room; no one was there; witness pointed to a little room off it, as the room the gentleman was in; he then went to the mess-kitchen, and in eight or ten minutes, he heard the report of a shot; thought nothing of it till he heard another; he then went to the mess-room, and there saw captain Boyd, and lieutenants Hall and M'Pherson; captain B. was sitting on a chair vomiting; major Campbell was gone, but in about ten or twelve minutes he came to the room where witness was washing some glasses; major C. asked for candles; he got a pair, and brought them into the small room: major C. showed the witness the corners of the room in which each person stood, which distance measured seven paces; he never saw major Campbell after till a week ago, though witness never quitted the regiment, and retained his employment.

John M'Pherson stated, that he

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is lieutenant in said regiment; knew major Campbell and capt. Boyd; recollects the day of the duel; on the evening of that day, going up stairs about nine o'clock, he heard, as he thought, major Campbell say—"On the word of a dying man, is every thing fair?" He got up before captain Boyd replied; he said, "*Campbell, you have hurried me—you're a bad man.*" Witness was in coloured clothes, and major C. did not know him, but said again—"Boyd, before this stranger and lieut. Hall, was every thing fair?" Capt. B. replied—"O no, *Campbell, you know I wanted you to wait, and have friends.*" Major C. then said, "Good God! will you mention before these gentlemen, was not every thing fair? did not you say you were ready?"—Capt. B. answered "yes," but in a moment after said, "*Campbell, you're a bad man.*" Capt. B. was helped into the next room, and major C. followed, much agitated, and repeatedly said to capt. B. that he (Boyd) was the happiest man of the two; "I am (said major C.) an unfortunate man, but I hope not a bad one." Major C. asked capt. B. if he forgave him? he stretched out his hand and said, "I forgive you—I feel for you, and I am sure you do for me.—Major C. then left the room.

Duncan Dewar, adjutant of the regiment, who was with captain Boyd for some time after he was wounded, was produced to show captain Boyd's firm conviction he would die in consequence of that wound, in order to let in his declaration then made as evidence; but captain B. not having (before him) expressed such a conviction, that evidence failed.

Surgeon W. S. Nice was produced to the same point, and likewise failed.

Colonel Paterson, of the 21st regiment, was produced to the same point, and also failed.

George Sutherland, quarter-master of said regiment, was produced to the same point; he stated he saw him ten minutes before he died; he was in bed, agitated with pain, in his senses, but rolling in the bed; he did not, however, say to him he thought he was dying.

Upon this a special verdict was directed to the jury to enquire whether captain Boyd, ten minutes before his death, and under the circumstances stated, must or must not have known he was dying. After some short deliberation, they found for the affirmative of this issue—(that he must have known it.) The declaration was then admitted, but none could be proved within that place, except his asking for major C. and his saying, "Poor man, I am sorry for him."

John Greenhill was produced merely to prove that major C. had time to cool after the altercation took place; inasmuch as he went home, drank tea with his family, and gave him a box to leave with lieut. Hall, before the affair took place. Here the prosecution closed.

The defence set up was merely and exclusively as to the character of the prisoner for humanity, peaceable conduct, and proper behaviour; to this several officers of the highest rank were produced, who vouched for it to the fullest extent, namely, colonel Paterson, of the 21st regiment, general Campbell, general Graham Stirling, captain Macpherson, captain Menzies, colonel Gray, and many others, whom

whom it was unnecessary to produce.

The learned judge charged the jury in a most able manner, recapitulated the evidence, and explained the law on the subject most fully and clearly. The jury retired, and in about half an hour brought in a verdict—*GUILTY OF MURDER, but recommended him to mercy on the score of character only.* He was sentenced to be executed on Monday, but respited to Wednesday se'nnight.

16. *Bristol.*—The storm of last night appears to have exceeded, in awful phenomena, any one recorded for many years past. Unlike the tempests of the milder zones, the thunder was remarked to roll in one continuous roar for upwards of an hour and a half, during which time, and long afterwards, the flashes of lightning followed each other in the most rapid and uninterrupted succession. But the most tremendous circumstance attending this elemental tumult was the destructive hail-shower which accompanied its progress. It may be doubted, however, whether such a name be applicable to this extraordinary phenomenon; since the masses of ice which fell on the places where the tempest most fiercely raged, bore no resemblance to hail-stones in formation or magnitude, most of them being of a very irregular and polygonal shape, broad, flat, and ragged; and many of them measuring from three to nine inches in circumference. They appeared like fragments of one vast plate of ice, and broken into small masses in its descent towards the earth. The tempest arose in the south-west, and, spreading to the north-west, gradually died away

in the north-east. At Frenchay, there were between 14 and 1500 panes of glass broken, a large field of beans entirely destroyed, and many bushels of wall-fruit picked up; the loss is estimated at little less than 200*l.* The row of trees before Mr. Tucker's house at Moorend was so broken, that the leaves and small branches lay in the road a foot deep. The windows of J. R. Lucas, esq. at Stapleton, and of Mr. alderman Claxton, at Aldmondsbury, were most of them broken.

At Newton, Corston, and Kelston, most of the windows that lay in the direction of the storm have been broken, as well as the glass of the hot-house, &c. in the gardens; and many windows in the mansions of W. G. Langton, esq. at Newton; of sir John Hawkins, at Kelston; of James Stevens, esq. at Camerton; and of — Jolliffe, esq. Amerdown. The plantations and shrubberies of Mr. Langton were covered with leaves and branches of trees, and the pines and other plants in his hot-houses destroyed. In the south and west fronts of Mr. Jolliffe's mansion not a pane of glass was left whole; and the ground was even the next morning covered with ice that fell.

At Mr. Dickinson's, Kingsweston, Somerset, the storm was tremendous. All the windows on the south-west side of the house were broken; and many rooks were picked up on the lawn, killed by the weight of the hail-stones.

Law Intelligence.—In the king's bench, at Guildhall, an action of damages, at the suit of sir John Carr, knt. against Messrs. Hood and Sharpe, booksellers.

The plaintiff had writ

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riety of books of travels, of which he made a considerable emolument. The defendants had published a book, called "My Pocket Book," ridiculing the plaintiff's writings, and in consequence of which he was prevented from disposing of a manuscript Tour through Scotland. For this he sought damages, not only to the amount of the loss sustained, but to deter others from sending forth such scandalous and scurrilous publications.

Mr. Johnson, bookseller, proved that he purchased the manuscript of *The Stranger* in France, from the plaintiff for 100*l.* Sir Richard Phillips deposed that he purchased from the plaintiff his *Northern Summer Tour* in the Baltic for 500*l.* *The Stranger* in Ireland he gave him 700*l.* for; and for his *Tour* through Holland 600*l.* He had seen the manuscript of the *Tour* through Scotland, and would have given 600*l.* if it had not been for *My Pocket Book*, which he heard had depreciated the works of the plaintiff so much that it deterred him. Sir Richard was cross-examined by the attorney-general, who asked if he ever read reviews: to which he answered, that he did not; abhorring the scurrility, partiality, and misrepresentation with which they abounded, and knowing, as he did, the manner in which they were manufactured. He had, he allowed, for some time been a publisher of the *Oxford Review*, which had been set up as an experiment, to try if a review free from scurrility would succeed; which it did not. Being asked if he had not read *The Edinburgh Review*, he said, he did not remember to have read more than two or three of the first numbers, unless he might oc-

asionally turn it over in a bookseller's shop; and the same as to the other reviews mentioned by the attorney-general. He was asked if he himself published no anonymous books. He said, he published a great many; but they contained no scurrility or abuse. He was asked, had he not published books, intitled *Anecdotes of the Founders of the French Republic*, and *Public Characters*, with some others? [Here lord Ellenborough said, the witness need not answer this question to criminate himself.] Sir Richard warmly replied, that he was ready to answer that, and all other questions the attorney-general might choose to ask, and was in no degree afraid to criminate himself by acknowledging the contents of any work he had ever published. He, therefore, courted the questions of the attorney-general rather than shrunk from them, exclaiming, God forbid that he should be ashamed to avow, in that place, every act of his life. Nothing was gained by the cross-examination, which lasted above an hour.

The attorney-general, in his reply, declared sir Richard Phillips must either have slipped in his testimony, or he was the greatest fool on earth, to be, as he was, the greatest publisher of books in London, and not to read the reviews of his works, and treat with his authors accordingly. The publication called *My Pocket Book*, the learned gentleman contended, was nothing more than a fair criticism of a book which deserved to be held up to public ridicule.

Lord Ellenborough observed that every man had a right to criticize the writings of another, and even to hold

hold them up to ridicule, so that he cast no personal reflections on the author. If fair criticism injured the sale of a work, it was *damnum absque injuriâ*. As to the present question, if the criticism went beyond observations on the work or on the author, merely as such, it was actionable, and not otherwise. The jury found for the defendant. The duke of Bedford, and other noblemen, friends of sir J. Carr, were on the bench.

Bayonne, now contaminated by the presence of Bonaparte, once belonged to England, and was, for a considerable time, the residence of our favourite hero, Edward the Black Prince. It is remarkable, that he there received the visit of Pedro, the exiled king of Castile, who requested his assistance in the re-conquest of his kingdom; and from that place the English force marched, which did restore him.

Understanding and Memory.—That the understanding may be so perfect and mechanical as to survive even the loss of memory itself, the following instances fully prove: De Lagny, the mathematician, for two days had lain in a deep lethargy, and had not known even his own children. Maupertois abruptly, and with a very loud voice, asked him what was the square of 12?—144, replied a feeble lingering remain of the expiring intellect. The celebrated physician, Chuac, was much in the same state, and without any power of recollecting those near his death-bed. His right hand mechanically laid hold of his left, and feeling his pulse, he exclaimed, "They have called me too late. The patient has been bled, and he should have been evacuated. He is a dead man."—The

prediction and prognostic were soon after verified.

Guildford Assizes, August, 19.

Charge of Murder.—William Pilkington was tried on an indictment charging him with the wilful murder of Montague William Hyndes, at the Maze, Southwark, on Friday se'nnight, by discharging a pistol loaded with ball. The prisoner, who married the daughter of the deceased, and who was also the step-son of Hyndes, who married his mother, was alone with the deceased, in the parlour of the Red Lion public-house, in the Maze, when a pistol was discharged which killed the father. It was proved on all hands, that the prisoner was very much inebriated, and that his father and he lived on the most affectionate terms.

The prisoner made a very artless defence, in a way so truly penitent and distressed, that tears of sympathy were flowing in every part of the court. He professed his wretchedness, and the sincere love he bore his father, whom he had for a length of time maintained, and never excited his anger.

After a humane charge from the lord chief-baron, the jury returned a verdict of manslaughter.—The prisoner was sentenced to be imprisoned twelve months.

In consequence of the embargo, the United States have suffered a loss of 48,000,000 of dollars, which sum, at seventeen dollars to the pound weight, would weigh two millions eight hundred and twenty-three pounds weight; and it would require to carry it, one thousand two hundred and sixty waggons (allowing each waggon to carry one ton gross weight); and the distance each waggon would occupy (allow-

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ing each waggon 72 feet) would be seventeen miles. Forty-eight millions of dollars, placed edge to edge, in a straightline, would extend over a space of one thousand one hundred and thirty-four miles. The above sum would be sufficient to furnish one hundred and twenty sail of the line, completely equipped for a twelvemonth's cruise.—*New York Paper.*

British Navy.—It must be proudly gratifying to the minds of Britons, as it must be degradingly mortifying to the spirit of Bonaparte, to know that we have at this moment in the British navy sixty-eight sail of the line, prizes taken from the enemies of this country at different periods, besides 21 ships carrying from 40 to 50 guns each; 62 ships from 30 to 40 guns each; 15, carrying from 20 to 30 guns each; and 66, from 10 to 20 guns each; making a total of two hundred and thirty-two ships; a navy of itself equal to cope with the united navies of France and her vassal allies, without adding thereto near 20 sail of the line, besides smaller vessels, now in our service, built on the bottoms of prizes, in lieu of such as have been casually lost.

From the Oviedo Gazette.

Oviedo, August 20.—All the French troops are in full retreat from Madrid, by the way of Vittoria. Joseph Bonaparte was to leave Burgos on the 12th in the evening; marshal Moncey, who commands the rear guard of the retreating army, was to remain there; and the division of Bessieres was then entering the town. Castanos is said to have entered Madrid on the 5th instant.

The French entered Bilbao on the 16th ult. but not without ob-

stinate resistance. The town offered a contribution of eight millions of reals: and it is expected the French will evacuate it in a few days. Col. Doyle is with the army of gen. Blake, the head quarters of which are at Astorga.

On the day the French entered Bilbao, capt. Towers, of the *Iris*, landed there, spiked 43 pieces of cannon, and destroyed 500 barrels of powder; but he had scarcely left the batteries, when the French entered the town, and he with difficulty got away.

On the 4th ult. Lefebvre made a fresh attempt on Saragossa, and entered the city with 14,000 men, but after a most sanguinary conflict, was driven out again with the loss of from 4 to 5,000 of his troops.

The French garrison in Barcelona is said to have proposed to capitulate.

23. Mr. Hetherington of Branthwaite Hall, Lancashire, is thought to have the finest crop of barley ever seen growing in any part of the kingdom. It is estimated, by competent judges, to yield not less than 70 Winchester bushels per acre!

Correct Account of the late Coach Race, from authority of the Parties.—Started from Leicester on the 7th instant, the Patriot coach, at 7 h. 50 min. past, to Nottingham; arrived there exactly twelve minutes past ten o'clock; performed by Thomas Pettifor to Loughborough, and Simpson to Nottingham, carrying about six passengers.—Started from Leicester on the same morning, the Defiance coach, at 7 h. 55 min. past, to Nottingham; arrived there exactly ten minutes past ten o'clock, carrying 13 passengers; ran by the Patriot near to Costock, in Nottinghamshire; performed

formed by W. Pettifor to Loughborough, and B. Bower to Nottingham.

On the late return of Bonaparte's birth-day, some of the French officers, who are prisoners at Ashby-de-la-Zouch, in Leicestershire, prepared to celebrate it: the design was opposed by others of their brethren, and a quarrel ensued, in which several of them were wounded, and military force was necessary to restore order.—At Litchfield, where there is a number of French officers, some of them of high rank, they not only passed over the anniversary without notice, but in strong language reprobated Napoleon and his proceedings.

The following singular act of heroism has been communicated as a fact, on the authenticity of which our readers may rely. While Mr. Turner, now resident at Kildwick, in the west Riding of Yorkshire, was in India, in the Company's service, he and five of his comrades in arms, when tracing one of the extensive wilds in that country, were menaced with an attack from a royal Bengal tyger. The animal was making towards them with full speed, and his companions, intimidated by the ferocious aspect of the enemy, sought their safety in flight, and in order to disencumber themselves from every thing that might retard their escape, left their muskets on the field. In the midst of this general panic, Mr. Turner stood undismayed, and before the animal reached him, had discharged his musket, and lodged several shots in his body. Rendered furious by the torture, the tyger now came to close quarters, when the intrepid soldier received him with a fixed bayonet, which by some accident came from the muzzle of the fire-

lock, and lodged in the animal's foot. The tyger's eyes flashed fire, and making a second spring at his adversary, seized him by the loins, and had it not been for his cartouch box and side-arms, which broke the force of the ravenous gripe, certain death must have ensued. In this dreadful dilemma, vibrating as it were betwixt life and death, Mr. Turner had the good fortune to fix his hands in one of the wounds of his furious assailant, and by a preternatural effort of strength derived from his perilous situation, tore open the wound, and laid his enemy lifeless at his feet. From this daring and heroic action, he obtained the name of the Man-tyger, and the East-India Company settled upon him a pension for life.

Queen of the Bees.—The following facts shew that death itself does not destroy the attachment of bees to their female monarchs. On the 29th of July, two hives swarmed at the same time, in a garden belonging to Henry Hargrave, esq. near Norwood, and fixed themselves on one bush. One of the gardeners in the family immediately placed a large hive above them, into which, in a short time, the greatest part crept. Great commotion was soon discovered amongst them, and a large detachment suffered themselves to drop on the ground, where they remained for a long time in a motionless state. Mr. H. desirous of exploring the cause, roused them up with a small stick: when all were on the wing, a bee was found quite dead, which appeared to be much less than the drone bee, and less than the working bee, whose wings were short and of variegated colours, which appeared to have
F 4 been

been the object of attraction ; for no sooner did he withdraw, than the dispersed fraternity alighted and clung to it as before. This experiment was repeated several times with the same result. Convinced that this was one of the queens, he took her and placed her in a small box, and to try the loyalty and attachment of her former subjects, frequently exposes her in the height of day in different parts of the garden, where she is soon discovered by the prying insects, which never fail to alight around her in large clusters, seemingly bewailing the loss of their female monarch.

The lady of major Campbell, now or lately under sentence of death in Ireland, for the murder of a brother officer, has been incessant in her application to obtain the royal mercy in behalf of her unfortunate husband. She has on her knees solicited, in the most pathetic terms, the intercession not only of her majesty, but also of all the royal princesses ; she also went to Brighton to wait on his royal highness the prince of Wales, who, with that generosity which so much distinguishes his character, immediately wrote a note to the duke of Portland, on that melancholy occasion. This note Mrs. Campbell presented to his grace ; who, we understand, gave no hopes that her application would be attended with success. It is said that the crime was committed under such aggravating circumstances, as to leave no room for the exercise of the royal clemency. It is believed, that major Campbell (who is first cousin to the earl of Breadalbane) suffered the awful sentence of the law on Thursday last.

24. A London gazette extraor-

dinary contains dispatches received from admiral Keats, dated the 13th inst., off the island of Sproe, in the Great Belt. They state, that the Spanish troops in the island of Fuhnen, under the command of the marquis de la Romana, "though surrounded," as the gallant admiral observes, "by hostile battalions, planted their colours in the centre of a circle they formed, and swore on their knees to be faithful to their country." All were equally anxious of returning to it. But one regiment in Jutland was too distant and too critically situated to effect its escape ; and two in Zealand (after having fired on the French general Frision, who harangued them in favour of king Joseph, and killed one of his aides-de-camp) were disarmed."

On the 9th inst. the marquis of Romana, with 6000 troops, took possession of the town of Nybourg, in the island of Fuhnen, and was joined on the day of his embarkation by 1000 more from Jutland ; and another thousand had been sent to strengthen the existing Spanish position at Langeland ; so that, including this last force, said to be 2500, here are certainly 10,500 brave men restored to their country, or at least rescued from the tyranny of its scourge.

What could be so sublimely impressive, as the spectacle of this band of Spanish patriots, who, when called upon by their perfidious oppressors to desert their allegiance, and transfer it to an usurper, planted their colours, threw themselves on their knees, and with eyes attesting the Almighty, swore to be faithful to their king and country ! Such was their proud attitude, though relegated in

in a distant land, and surrounded by hostile and barbarous battalions ready to devour them! What a splendid triumph for patriotism and loyalty! What an affecting and instructing scene for sovereigns and subjects! What a striking example! What a salutary lesson for other nations! There they may learn, that no human force can break a resolution inspired on such motives, no face of peril appall a courage that is kindled from above!

What a damning contrast is here furnished between the heroism of the Spanish people, and the abject baseness of those that would enslave them! On one side we are attracted to admire truth, moderation, manliness, generosity, patriotism, and loyalty; on the other, we have to loathe falsehood, violence, malignity, hypocrisy, and servility to the meanest tyrant that ever trampled on the necks of men. At one moment we are reading the authentic account of the undaunted spirit and strenuous efforts with which the Spanish troops have braved the tyrant's threats, and eluded his iron grasp; at the next we find the basely lying assertion (in the French and Dutch papers), that these brave men have taken the oath of allegiance to the usurper with every demonstration of enthusiastic loyalty.

King Joseph Bonaparte appointed a new constitution for his late subjects of Naples, which has been formally guaranteed by his brother Napoleon.

The grand duke of Berg (Murat) was proclaimed king of Naples on the first instant. Should the princess Caroline, his wife, and sister to Napoleon, survive her con-

sort, she is to succeed to the throne. The new king has commenced his reign with issuing a proclamation, in which he declares his intention to abide by the constitution promulgated by his predecessor, king Joseph, and guaranteed by Napoleon.

25. *Major Campbell.*—This unfortunate officer suffered at twelve o'clock at noon, on Wednesday week, amidst a vast multitude of spectators. He met his death with pious and becoming fortitude, having spent his last moments with Dr. Bowie, the father of his amiable and distressed widow. His body, after having been suspended the usual time, was put into a hearse in waiting, which left the town immediately, escorted by Dr. B. for Ayr, in Scotland, to be interred in the family vault. To describe the distresses of the fond wife of the deceased, would be impossible. Mrs. Campbell, who, it is already known, has used every effort to preserve the life of her partner, left London by the Glasgow mail on Saturday night, frantic betwixt hope and despair, but still cheered with the probability of her solicitude obtaining, at least, another respite. On Monday morning, the friend of her husband, at whose house, in Bury-street, St. James's, she resided, whilst in London, received a letter from the lady's father, with the intelligence that "major Campbell was no more." Mrs. C. reached Ayr on Tuesday morning, the very time the corpse of her husband arrived; and we must here leave the tragic scene. Major Campbell, in his conversation with his intimate friends, previously to surrendering himself, had always said, that if he were convicted

victed of murder, he should suffer as an example to duellists in Ireland; but it was always his opinion, that a jury would not convict him of murder. It has been erroneously stated, that the jury recommended the deceased to mercy from his universal good character; but the jury recommended him in consequence of the duel having been a fair one, although, by direction of the judge, they were bound, on their oaths, to convict the prisoner of murder. Major Campbell, previous to his death, observed, that life was not an object so dear to him, as the reflection was distressing that his children and family should bear the stigma that he was executed for murder. His fate has been rendered peculiarly interesting by the unremitting exertions of Mrs. Campbell, to procure a mitigation of his punishment, in the prosecution of which she appears to have endured fatigues of body and mind, which might be supposed too great for female strength. On her arrival at Windsor, with a memorial to his majesty, supplicating mercy, it was past eight o'clock, and his majesty had retired to his apartment. Her majesty, notwithstanding, presented the memorial that night, and Mrs. C. received the kindest attention from the whole of the royal family; but it appears to have been a case to which the royal mercy could not be extended, and the law has been accordingly permitted to take its course.

Major Campbell made his escape from Ireland after the duel, and lived with his family under a fictitious name for several months at Chelsea; the duel took place in June 1807; but his mind became so uneasy, that he at last deter-

mined to surrender himself to take his trial, be the result what it might. He was a first cousin of the earl of Breadalbane, a man esteemed and beloved by all his friends. It is superfluous to add, that Mrs. Campbell is a most amiable woman. She has four infant children.

The unfortunate catastrophe which produced such an awful result to major Campbell, it is hoped, will not fail to leave a lesson to mankind of salutary influence. Both of the parties were gentlemen, eminent in their profession, of high character and honour, who had long lived on terms of mutual friendship and esteem. The unfortunate irritation of a moment at once deprived society of one of the best of men, and left a widow and infant family to mourn their irreparable loss. Retribution of the most awful kind has fallen to the lot of the other; and his amiable wife and infant family are also involved in all the distress which the human mind can conceive.

From the period of the unhappy event, to the closing of the tragic scene, major Campbell evinced the most heartfelt grief for what had happened to his friend.

Spanish Confidence in British Honour.—The following historical anecdote may not be thought unseasonable at this crisis: When the allied British and German troops, under the joint command of the prince Darmstadt and the celebrated lord Peterborough, laid siege to Barcelona, in the year 1705, the entrenchments, after a vigorous resistance, having been carried sword in hand, the Spanish viceroy proposed to lord Peterborough to capitulate. The proposal was accepted; and while the articles were arranging

... he had not been cropped,
the water, and swam a
way up the canal, bid-
to his pursuers; at
ts, who were ex-
ped and fol-
in a short
howe-
excuse-
the shore,
a sergeant
and carried
triumph.

Since of House-
the night of Thurs-
at furnished house
was not occupied), in
svenor street, belonging
allars, was broke open by
of an iron crew. The vil-
were very cool in their depre-
ons, for it is conjectured that
ey must have remained, from the
variety of plunders they committed,
at least four hours in the house.
They carried away undiscovered
several large mirrors, and other va-
luable portable articles. It is be-
lieved that this is the same despe-
rate gang that committed similar
depredations in lord Fitzharris's
house in Spring Gardens.

26. *Court Martial.*—At a gene-
ral court martial held on the 8th of
July last, and continued by ad-
journment to the 3d of August fol-
lowing, on capt. John George Hal-
lilay, of the 10th regiment of foot,
for bringing different charges against
some officers of the same regiment,
and talking disrespectfully of them,
particularly of colonel Newman,
the commanding officer; the prison-
er was found guilty of part of the
charges, and the sentence of the
court was, that he should be sus-
pended from rank and pay for the
space of three months. His ma-
jesty

jesty has been pleased to confirm the sentence of the court, but from various considerations of the conduct of the prosecutor, lieutenant-colonel Newman, he has commanded that it should be signified to lieutenant-colonel Newman, that he does not consider him to be a fit person to command the 2d battalion of the 10th regiment, and that he will be immediately removed from it; and as it appears the officers who composed the mess of the 2d battalion of the 10th regiment did not behave in a becoming manner towards captain Hallilay, his majesty has been pleased to order that it should be intimated to those officers that their promotion should for the present be suspended. His majesty has been also pleased to signify, that he does not consider captain Hallilay a proper person to remain longer in the 10th regiment, and that he will be immediately removed from it.

The sentence of the court martial which tried the generals who signed the capitulation of the surrender of Copenhagen to the English, has been made public. Generals Pyeman and Bielfield are adjudged to suffer death, and general Watterdorff to be banished. The sentence of death was commuted to that of banishment.

The Brazilian

Rio Janeiro, Aug. 26th. The court of St. Sebastian has issued a protest in the name of the infant and infanta of Spain, who has migrated with the house of Braganza, against the transactions at Bayonne. This protest declares the right of the infant Don Louis and the infanta, his consort, the daughter of the prince regent, to be by no means surrendered or compromised,

by the pretended cession of Carlos and Ferdinand. It also asserts a right for this prince, being the nearest relation to Ferdinand not in the power of the enemy, to the regency of Spain. Sir Sidney Smith, it is said, was particularly consulted about the framing and issuing of this instrument. There is a rumour that some coolness prevails at court towards lord Strangford, in consequence of some offence taken at certain parts of the diplomatic correspondence relative to the evacuation of Lisbon, as published in the English newspapers. On the 25th, sir Sidney was honoured with the company of the whole royal family of Braganza, to the number of ten persons, to supper, at his residence, without the city of St. Sebastian. Sir Sidney's health has been rather delicate; and he has taken up his abode for the benefit of the air. It is situated on an eminence, close to the signal-post, whence a constant and immediate intercourse may be kept up by telegraphic communications with the ships. The royal guests were highly pleased with their entertainment, and left sir Sidney with expressions of their perfect satisfaction. Mr. Smith (sir Sidney's nephew) is not yet returned from his mission to general Liniers, at Buenos Ayres. The advice-boat, dispatched from Cadiz by the junta of Seville to inform general Liniers of the new order of things, would arrive at Buenos Ayres during the stay of Mr. Smith at that place, and would of course facilitate an amicable arrangement. It is understood that there is a strong French party in the council at Buenos Ayres; but sir Sidney depends much upon the interest and connections

connections he has long since formed, and always kept up, in adjoining settlements and dependencies. It is expected that Mr. Smith will be the bearer of some propositions from general Liniers.

27. The arrival of the queen of France and the duchess of Angoulême in this country, is expected by Louis XVIII. before the end of the present month. Maria Josepha Louisa, the expatriated queen of France, is somewhat more than two years older than her husband. She was the eldest daughter of the late king of Sardinia, Victor Amadeus III. by a daughter of Philip V. king of Spain. Her younger sister married the count d'Artois; but neither of those princesses was ever distinguished by her personal beauty. The present queen, who has resided during several years past at Mittan, in Cowland, entertained the greatest apprehensions at the idea of passing the portion of the Baltic, from Lieban to Carlscrona; in Sweden, but she made the voyage with great ease, and is now about to embark for Yarmouth in an English frigate.

Madame Royale, duchess d'Angoulême, who accompanies her, must always deeply interest, from the circumstances of her birth, imprisonment, and misfortunes, every mind of sensibility. She is now near thirty years of age, amiable, virtuous, benevolent, and inclined to devotion. Though she has been married above nine years to the duke of Angoulême, her cousin, she has never given an heir to the throne once occupied by her father.

It is a singular coincidence, that Joseph Bonaparte made his triumphant entry into Madrid, and Napoleon took his departure from Bay-

onne, on the very same day that Dupont surrendered.

29. The queen of France, and the duchess of Angoulême, and their suite, consisting of seventy persons, arrived on Monday at Harwich. On passing admiral Russell's fleet, the gallant veteran complimented the illustrious visitors with a royal salute.

SEPTEMBER.

1. *Middlesex Meeting.*—In consequence of a requisition signed by several respectable freeholders of the county, a meeting was held at the Mermaid Tavern, Hackney, to vote certain resolutions in favour of the Spanish cause.

The Sheriff having opened the business of the meeting,

Major Cartwright, in proposing for the adoption of the freeholders present a string of resolutions which he held in his hand, regretted that the task had not fallen into more able hands. He disclaimed all idea of being a party man; his party, he observed, was his country. He then adverted to the present situation of Spain, which was that of a people fighting for their liberties, and in that point of view they were similarly situated with this country, whom they found to be the only allies in whom they could place confidence. Great Britain had received them with affection, and the friendly intercourse was honourable to both nations. He then contrasted the present with the former situation of Spain; they had achieved more than monarchs had done for years, in the space of a few weeks, and for this plain reason, they were fighting for liberty. (*Applauses.*) Adverting to the

the conduct of our late allies, if the emperors were sincere in their professions of uniting for the deliverance of Europe, they should begin with emancipating their own subjects; they would then make themselves impregnable, and their countries would become unconquerable. Calculating that the continent of Europe contained about 60 millions, more than one half of the inhabitants of Europe were involved in the great cause; when therefore these allies should again ask for subsidies, he would recommend them to look at Spain, and to follow the noble example which that brave people had set for the deliverance of Europe. (*Loud applause.*) He recommended arming the people as the best means of defence; indeed we had seen, in the example of Spain, that liberty and arms, in the hands of the people, were the only means by which a country could be defended. He noticed the Cortes of Spain, which, under the usurpation of Bonaparte, was to be allowed to meet only once in three years, and then their deliberations to be secret: this was a melancholy instance of tyranny over the people. The Cortes of England wanted a little mending; he hoped the tyrant would not be the mender, but that the mending would be the work of British hands. The major, after some further observations, in which he said it was his intention to move certain resolutions, expressive of the sentiments of the freeholders, with respect to the Spanish cause, and also to submit a petition to parliament, and move an address to his majesty, on the subject of a reform in parliament, concluded with reading his resolutions, the petition, and the address.

The first resolution, "that for aiding the cause of the Spanish patriots, the king was entitled to the gratitude of mankind," was passed unanimously; as was also the second, "that a people who were ready to fight for their liberties, were alone worthy of the alliance of a free nation."

The third resolution, "that to find such allies as the Spanish nation; left us little reason to regret the allies we had lost," produced some discussion.

On the third being put,

Mr. Mellish, M. P. for the county, observed, that he was sorry to be compelled to make a complaint on the part of the freeholders, that more publicity had not been given to the meeting by the sheriff. He could attribute the thinness of the meeting to no other cause. He happened to be 150 miles from town, and by accident saw it in the papers, and immediately posted up. The hon. member suggested an amendment to the resolution, which was adopted and passed.

The fourth resolution went to suggest to the people of Spain, that reform in representation, and arming the population, were the only means by which they could secure their liberties.

Some difficulty was started to adopting this resolution.

Mr. Perry suggested to compromise the differences by withdrawing it. He thought it would not be proper for this meeting to point out to the patriots of Spain the line of proceeding which they should pursue.

The question was put, and the numbers for and against appeared to be equal, when

Mr. Mellish observed, that it was not

not a proper compliment to the Spanish people, and recommended to withdraw it. He thought that as the meeting was so thin, it would be better to adjourn, and call another meeting, which might be more numerously attended, if duly advertised.

Mr. sheriff Smith vindicated himself and colleague from the charge of not having given publicity to the meeting. He declared that the meeting was well known upon 'Change. That it had been advertised in ten papers, and that he had acted impartially in the business.

Mr. David Power, in allusion to what had fallen from the hon. member (Mr. Mellish), wished to ask him, whether or not some of the most important measures which had come before parliament had not been passed in houses when the attendance was not near so numerous as at present. He called upon the meeting to do their duty, and if, as the hon. member complained, there had been symptoms of apathy in the freeholders of Middlesex in not attending the meeting, at least those who were present should not be subject to such censure.

Mr. Waithman trusted that there was not any one among the freeholders present hardy enough to oppose the resolutions from different principles than those on which they were founded. What was it that gave the Spaniards so much success? why this, the principles of liberty. This country had heard enough of cries for the deliverance of Europe, but every step we took towards effecting that object, only served to increase the calamity and distress which was so much dreaded. The people whom this country now supported, some few years since

would have been deemed "seditions;" but what rendered them now acceptable in the eyes of this country was, by reforming their infamous government. Those powers who formerly cried up for the deliverance of Europe, were the first to fly into the arms of the French. Mr. W. after some further observations in favour of parliamentary reform, expressed his concurrence with the resolution.

Mr. Heygate objected to the resolution, as being distinct from the question of Spain, and thought it ought not to be pressed.

After a show of hands, the sheriffs, without declaring the numbers, declared that the resolution was negatived.

The question of adjournment was then proposed by Mr. Mellish, on the ground that the meeting ought to be more fully attended, and that the subjects which the mover introduced were distinct from the main objects of the meeting. This produced a long discussion, which at length was terminated by agreeing that the resolutions passed should be published, and another meeting called. Thanks having been voted to the sheriffs, the meeting adjourned.

The death of the venerable bishop of Ely was very sudden. His lordship walked on the terrace at Northampton, about seven o'clock the preceding evening, in perfect health, after which he supped, and retired to rest about his usual hour.

According to report, the dean of Rochester is to be the new bishop of Ely.

The see of Ely, now vacant, is one of the most valuable preferments in the church. Its patronage, though not so much in quantity

as

as some others possess, is perhaps the most desirable in England, comprehending a large number of rich benefices; with scarcely any small ones.

Anecdote of Donna Caro, Aunt of the Marquis de la Romana.—During the war at the beginning of the French revolution, this courageous lady used to attend her husband, general Don Ventura Caro, who commanded the Spanish army in the neighbourhood of Yron. At the beginning of an engagement this lady was accustomed to take her station on the battery of San Carlos, whereon was erected the signal-post for the left wing of the army. She held the telescope in her hand, through which she viewed her husband, whilst he exposed himself to the firing as a common soldier; neither the firing of twelve 24-pounders, which were placed around her, nor the bombs which fell beside her, could move her; the telescope never trembled in her hand. In the intervals of hostility, she employed herself in visiting the hospitals, and contributing to allay the distresses of the sick and wounded. Such an instance of courage and benevolence is scarcely to be paralleled. She preferred witnessing the conflicts and the fate of her husband, to the anxiety of mind she knew she must have suffered till she could have heard it from others. The marquis de la Romana at that time commanded a post called *Cosa fuerte* (the strong house.)

Melancholy Shipwreck.—Private letters lately received in town from North Uist, give the following melancholy account of the loss of a wherry, which had been attended with unusual circumstances of distress. About three weeks ago a

wherry belonging to Mr. Macdonald, of Brabranald, manned with four men, and which had a cargo of cattle on board, sailed from North Uist, for the island of Huskar, which is the only island between the North of Scotland and America, in that direction. When the vessel sailed, the day was moderate and the wind fair; but when within two leagues of Huskar, the wind became contrary, and very tempestuous; the consequence was that the vessel foundered on a ridge of rocks, which jutted from the main island. Three of the hands perished, as did all the cattle except one cow, which, together with the fourth man, succeeded in scrambling up to the top of this rocky island. In this dismal situation, the man along with his brute companion remained for three days without any prospect of relief. On the fourth day the cow dropped down dead. In the interim, to preserve existence as long as possible, the man opened a vein in the cow, and frequently sucked her blood. This source of existence being cut off, he afterwards cut out the tongue of the dead animal, and mincing it down very small, he supported existence till the fifth day; on which, to his great joy, he espied an open fishing boat in the Channel, and hoisted, with all his remaining strength, his shirt as a signal of distress: the boat came and rescued him from his perilous situation.

Miraculous Preservation.

Battle between a Tyger and an Alligator; or, Wonderful Instance of Providential Preservation, described in a Letter from the Captain of the Davenport Guineaman.

“Some time after my arrival at the British factory, Cape Casta, on-board

board the Davenport Guineaman, I was sent for by the commodore, who was stationed in the Diana frigate to protect the trade of the place before-mentioned, and appointed by him to command a sloop, employed on the service of conveying slaves, teeth, gums, and other merchandise, from the company's factories, situated several hundred miles up the river Congo, down to the principal *dépôt* at the Cape. The sloop carried six swivels, and was manned with nine negroes, and two north-countrymen, named Johnson and Campbell, the former of whom was my mate. After receiving orders relative to the duty in which I was employed, we proceeded on our voyage, and had navigated near fifty leagues up the country, when one morning the breezes died away suddenly, and we were compelled, by a strong current running against us, to drop anchor within a quarter of a mile of the shore. In this situation the sloop remained for three days, during which time the circumstances fell out I am about to communicate; circumstances so improbable in themselves, so marvellous, as almost to border upon impossibility, but nevertheless declared by me, as a spectator, to be a most perfect reality. To resume my narrative—the bosom of the deep appeared, as it does in these parts while the calm prevails, extremely tranquil, and the heat, which was intolerable, had made us so languid, that almost a general wish overcame us, on the approach of the evening, to bathe in the waters of Congo; however myself and Johnson were deterred from it, from the apprehension of sharks, many of which we had observed in the progress of our voyage, and those enormously large.

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At length Campbell alone, who had been making too free with his liquor-case, was obstinately bent on going overboard, and although we used every means in our power to persuade him to the contrary, he dashed into the watery element, and had swam some distance from the vessel, when we on the deck discovered an alligator making towards him from behind a rock that stood a short distance from the shore. His escape I now considered impossible, his destruction inevitable, and I applied to Johnson how we should act, who, like myself, affirmed the impossibility to save him, and instantly seized upon a loaded carbine to shoot the poor fellow, before he fell into the jaws of the monster. I did not, however, consent to this, but waited with horror the tragedy we anticipated; yet willing to do all in my power, I ordered the boat to be hoisted, and we fired two shot at the approaching alligator, but without effect, for they glided over his scaly covering like hailstones on a tiled penthouse, and the progress of the creature was by no means impeded. The report of the piece, and the noise of the blacks in the sloop, made Campbell acquainted with his danger, he saw the creature making for him, and with all the strength and skill he was master of, made for the shore. And now the moment arrived, in which a scene was exhibited beyond the power of my humble pen perfectly to describe. On approaching within a very short distance of some canes and shrubs that covered the bank, while closely pursued by the alligator, a fierce and ferocious tyger sprang towards him, at the instant the jaws of his first enemy were extended to devour him.

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At

At this awful moment Campbell was preserved. The eager tyger, by overleaping him, encountered the gripe of the amphibious monster. A conflict ensued between them; the water was covered with the blood of the tyger, whose efforts to tear the scaly covering of the alligator were unavailing, while the latter had also the advantage of keeping his adversary under water, by which the victory was presently obtained, for the tyger's death was now effected. They both sank to the bottom, and we saw no more of the alligator. Campbell was recovered, and instantly conveyed on board; he spoke not while in the boat, though his danger had perfectly sobered him, and what is more singular, from that moment to the time I am writing, he has never been seen the least intoxicated, nor has he been heard to utter a single oath. If ever there was a perfectly reformed being in the universe, Campbell is the man."

Lancaster Assizes, Sept. 3.—*Charge of Murder.*—Yesterday the trial of Charles Angus, esq. of Liverpool, which has been the subject of public interest and general conversation, came on, for the murder of miss Margaret Burns, of Liverpool. The indictment charged him with having poisoned the deceased; and another count charged him with having given her poison to cause an abortion, she being pregnant.

Serjeant Cockell, for the prosecution, stated the substance of the case as follows:—

The prisoner married the deceased's sister, who died about three years since, and left two children, since which the deceased had lived with the prisoner as his house-

keeper and governess to the children. For some time previous to her death she was suspected by the neighbours and others to be pregnant. She died on the 25th of March, and for two days previous she was confined, and no person attended her constantly but the prisoner; and the circumstances of her death were of such an extraordinary nature, that the coroner hearing of them, called a jury to investigate them, and the result was a verdict of wilful murder against the prisoner.

Elizabeth Nixon deposed, that she lived as house-maid to the prisoner, at the time of the death of miss Burns, who, she said, appeared in good health on the morning of the 23d of March last, at seven o'clock in the morning. At a quarter before nine o'clock she saw her in the parlour, when she appeared very unwell, and was leaning upon a chair. She vomited the whole of the day black matter, which turned to green: she drank about three quarts of water-gruel in the course of the day: the prisoner was generally with her, and she remained with the deceased all night; she and her fellow-servant offered to sit up, but they were refused. Previous to her going to bed, she took two pillows, a counterpane, and an easy chair into the parlour. The next morning, the first thing she did she went into the parlour, and found the prisoner and the deceased, who appeared much worse, having vomited all night. She continued very bad all day: the prisoner continued with her. At night she offered to sit up, but was again refused. The next morning (Friday) she found the prisoner and the deceased in the parlour

the deceased: it was her duty to make the beds, and one day she observed that only the deceased slept in the deceased's bed. After cross-examination by Mr. [?], she said she saw no appearance of a child. The deceased was of a penurious disposition, and had a great aversion to doctors or medical men.

Ann Hopkins, the cook, confirmed the above, and said she laid out the body of the deceased; she had no stays on; she had changed her dress from Thursday to Friday morning: she found two bandages on the body. Saw no appearance of a child.

Several females who knew her, stated, that they suspected her to be pregnant for several months previous to her death.

The rev. Mr. Viss, the minister of the parish, said, he had known the prisoner nine years. On the death of the deceased some very shocking reports were circulated in Liverpool against the prisoner, in consequence of which he thought it his duty to call upon him to inform him of them, that he might refute them, or bring the business to an investigation. The prisoner denied that the deceased had been delivered of a child; he said it was impossible, for if she had he must have known it; and as to its being by him, he assigned rather an extraordinary reason, viz. that he had the most tender and affectionate regard for her; and as to her being poisoned, that was impossible, for she had taken nothing but what he had given her, and he was, or ought to be, a judge of the composition or decomposition of medicine. The strongest thing he had given her was castor oil; he had

given her black emetic also. The term black emetic he explained by saying her discharge was black. The witness had considerable more conversation with the prisoner, during which he gave some inconsistent and contradictory account of the transaction; particularly his denying being out of his house, or the deceased, when the witness saw him at the Athenian, and conversed with him. This was investigated, in consequence of its being insinuated that he had conveyed the child away at that time. The prisoner told him that the deceased died the day previous (Saturday), and she died on Friday.

The coroner sent several medical gentlemen to examine and open the body, on Sunday; and, in consequence of the verdict of the jury, the prisoner was apprehended and confined in Liverpool prison.

Dr. Coltman was called to prove some conversation he had with the prisoner respecting the transaction, some parts of which were not consistent. It was however proved, that the prisoner was much distressed in his mind at this time, on account of his brother having lost the use of his faculties.

Jeremiah Steed deposed, that about last Christmas he was in company with the prisoner, at the house of Dr. Trail, to supper, when, speaking on the subject of anatomy, the prisoner said he was skilled in it and physic, and instructed some young men in it.

The trial lasted till past three in the morning, and the jury acquitted the prisoner.

At Worcester assizes a cause was tried, wherein sir John Cottrel, bart. was plaintiff, and Mr. Harris, defendant. The cause lasted for

twenty-three hours, and an adjournment took place. The leading circumstances of this case were shortly these:—Mr. Harris was the steward of an elderly lady of large property, both real and personal. She had arrived at the advanced age of 70. He had been her steward for four-and-twenty years; and by the letters and correspondence between him and Sir J. Cottrel, Mr. Harris claimed the merit of having introduced sir J. Cottrel into the family of his lady and her maiden sister, whom she survived, and which acquaintance ended in her devising to sir John Cottrel one of her very large estates, of which she had the disposal, but which sir John Cottrel would have had in the event of her dying intestate, for he is her heir at law. This lady drew her will from a form which she had from an attorney at Henley, and wrote out all in her own hand, and duly executed it. She kept it locked up without communicating the contents of it to any body. On the 8th of October, she being feeble and in bed, gave directions to her waiting woman to take it out of her escutcheon, and to give it to Mr. Harris, with directions for him to open it, which he did, and discovered that there were omissions in it; that she had not left to any one the residue of her estates, real or personal; and therefore he went to her, and soon afterwards engrossed with his own hands a codicil as follows:

“I, Sarah Freeman, of Henley Park, in the county of Oxford, widow, having made my will the 27th of June last, declare this to be a codicil thereto, and desire it to be considered as a part thereof. By my said will, I have left several annuities

annuities to my servants and other persons ; and it is my will that all the said annuities so left by my will, shall be charged upon and payable out of my estates in the counties of Worcester and Hereford, that I have bequeathed to the rev. Denham James and Joseph Cookes. I have also in my will omitted to mention the residue and remainder of my estates, real and personal, which it was and is my will to give and devise to my executor, Joseph Harris, of Stanford, Worcester-shire, after paying thereout all my debts, legacies, and funeral expenses : and I accordingly give and devise the same to him and his heirs for ever.

“ SARAH FREEMAN.

“ Signed, sealed, and delivered, by the within-named Sarah Freeman, as a codicil to her will, in the presence of us, this 10th day of October, 1806.—J. Taylor, M. D. ; I. Coulson, surgeon ; Edward Mason, servant to Mr. Harris.”

This lady had by her will left all the rest of her estates to those from whose ancestors she had derived them ; and the single question in the case was, whether this codicil was fairly executed by her ?

Mrs. White, who had been her servant for many years, and attended her in her last illness, gave an account of her state of health. She was ill and rambling in her mind, and talked incoherently, on the 6th of October, fancying herself on a journey from Southampton, &c. but being brought into the window of her bed-room, there seeing her servants, poultry, cattle, &c. upon the lawn, she suddenly recovered, and became herself again, and clear in her understanding ; continued so the 9th, 10th,

and 11th of October ; but on the 12th she began to ramble again yet worse, and until the 24th, when she died. Other servants corroborated this statement, and added many particulars, by which it appeared that the codicil was fairly executed ; and it appeared by the evidence of many other most respectable witnesses, that Mr. Harris was on the footing of intimacy and affection with this lady. He was Mrs. Freeman's legatee under her will, before the codicil, and had a legacy of 500*l.* by it.

In support of the action of ejectment brought by Sir John Cottrel, as heir at law, it was contended that this lady was not in her right mind when she executed this codicil ; that Mr. Harris imposed upon her for his own advantage. The chief witnesses in support of this were doctor Taylor, the physician, and Mr. Coulson, the surgeon, who had attended her. The substance of their testimony was, that although she was not lunatic at the time she executed this codicil, she was not, in their opinion, of such a sound and disposing mind as to be capable of bequeathing her estate ; and that had they been aware this codicil passed away her real estate, they would not have attested it ; but they thought it was only to supply some legal defect in the will, and give it vigour and effect as a legal instrument, &c.

The jury, after having retired for some time, returned a verdict for the defendant.

The Pope.—The public are in possession of the substance of a series of documents respecting the outrages committed by the French at Rome, and the seizure of the ecclesiastical states. Some additional particulars

have since been published; among which is a note from cardinal Gabrielli, dated from the Quirinal Palace, the 19th of May, and addressed to Signor Cavaliero Aldini, chargé d'affaires of the kingdom of Italy, the substance of which was not previously known. After noticing the annexation of the four provinces of the ecclesiastical states of Urbino, Macerata, Ancona, and Camerino, to the kingdom of Italy, and enumerating all the wrongs inflicted upon the papal government by Bonaparte, it proceeds to protest in the name of the pope against this conduct of France, in the following terms:—"He strongly protests in the face of the whole world against the usurpation of his states: he declares solemnly that it is unjust, vain, null, and of no value; that it never can really affect the imprescriptible and legitimate rights of sovereignty; and of possessions appertaining to his Holiness and his successors in perpetuity; and that if force despoils him of the enjoyment, he is determined to maintain the integrity of his rights, the actual enjoyment of which will be recovered when it shall so please a just God, who combats for justice, and who is the King of kings and the Master of those who govern.

"At the same time, his Holiness addresses his ardent prayers to the Father of Mercy, to inspire his subjects withdrawn from his power, and who are and will be always dear to his heart, with a spirit of patience and resignation, in order that they may obtain from Heaven consolation and peace, and that they may always preserve unimpaired in their hearts religion and faith.

"The God of Israel will grant to his people strength and virtue."

8. A poor weaver, who had a wife and several small children, and resides at Bolton-le-Moor, has lately come to an estate of upwards of 4000*l.* a-year. He has obtained it from a very wealthy uncle, who had not seen him for a great number of years. It appears that the uncle did not forget his poor relation while living; for he wrote a number of letters to the nephew in question, which did not come to hand, and it is suspected they were intercepted by a designing servant. The uncle, however, left a will, bequeathing the estate to his nephew, the poor weaver, provided he claimed it within six months after his death; and in case of his failing to claim it within that time, the estate to go to the servant, who is suspected of having intercepted the letters. The will, being of a novel nature, became the subject of conversation; and so it happened, that two travellers at an inn in Bolton were conversing upon the subject at the time the poor weaver was in the house, and within hearing of their conversation: and he, knowing that he had a rich uncle, although he knew not where to find him, soon learned that the deceased person was his uncle, and had left him the estate; he, in consequence, communicated the circumstance to some friends, who undertook to see into the business, and he proved to be just within the time limited in the will to put in his claim.

Dreadful Catastrophe.—A boat-race for two silver cups, given by J. Templar, esq. of Stover, near Teignmouth, which were to be sailed for on Tuesday se'nnight, induced

induced the rev. Mr. Buller, of Saltash, and Mr. Baker, of Plymouth, to become candidates for the first prize. Their two beautiful pleasure-boats, from ten to fifteen tons burthen, accordingly started from this harbour on Monday morning. In Mr. Buller's boat were, Mr. Josiah Thomson, of Plymouth; Mr. John Foster, of Saltash; his apprentice, and Mr. Buller's boy.—Mr. Baker's boat followed. They had proceeded as far as the Bolt Head, when they were overtaken by a most tremendous squall, accompanied with heavy rain, which lasted nearly half an hour. At this time, Mr. Buller's boat was near two miles a-head, and from the thickness of the storm could not be discerned; but on its subsiding, being still invisible, Mr. Baker concluded she had borne away for Saltcombe, as the wind continued to blow hard, with a prodigious swell. After keeping the same course for half an hour, Mr. Baker determined to bear away also, and on nearing the shore, saw something like crab-pot marks, but did not particularly regard them, until a shriek was heard from thence, when Mr. Buller was seen with his head above water, supported by a topmast-spar, which fortunately was in the boat when she went down. Every exertion was now used in saving Mr. B. who was almost gone, having been in that situation an hour and a half. On being carefully drawn on board, every means were used to renew that life, twice apparently gone; which was at last effected. During the time, Mr. Foster's apprentice, and Mr. Buller's boy, were perceived at a little distance, holding by the ends of an

oar; and on picking up the latter, the other, being quite exhausted, loosed his hold and sunk to the bottom. Every eye was now strained in looking out for Mr. Thomson and Mr. Foster, but without success; and after beating about for a considerable time, they regretfully left the melancholy scene, and arrived at Saltcombe. Mr. Buller, when recovered, said they had shipped a sea; and that Mr. Foster was in the little boat a-stern, casting off the painter, when another sea filled her, and she went down by her stern. Mr. B. recollects Mr. Thomson swimming upright, but a little under water, for some time after she sunk. He has left a widow, with five children, and a numerous circle of acquaintance, to lament his loss. Mr. Foster was unmarried, but a respectable and worthy character.

Melancholy Accident.—*Gijon*, Sept. 13.—Yesterday arrived here his majesty's ships Cossack and Comet, the former from Santander, the latter from Plymouth, with near a million of dollars on board, part of which are for the service of Spain, and with the remainder she will sail in a day or two for Oporto. In the afternoon arrived the Swallow brig, capt. Milner, conveying eight sail of transports, sent here to receive on board 2000 Merino sheep, presented by the junta of this principality to his majesty. Soon after the Swallow came to an anchor, a boat put off from her with the captain, the hon. capt. Herbert, Mr. Creed, and the agent for transports, and seven seamen. Just as they were upon the bar, a sea broke over, filled the boat, and plunged them into the sea; the greater part, by taking hold of the boat,

boat, saved themselves, and supported themselves on oars and planks till the boats, which immediately put off from the shore, picked them up. Unfortunately, however, they were unable to save captain Herbert and Mr. Creed, who sunk before they arrived. These two gentlemen came out for the purpose of visiting this country; the former was son to the earl of Carnarvon, the latter to Mr. Creed.

Ireland.—Dublin, Sept. 15.—Extraordinary Catastrophe.—The circumstance which we are about to relate, though of a most extraordinary nature, has been communicated to us from such authority, that we have no doubt whatever that it is accurate in its general outline; we forbear to mention names and places, for reasons which will be sufficiently obvious to our readers.

A few miles from this city, in a village which consists of but four or five houses, a house of entertainment constantly afforded refreshment for those travellers who made it a resting place. A respectable farmer, a very few evenings since, having been at the Dublin market, resolved to return home early, and left town before dinner. Having reached this village, he put up his horse at the inn, and ordered something to eat. His meal, &c. being finished, and the evening coming on, he paid his bill to the landlord from a parcel of notes, one of which he changed, and then departed on his road home. At about the distance of one mile, his horse dropped a shoe, and as a smith's forge was contiguous to this part of the road, he dismounted, and finding the door closed, and the smith

gone to bed, he knocked until the farrier got up, and opened the door. The shoe being replaced, the traveller offered the smith a half-crown piece, desiring to get the change, which he declared at that hour he could not procure. The traveller feeling that he had occasioned some trouble in disturbing the man, told him that he might keep the entire. The poor smith, affected by this unexpected generosity, eyed him with caution, and questioned him which road he had come, and on being informed that he had stopped at the village-inn, asked him if any money had been seen in his possession in that house? To which the traveller replied, that he certainly had a large sum of money in his possession. He immediately cautioned him to turn back to Dublin, for that not two hundred yards on the road before him, at a bridge, which he described, he was certain to be stopped and robbed. To this, the traveller replied he was well prepared, having his yeomanry pistols charged in his holsters. The smith told him that if he was resolved to proceed, he had better examine his arms: the precaution was attended to, and, upon opening the pans of the pistols, the priming of both was not only thrown out, but water appeared to have been poured in. The traveller was resolute, and understanding from the smith (who he had now reason to believe was really in the secret), that he should be attacked by one man only, the pistols were recharged, and he set forward on his journey. On his arrival at the bridge, a fellow jumped from the hedge, and stopping him, demanded a large sum, which he said he knew he had about

about him ; the traveller hesitated, suddenly drew forth his pistol, and shot the robber through the heart ! It was the landlord of the inn, and whose similar practice of plunder had been constant. The traveller rode back to the inn, and asked for the master of the house, who was said to be in bed, and " not to be seen ;" but insisting on his being produced, the servant told him that he was gone out to a neighbour's house. The dreadful circumstances were disclosed, and the servants of the house were directed to the place where his body lay. The gentleman returned in safety to town, and told the circumstance to several of his friends ; and this extraordinary relation is collected from a gentleman who saw the body of the deceased on the very spot where he had so justly met the punishment due to his crimes.—

Dublin Correspondent.

12.—An account has been received of a very gallant action fought in the Adriatic by the *Seahorse*, of 38 guns, capt. Stewart. —A Turkish squadron, consisting of one 50-gun ship, and two frigates of 44 guns each, being sent out for the purpose of capturing the *Seahorse*, the latter engaged them for three hours. The result was, that one of the forty-fours sunk after two broadsides, the other frigate sheered off, and the 50-gun ship, after 800 of her crew (consisting of 700) were killed and wounded, was taken and carried into Malta. The *Seahorse* was much cut up in her masts and rigging, but had only six men killed and seven wounded.

Royal Family of France.—The queen of France and duchess of Angoulême have been at Gosford

for some time past, where they received but little company. The meeting between the duchess and her father-in-law, Monsieur, was one of the most affecting scenes that can possibly be imagined ; he had not seen her for nearly twenty years, during which period she had experienced almost every misery ; they held each other long in their embraces, but could not speak, and even now they dare not trust themselves to converse together, but upon common topics. The duchess's favourite maid of honour is mademoiselle Clery, daughter of monsieur Clery, who attended the unfortunate Louis XVI. to the last hour of his life, and who gave the affecting narrative of the transactions in the Temple. The duchess often employs herself in working embroidery, in which work she very much excels : she had worked four beautiful chairs, which were very much admired by her father-in-law ; she therefore sent them to London, and had them made up in the best manner possible ; and when he came on a visit to London, she had them placed in his dressing-room. This mark of attention was very sensibly felt by her father, as her mind does not often dwell upon worldly trifles. The interesting monsieur Clery is now at Vienna.

Remarkable Occurrence.—Mr. Adam French, wine-merchant, Leith, being shooting upon the lands of colonel Colbrooke, in the parish of Crawfordjohn, and county of Lanark, his pointer dog having stopped short, and making a remarkable noise, attracted his attention, and going up to the spot, he was astonished to see a large ad-
der in the act of swallowing a lark ;
being

being half erected in the air, he fired at it, and after blowing its head entirely off, it measured no less than thirty-five inches in length.

A serjeant of the Royal Stan-
dary Artillery Volunteers has discovered a method by which an object may be hit by a cannon-ball in the night time with equal ease as in open day-light, and was lately ordered by the board of ordnance to proceed to Plymouth-dock, to try the experiment, which he did in the presence of general Stephens and several other officers, and has since received the thanks of the board, and a reward for the discovery. This ingenious man has invented a quadrant, by which a gun has been laid with such accuracy, that he has hit a pole at 1000 yards distance, and broke it by a single shot.

Tame Trout.—In the year 1796, two small trout were put into a brook, near Chapel-le-Dale, in Yorkshire, and were not seen for two years and a half afterwards. One of them was lost in a short time, and the other has become so tame, that a gentleman who resides near the brook, and was present when it was put in, feeds it with worms or meat, which it takes even from between his thumb and finger, and a short time ago, actually bit his finger till it bled, when he had no meat for it. Early in December, it leaves the place, and is generally absent about two or three months; it was once nine months away. It might now weigh about a pound and a half, and has lately lost an eye.

20. This morning about four, Covent-Garden theatre was discovered to be in flames; and so fierce and rapid was the fire, that no

exertions could stop its course. Within less than three hours the whole of the interior was destroyed: nearly all the scenery, wardrobe, musical and dramatic libraries, and properties of all kinds, were a heap of smoking ruins. The books of accounts, deeds, and the receipts of the preceding night's performance, were fortunately preserved, through the exertions of Mr. Hughes, the treasurer. A considerable number of engines promptly attended; but there was a total want of water for some time, the main pipe having been cut off with the intention of laying down a new one, and above an hour elapsed before some of the engines could be supplied. During the time that there was no supply of water, the most essential assistance for the neighbours was derived from the pumps of the Bedford coffee-house and hotel. The engines afterwards played with the utmost effect for upwards of an hour, when the roof of the theatre fell in with a dreadful crash, and thus announced the destruction of the interior of this elegant building. The fire raged with most violence at the upper end of Bow-street; on the western side of which, the house, No. 9, belonging to Mr. Paget; Nos. 10 and 11; which were attached to the theatre; No. 12, belonging to Mr. Hill; No. 13 (the Struggler's coffee-house); No. 14, belonging to Mr. Johnson, the fruiterer; and No. 15, were completely destroyed. The three latter were insured in the Hope for 2650*l*. Nos. 16 and 17 were seriously damaged, though not entirely consumed. Some of these houses were uninsured; and the rest only partially. Mr. Donne, who kept the Struggler's coffee-house,

house, has lost all his property, no part of which was insured. In Hart-street, the flames communicated to the houses opposite the theatre, and four caught fire at the same moment: but by the great activity of the firemen, they suffered little more damage than a severe scorching. Great apprehensions were entertained for the safety of Drury-lane theatre, as the flakes of fire were carried on by the wind with force and in great quantities in that direction. A great number of people mounted the roof, ready, in case of actual fire, to open the large cistern of water provided there. All the people in the neighbourhood were employed, with their servants, in extinguishing the flakes of fire as they fell upon their roofs or in their yards. This is the whole extent of injury sustained in the neighbourhood; but as to the theatre itself, it is totally consumed, and on the Hart-street side, not even the walls are standing. The Ship tavern, and part of Mr. Brandon the box-keeper's office, are all that remain at that angle. The most painful part of this dreadful event remains to be described. At an early stage of the fire, a party of firemen broke open the great door under the Piazza, Covent-garden; and, having introduced an engine belonging to the Phoenix fire-office into the passage, they directed it towards the galleries, where the fire appeared to burn most fiercely; when, dreadful to relate, the burning roof of the passage fell in and buried them, with several others who had rushed in along with them, in the ruins. It was a considerable time before the rubbish, which now blocked up the door, could be

cleared away. When it was effected, a miserable spectacle presented itself; the mangled bodies of dead and dying appearing through the rubbish, or discovered in each advance to remove it. At twelve, eleven dead bodies had been carried into the church-yard of St. Paul, Covent-garden. Some were sent to St. Bartholomew's, and others to the Middlesex hospital, miserably mangled, with broken limbs and dreadful bruises. The insurances on the theatre scarcely exceeded 60,000*l.*, and the savings from the Shakespeare premises amount to 3500*l.* more, which, upon the whole, is not more than one-fourth part of the sum requisite to replace the loss. Besides the usual stock of scenery, there was an additional quantity for a new melo-drama, which was shortly to have been brought forward. Of the originals of the music of Handel, Arne, and many other eminent composers, there are no copies; and of many other pieces of music, only an outline had been given. Some excellent dramatic productions, the property of the theatre, have also been for ever lost. It is supposed, with some probability, that it was occasioned by the wadding of the gun fired during the performance of Pizarro, having lodged in one of the scenes. The Bedford and Piazza coffee-houses escaped the flames, owing to a wall which had been erected by the proprietors of the theatre, a short time since, to insulate the theatre from the back of those premises.—Too much praise cannot be bestowed on the prompt attendance and active exertions of the volunteer corps, which prevented many depredations; who were afterwards relieved by parties of the
life

life and foot guards.—The organ, left by Handel as a legacy to the theatre, stated to be worth upwards of 1000 guineas, and which played only during the Oratorios, was consumed.—The Beef-steak club also, which held its meetings at the top of the theatre (in addition to their stock of wines, valued at 1500*l.*), have to regret the loss of the table service, and dinner implements.—Mr. Ware, the leader of the band, lost a violin of 300*l.* value, which he had left behind him that night for the first time in two years; Mr. Munden, his wardrobe, which cannot be replaced under 300*l.*; miss Bolton, her jewels; and the other performers property, in the aggregate, to a considerable amount.—It is almost too painful to describe the situation of those persons who were dug out of the ruins alive: they were, in general, so dreadfully burned, as scarcely to be recognised by their nearest relations, and their flesh, in several instances, literally peeled from off the bone. The dead bodies taken from the same place were nearly shapeless trunks.—Another accident happened the next day by the falling of a wall in Hart-street, which killed one man and bruised several others. They had been warned of their danger, but disregarded it.—An immense concourse of spectators thronged all the avenues to the ruins on the three first days; and amongst the nobility who visited the coffee-houses adjoining, were the dukes of York and Cambridge, marquis Tweedale, &c.—The coroners for London, Middlesex, and Surrey, have sat on nineteen bodies, killed at the fire: viz. twelve at Covent-garden, three at St. Bartholomew's hospital, two

at the Middlesex hospital, and two at St. Thomas's. Two persons are now in a dangerous state at St. Bartholomew's, and one at the Middlesex hospital; amounting in all to twenty-two. Others have been carried to their houses; but it is not yet known exactly how many lives have been lost.—From the evidence of Wm. Addicot, one of the stage-carpenters of the theatre, and Wm. Darley, one of the firemen belonging to the Eagle Insurance Office, and one of the jury, who had witnessed the falling in of the ceiling, by which the unfortunate men were burnt to death, it appeared, that the firemen, and others who perished, had been employed in endeavouring to extinguish the flames at the room called The Apollo, which had fallen in upon them. It also appeared that the surmises which had gone abroad as to the explosions of barrels of gunpowder, were entirely unfounded, there never being more gunpowder kept in the theatre than was necessary for the consumption of a single night.—The names of the deceased are as follows: Mr. T. Harris, jun. optician, of Hyde-street Bloomsbury, a serjeant in the Bloomsbury volunteers; Mr. R. Davis, a gentleman who had lately arrived in London, from Wales, on a visit; ——— Musket, Wm. Ricklesworth, George Kilby, John Seyers, James Stewart, and Samuel Stevens, firemen belonging to the Phoenix Fire-office; Richard Cadger; T. Holmes; James Hunt; Wm. Jones, a printer; Jas. Evans; J. Crabb; T. Mead; T. James; Richard Rushton, a tailor; Mr. Hewitt, a plumber; J. Beaumont, a soldier belonging to the 1st regiment of guards; another private in

is the same regiment was taken to the military hospital, and died in three or four hours; Richard Bird, a coach-maker in the employ of Mr. Hilditch, Long-acre; James Philkins, coal-heaver, aged 20.—Mr. Richards, clerk to Messrs. Shaw and Edwards, St. Paul's church-yard, was scalded so much with the water from the burning materials, that he died about twelve o'clock the same day.—The firemen and others in Bow-street were for some days employed in pulling down the tottering ruins of the theatre, which threatened destruction to the passengers.—On Saturday, two more bodies were dug out of the ruins. A subscription was opened, and liberally patronized, for the relief of the sufferers. The King's theatre was, with much liberality, offered by Mr. Taylor to Mr. Harris; and the Covent-garden company, a few days after the event, performed there.—The plan of a new theatre, to be completely insulated, it is said, has also been submitted to the proprietors, and accepted.

24. A most melancholy accident happened one evening this week, in the river, off Fulham. A young couple, on the point of marriage, took a sail in a funny, which unfortunately upset, and the two lovers were drowned. The body of the young woman, who was the daughter of a boat-builder at Fulham, was found this day; but that of her companion has been dragged for in vain. A dog, which belonged to the father of the young woman, was in the boat, and swam to shore. The animal no sooner reached his master's house, than, by his gestures and howls, he attracted some of the family to the Bishop's-stairs, off which the fatal

accident happened, and where they beheld the boat in which the lovers had embarked, with its bottom upwards. The young man was the son of an innkeeper at Fulham; his age was 25; his intended bride was only 17.

30. *Shipwrecked Mariners.*—A most interesting and highly important experiment was made at Woolwich, by captain Manby, of Yarmouth, on a vessel at anchor in the Thames, upwards of 100 yards from the shore, before a committee of general officers of artillery, commissioner Cunningham, admiral Losack, and several officers of the royal navy, for the purpose of effecting a communication with a ship stranded on a lee-shore, and to bring the crew in perfect safety from the wreck. A ropé was projected from a royal mortar across the ship supposed to be stranded, by which was hauled on board by the crew a large rope, to be made fast to the mast-head, and kept at a proper degree of tension for a cot to travel on it, by a tackle purchase, that likewise admitted of the vessel's rolling: at the same time was sent to the ship a tailed block, with a small rope rove through it; each end of the small rope was made fast to the end of the cot, that conveyed it to the ship, and brought a person in perfect safety to the shore. The whole service was performed in a quarter of an hour.

OCTOBER.

1. *British Navy.*—The amount of the British naval force up to this day, is as follows:—At sea, 92 ships of the line, 12 from 50 to 44 guns.

life and foot guards.—The organ, left by Handel as a legacy to the theatre, stated to be worth upwards of 1000 guineas, and which played only during the Oratorios, was consumed.—The Beef-steak club also, which held its meetings at the top of the theatre (in addition to their stock of wines, valued at 1500*l.*), have to regret the loss of the table service, and dinner complements.—Mr. Ware, the conductor of the band, lost a violin of value, which he had left at home that night for the first time in years; Mr. Munden, the manager, which cannot be valued at 300*l.*; Miss Bannister, the actress, and the other performers, lost in the aggregate, it is estimated, an amount.—It is difficult to describe the ruins of the theatre, and so dreadfully have they been ruined, that it is a painful labour to describe the state of the theatre, and the loss of every thing that was once so valuable.

The theatre, which was built by the Duke of Devonshire, and which was once the most magnificent in the kingdom, is now a mere ruin. The Duke of Devonshire, who was the patron of the theatre, and who was the author of the building, is now a mere ruin. The theatre, which was built by the Duke of Devonshire, and which was once the most magnificent in the kingdom, is now a mere ruin. The Duke of Devonshire, who was the patron of the theatre, and who was the author of the building, is now a mere ruin.

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at the theatre. The poor animal, at the theatre, was pursued, and in five minutes the street was filled with the noise of the chase. She succeeded in her way down through the street: she then made her way down Oxford-street, and into the square, where she got into the corner next to the duke of St. Albans's house, and remained quiet there until she was taken alive by the duke's porter.

Through some gentlemen who have just arrived from France, we have received the most afflicting accounts, as to the state of our countrymen who are prisoners in that country. At Bitche, Valenciennes, Arras, Givry, Verdun, and Sans Louis, which are the principal depôts, there are no less than 8000 English prisoners, who are treated in a manner not only unworthy of the character of a civilized nation, but inconsistent with the feelings which humanity generally preserves even in a savage state. The pay of the seamen, who compose nearly the whole of these prisoners, has been recently reduced from three halfpence to three farthings per day, which is a sum obviously inadequate to furnish them with any subsistence fit for the food of man. But the agents of the government seem indifferent to the fate of those unhappy beings, or rather perhaps anxious to consign them to the grave. With this view, they are confined in subterraneous cells and other nauseous places, where, particularly at Bitche, Arras, and Sans Louis, they are daily dying. The treatment of the officers is somewhat less inhuman. They are divided into classes of ten each, and the whole of each class is rendered responsible for the conduct of each of

Thus if one mis-
his parole, the
d, and can
mitigation of
the medium of
is very well un-
and the terms universally
An officer who is impris-
with several others in a house,
able of affording tolerable ac-
ommodation, is told without dis-
ise, that for a louis and a half,
he may obtain his removal to an-
other house, where the prisoners
are less numerous and the accom-
modation better, and that for an-
other louis he may recover his
liberty to walk at large within the
boundaries. These bribes go into
the pockets of military officers, who
have the command of these dépôts,
and who can discriminate with as
much accuracy as a London watch-
man, what description of persons
are good subjects to be mulcted.

Such of the detained as are
known to possess good property
or connections in England, are fur-
nished with every thing for which
they can afford to pay, or can hold
out the prospect of security. But
those who are poor, are involved in
the utmost wretchedness.

Resources of the Country.—In
the quarter which ended on the
10th instant, it appears that the
produce of the consolidated fund
has fully justified the expectations
upon which the estimates of the
last session were founded; and that
the surplus is the largest that has
yet been known in any preceding
quarter. It amounts to 2,714,117*l*.
In the quarter ending the 10th of
October, 1807, it was 2,310,000*l*.
There appears, therefore, the
strongest probability, that there
will be a considerable excess at the

disposal of parliament in April
1809. Such is the condition of the
permanent revenue. With respect
to the war-taxes, accounts are not
less favourable: their whole amount
in the last quarter, ended 10th Oc-
tober, is 6,403,705*l*. In the quar-
ter, ended 10th October, 1807, it
was 6,179,073*l*. The property-
tax alone has produced, in the
year ended 10th October, 1808,
11,851,000*l*.

5. A daring attempt was made
to commit a burglary in the coun-
tess of Morton's house in Park-
street, by five notorious characters.
They were, however, met by stra-
tagem; the servant maid who had
the charge of the house, having
given notice to the office at Marl-
borough-street, of seeing some sus-
picious-looking persons for several
evenings reconnoitring. On this,
the officers went and secreted them-
selves in the house; the servant was
sent out about eight o'clock, and
soon after, the bell was rung vio-
lently, and afterwards loud knock-
ing at the door, which satisfied the
thieves that nobody was in the
house. Hereupon they broke the
door open, and went to the room
adjoining the closet where the of-
ficers had concealed themselves,
when the latter rushed out upon
the robbers. A battle immediately
ensued, and in the scuffle the can-
dle was put out. One of the offi-
cers had just time to discharge his
blunderbuss, and shot one of them
in the left arm. Thus rudely at-
tacked, the robbers attempted to
make their escape through the back
part of the house, by jumping off
the first-floor leads into Park-lane;
in the attempt one of them broke
his leg, and was immediately se-
cured. The man that had been
shot,

44 guns, 130 frigates, 168 sloops, &c., 166 gun-brigs, and other vessels—total 568. In port and fitting, 33 of the line, 4 from 50 to 44 guns, 34 frigates, 69 sloops, &c. 64 gun-brigs, and other vessels—total 204. Guard-ships, &c. 39 of the line, 1 of 50 guns, 3 frigates, 2 sloops, 2 gun-brigs—total 14. In ordinary and repairing, 46 of the line, 13 from 50 to 44 guns, 56 frigates, 49 sloops, &c. 15 gun-brigs, and other vessels—total 179. Building, 60 of the line, 15 frigates, 22 sloops, &c. 6 gun-brigs, and other vessels—total 103. Grand total 1,121.

Corunna, Oct. 1.—Burgos was evacuated by the French on the 22d ultimo, after spiking their artillery, and destroying their powder. The operations will be directed against St. Sebastian's. From the situation of the two armies, a great battle must take place very soon, unless the French retire altogether. Reinforcements are pouring in upon Blake's army every day. To-morrow we expect 30,000 troops, part of which are English, and some from Portugal, to arrive here on their way to join him. The archbishop of Toledo (Don Louis De Bourbon, nephew to Charles IV., and cousin to Ferdinand VII) will, it is thought, be elected regent of the kingdom. The Conde de Florida Blanca, who has been chosen president *ad interim*, is a man highly attached to the English. The Spanish troops, under the Marquis de la Romana, arrived on the harbour last night, and have been ordered for Santander and

2. *Hare-hunting.*—Yesterday night, a hare was observed before a door in Manchester, which, it is supposed, stood

the New-road. The house was immediately purchased, less than five minutes, and was crowded. She was making her way down Oxford-street: she was Duke-street: she was Stratford-place the corner next Alban's house, and was ultimately there upon by the duke.

Through the streets, have just arrived, have received accounts, countrymen, that the com- ciennes. Sane L. dépôt- Engli in a the but wh ex

ting on 300 procure of the made haste maker in London, was recovered; that he did not un- what he meant. The were all forged, but guineas given to the shar- ere good.

A child three years old, whose parents reside in Windmill-street, near the Haymarket, died of the hydrophobia this day. She had been bitten by a rabid animal nearly a fortnight since, and her parents, having had her bathed in salt water, fondly imagined she was entirely recovered; but the day preceding her death, she was seized with the most violent paroxysms of that disorder, which speedily terminated her existence.

13. On the 7th of October, the two emperors went from Weimar to

CHRONICLE

French and
been dispatched
the journey
purpose

Some days a

name of Sophia

or seven years

into the fields

parish of Back

to pick black

by her parents

was made after

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at night, with

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Notwithstanding that the
ferences of their imperial ma-
nes, during their residence here,
we been covered with a thick veil,
here appears to be no doubt that
they had the following objects:—
1st, The restoration of general
peace: for two couriers, one

Vol. L.

bles. She remained 14 hours in the pit. Its depth is upwards of 100 feet.

A most distressing accident lately occurred at Brighton. Mr. and Mrs. Ball and miss C. Henwood, having returned from the fair at Steyning in a whiskey, between six and seven in the evening, were proceeding along the cliff, where some boys were diverting themselves with letting off rockets, &c., by one of which the horse was so alarmed that he became unmanageable, and dashing furiously forward, brought himself in horrid contact with a brewer's dray. Stunned by the shock, he instantly dropped; the chaise was suddenly overturned, and miss Henwood, a fine young woman about 20 years of age, fell with such violence on the kitchen-gratings of a house, as to fracture her skull above and about the temple. She was taken up in a state of insensibility, and no hope of her recovery was entertained. Mrs. Ball was also so seriously injured, that she was confined to her bed; and Mr. Ball, who is a surgeon of that place, received some material hurt.

The earl of Lonsdale has signified his intention of enfranchising his numerous copyholders throughout Cumberland and Westmoreland, by which measure he will be enabled to inclose more than 20,000 acres of land in those counties, at this time in a state of commonage.

Died lately, Mr. G. W. Marshall, clerk of the three parishes in the town of Thetford. Having occasion (in his situation of serjeant-major of the Thetford volunteers) to assort some damaged cartridges, a spark from a hearth-brush, which had just been used in sweeping up the embers of a wood fire, and was

procured by his son for the purpose of gathering up some scattered powder, accidentally communicated with a barrel of gunpowder standing near, which exploded, and blew up him and his youngest son a considerable distance. The workshop, in which they were, instantly took fire, and from its communication with the house and adjoining buildings, at first occasioned considerable alarm, but the flames were soon subdued, from the ready assistance afforded by all classes of the inhabitants. Mr. Marshall and his boy languished until the following evening. It is not unworthy of record, that this man had, for a considerable period, filled nearly thirty situations in the borough of Thetford, and his loss is much deplored there. The father was forty, and the son eleven years of age.

17. Fatal Effects of eating Champignons.—This day, an inquest was held before Charles Jemmett, esq. coroner for the county of Surrey, respecting the deaths of Mary Attwood, aged 14, Eliza, aged seven, and Sarah, aged five years, daughters of William Attwood, of Mitcham, print-cutter.

Mr. Perrott, surgeon, deposed, that on Tuesday the 11th instant, he was desired to visit William Attwood, his wife, and four daughters, who were supposed to be poisoned, in consequence of their having eaten stewed champignons on the preceding day; that he visited them immediately, when he found each of them suffering under severe vomiting and purging, attended with great pain in the head and violent pain in the bowels; that he administered to them such remedies as appeared to him best calculated to

get

get rid of the offending matter, as he knew of no method whereby vegetable poison could be decomposed; that he attended the said children till their respective deaths, which happened as follows:—Mary died at two o'clock on Friday morning, Eliza at half an hour after, and Sarah at half past four on Saturday morning; that they died violently convulsed; that on opening the body of Sarah, who seemed to suffer the most excruciating pain in the bowels, no appearance of disease existed in any part of the alimentary canal: hence he inferred that the poison acted more immediately upon the brain and nerves.

Note.—These people were intoxicated within ten minutes after having eaten their meal, and the eldest daughter observed to her father how cheerful they all were. This exhilarating effect was soon followed by stupor, and the symptoms already described.

A dog which had partaken of the same stew, died on Wednesday morning, apparently in great agony. Mr. Attwood, his wife, and their daughter Hannah, aged eleven years, are recovering; the latter, however, ate only two spoonfuls of the stew, alleging that she did not like its flavour. It is here proper to remark, that the stew was made in an iron vessel.

From this statement of facts, it is sincerely hoped that persons will in future be cautious of purchasing what are usually termed champignons, as these fungi are indiscriminately gathered off the commons in the vicinity of London, and sold at the London markets for the purpose of making catsup, with the addition of mushrooms.

Wonderful Instance of Existence without Food.—There is now living at Tutbury, in Staffordshire, a woman named Ann Moore, who has, it is confidently reported, taken no sustenance for a year and a half. A watch, under medical direction, has sat day and night since Tuesday the 13th ultimo, and the investigation, we are assured, is at present in her favour.—*Derby Mercury.*

An equestrian figure of his majesty, on his favourite grey charger, has been formed in chalk on the hills of Ormington estate, opposite Weymouth bay. Although its length is 280 feet, and its height 320 feet, yet the likeness of the king is well preserved, and the symmetry of the horse complete.

The night-coach conveying the passengers from Ramsgate on Monday night, having stopped at the usual watering-house between Canterbury and Boughton-hill, the coachman and guard were invited to drink by some drunken sailors (outside passengers), the horses in the interval proceeded with great rapidity, for nearly two miles, without their driver, which being at length discovered by one of the inside passengers, he jumped out of the coach at the hazard of his life, and fortunately succeeded in stopping the horses.

An occurrence of a very singular and interesting nature took place at Aberdeen on Thursday last:—A boy, of about four years of age, fell over the quay into the harbour, at high water; a carpenter, who was at work on-board a vessel close by the place, hearing the alarm, immediately pulled out his watch, which he left upon deck, and running to the bow of the vessel, the child being under water, he

jumped overboard, and brought him up from the bottom. It is easier to imagine than describe his feelings, when on bringing him to the surface, he found him to be his own son!

Attempt at Suicide.—On Wednesday morning, about two o'clock, as the watchman was going his rounds, in Bell's-buildings, Paddington New-road, he was alarmed by the report of a pistol or gun, at a house in the above buildings, and he gave an alarm to the people by knocking loudly at the street-door. A servant opened the door, and accompanied the watchman over the house, which is inhabited only by a widow lady of the name of Somner and her servant, and a gentleman of the name of Dysar, who occupied the first floor, and slept in the front attic. On going into that room, the unfortunate man was lying prostrate on the floor, and bleeding very freely, he having discharged the contents of a pistol at his head. The ball passed slantingly through a part of the left cheek, and in a manner that it is hoped will not prove fatal. Surgical advice was resorted to; and it is supposed that a quick succession from opulence to embarrassment was the cause of the attempt.

Madrid, Oct. 18.—Yesterday, at two in the afternoon, five French soldiers, in disguise, who were reported to be Mamelukes, met in a tavern near the quarters of the Walloon guards. One of the Walloon guards appeared to know them, and they perceiving this, three of them fled, and concealed themselves, while the other two who remained fell into the hands of the people, who immediately

put them to death in the most shocking manner imaginable. They dragged their bodies through the principal streets, from the Walloon quarters, as far as the royal palace, from whence they carried them in the same manner, the one without the gate of St. Barbaro, and the other without the gate of Alcala, where they burned them, of which horrible scene I was a witness. The populace then proceeded to the house of the Russian ambassador, because it was said that the other three soldiers had taken refuge there, and demanded them, threatening to burn the house if their demand was not complied with. The duke del Infantado, president of the council, learning that the populace were tumultuous and infuriated, sallied forth to appease them, accompanied by the governor of the city, and colonel Doyle, who prevailed on certain of the mutineers, accompanied by the duke, to search the house, and not having found any one in it, they retired. The regiment of Ireland marched out under arms, to prevent the burning of the house; but on their arrival they found there was no necessity for their interference. In the street Hortaleza, there were assembled more than 8000 people, through whom the duke del Infantado and his companions passed, and nothing was heard but cries of "*Viva Fernando VIII!*" "*Viva Inglaterra!*" "*Viva los Ingleses!*" and thousands of handkerchiefs, hats, &c. were waved in the air.

Gibraltar, Oct. 21.—News have been received here from Corsica, that five French frigates, which had got out of Toulon a few days before, were blockaded in San Fiorenzo.

resso. They were full of troops and provisions, destined for the relief of Barcelona, and having been chased by the English, were obliged to take refuge in the port above-mentioned. The master of the vessel which brought the news, states, that if the frigates do not immediately surrender, they cannot escape being destroyed by the seven English ships which blockade.

20. This day, a very numerous meeting of the inhabitants of Westminster was held at Westminster-hall, for the purpose of addressing his majesty on the subject of the late convention in Portugal, and of suggesting that an inquiry be made into the causes which gave rise to that disgraceful transaction; and it was at length resolved unanimously to present an address to his majesty, praying inquiry; and that, for that purpose, his majesty would be pleased to give directions for forthwith assembling his parliament. The hall was extremely crowded, upwards of eight thousand being present.

Corunna, Oct. 25.—The English troops, commanded by general sir David Baird, were received here with the most lively demonstrations of joy and gratitude towards the generous British nation. The numerous transports lying in our bay form a beautiful sight; but still more beautiful is the aspect of the distinguished officers and valiant soldiers, who have disembarked in order to join our armies, which they will do without the least delay.

Suicide.—A most shocking and melancholy incident occurred in the King's-bench prison:—A young gentleman, named Alexander, a na-

tive of Berlin, who had been fifteen months a prisoner there, put an end to his existence by throwing himself from his chamber-window in the top gallery, No. 10, a height of three stories. The circumstances which led to this lamentable catastrophe are rather interesting. The deceased was at Hamburg about two years since, where he was met by a British manufacturer, one of his father's creditors, who had dealt extensively with the house. By this person Mr. Alexander was induced to set out with him to London; but as soon as they arrived in England, Mr. Alexander was thrown into Chester gaol at the suit of his friend and fellow-traveller, upon the ground of an alleged debt, as the supposed partner with his father. Having remained there some time, he was removed at his own desire by habeas corpus, about fifteen months ago, to the King's-bench. With the feelings natural to a man so circumstanced in a foreign country, neglected by his friends, and destitute of support, at length his mind became deranged. His creditors, however, persisted in his detention, under a persuasion that it would ultimately force his friends to settle their demand, as they conjectured there was an understanding between him and his father; but in this, fatally for the unhappy young man, they were deceived. Indigence and persecution reduced his mind to imbecility, and his body almost to a skeleton: for the last week he had lain on the bed of sickness, and refused to take medicine or sustenance of any kind; and yesterday morning, in a moment of phrensy,

while his attendant had quitted his room for a few seconds, he availed himself of the opportunity to precipitate himself from his window upon the pavement.

28. *Old Bailey*.—William Badcock, a hackney coachman, was indicted for burglariously entering, in the night-time, the dwelling-house of Samuel Benjamin, Mary-le-bone-lane, on the 16th of September, and stealing thereout a quantity of wearing apparel, the property of the said Benjamin. The prosecutor was a Jew salesman, and kept his shop in the lower part of the house, No. 64, Mary-le-bone-lane, which was partitioned off from the rest of the house, and in which his son usually slept at nights. After this shop was shut up on the night above stated, and padlocked on the outside, as his son had not slept there for some weeks on account of illness, word was brought him that his shop was robbed, about half-past nine o'clock. He went there with his son, and found it had been broken open, and the shelves stripped of all the property. Upon inquiry, he was informed that a hackney-coach had been seen waiting for a considerable time before the shop, and two men were seen frequently passing between the shop and the coach, and putting into the latter various parcels of goods; that they then mounted the box, and drove off with the coachman. One young man, who suspected something wrong, followed the coach and called out to the coachman to stop; but instead of stopping, he drove the more furiously. The young man, however, came up with the coach, and observed that

it was No. 278; and upon some further inquiry, it was found out that the driver was also the owner, and that his stand was in Holborn, near the Bull-and-Gate. Thither Benjamin, his son, and some others went, and waited at the Bull-and-Gate till one o'clock, when they saw a coach drive up; the gate of the yard was opened, and the coach drove in, and it was observed to be No. 278. There was one man on the box with the coachman, and both were taken into custody. Upon searching the coach, a great-coat was found under the seat, which Benjamin knew to have been in his shop the preceding evening, and his son swore that he himself had been repairing it, and that it was not ready for sale when he last saw it. The prisoner, on being interrogated that night about the conveyance of goods from Mary-le-bone-lane, denied positively that his coach had been in Mary-le-bone parish during any part of that whole day and night, or that he knew any thing about the coat found in his coach. The younger Benjamin, however, swore, that he saw him that evening in Mary-le-bone-lane, leaning against a post in the street, with his coach in waiting, for a considerable time, before the robbery, but without having then the most distant suspicion of what was intended; and that he afterwards instantly recollected his face (which was a very remarkable one), and his person, the moment he saw him at the Bull-and-Gate, Holborn. The other prisoner taken with him was discharged by the magistrates at Marlborough-street office. Mr. justice Lawrence, after recapitulating the evidence for the jury, observed, that

that if they believed the prisoner to have been privy to the intention of the parties who actually broke open the shop and took out the goods, and that with such privy he waited to receive those goods outside in the coach, they must consider him as completely guilty of the burglary and robbery as if he had broken open the shop, and taken out the goods with his own hands; as, in such case, he must be, to all intents and purposes, an accomplice in the robbery.

The jury, without hesitation, found the prisoner Guilty—*Death*.

29. *Middlesex Session*.—Joseph Powell, a noted astrologer, who had been once before convicted, and suffered the sentence of the law, for dealing in the mystic art, was again brought before the court for judgment, under the vagrant act, as an incorrigible rogue and vagabond.

This prosecution, as well as that which followed, were carried on by the Society for the Suppression of Vice, whose clerk, Mr. Western, was the chief evidence. He stated, that in consequence of one of Mr. Powell's late advertisements to the nobility and gentry, notifying that he now vended medicines which performed the most miraculous cures for head-aches, tooth-aches, rheumatism, &c. made black and decayed teeth sound, perfect, and pearly white, &c. concluding with a *note bene*, that he continued to give his opinion in the wonderful art of consulting the planetary system, gratis;—he waited upon this wonderful prophet in Edward-street, Portman-square, for the purpose of detecting him; and having feigned a complaint in his head, he received an infallible

nostrum in a small phial. After having led to the subject of his art, and given the time of his nativity, the prisoner proceeded in his magic incantations. After a short consultation of the planets, he told him that he was born under the sun, cautioned him against a dark man who was his enemy, and promised him great prosperity in the course of his dealings. For the medicine, but not for his opinion, he received half-a-crown. Wood, the police-officer, afterwards caught him in the act of casting the nativity of two young ladies, and seized the prophet, his magic books, &c. The court sentenced him to twelve months imprisonment in the house of correction, and to be publicly whipped.

Elizabeth Lawrence was also brought up for judgment for a similar offence. Her incantations, however, were confined to the mysteries of a pack of cards, upon which she told fortunes at the cheap rate of one shilling per head. Two young damsels, who had been sent for the purpose, proved her dealings in the black art; and after an able defence by Mr. Curwood, in consequence of this being the second conviction for the same offence, the court sentenced her to 12 months imprisonment in the house of correction.

30. A most dreadful storm of wind and rain occurred last week at Moffat: the rivers in the neighbourhood came down in such torrents as were never seen before by the oldest people here. Amongst the damage occasioned by it, we are sorry to state a distressing accident which happened to the mail-coach from Glasgow to Carlisle, which passes this way, at the bridge

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over

over the river Evon, about nine miles from hence, at a place called Howcleagh, betwixt nine and ten o'clock last night. The coach had just got about half way over, when the bridge gave way in the middle of the arch, and the coach, passengers, horses, &c. were instantly precipitated into the river, down a fall of 35 or 40 feet. There were four inside and two outside passengers. The two latter, and two of the horses, were killed upon the spot; and the other passengers had a most miraculous escape with their lives, though, we are sorry to say, they are all very considerably hurt. The coachman and guard were also much hurt; the former had his arm broken, and otherwise much bruised, and the guard got a severe contusion in the head. The other coach, from Carlisle to Glasgow, narrowly escaped sharing the same fate: it arrived at the bridge just at the time the accident happened; and, from the darkness of the night, and the rate the coach necessarily travels, must inevitably have gone into the river at the same breach in the arch, had not the cries of one of the sufferers alarmed the coachman, and induced him to stop. By the exertion of the coachman and guard of the other coach, the passengers who survived (a lady and three gentlemen), with the coachman and guard, that had fallen into the abyss, were saved, and conducted to a place of safety, until other assistance was afforded them. Much praise is due to the proprietor at Moffat, for his exertion and assistance on this occasion. Immediately on hearing of the accident, he set out, in the middle of the night, with several of his servants and

surgical assistance, and gave every possible relief to the passengers; and by this means, we are happy to say, the London mail, and many valuable articles in the coach, have been saved. The exertions of one of the proprietor's servants is particularly deserving of notice: at the risk of his life, he went down the precipice, suspended by a rope, and saved the life of the lady (one of the passengers), and recovered the mail bags, which must otherwise have been carried down the stream. The bodies of the two passengers have been found, and conveyed to Moffat; and, notwithstanding the detention occasioned by this calamity, the mail was delivered in town in its regular course.

31. The late fall of snow in the vicinity of Galashiels has been attended with very fatal effects. The sudden thaw which followed, caused torrents of water to descend from the surrounding mountains, which increased Gala water to such a degree, as not only to sweep away the bridge, but completely to destroy the public road. The communication in that part of the country is in consequence obstructed. We are sorry also to add, that an extensive machinery, erected for the manufacturing of woollen cloth, was entirely carried away by the torrent; which has thrown a number of industrious people out of employment.

NOVEMBER.

1. *A Hare chased by a flock of Geese!*—Notwithstanding the improbability with which the following

ing account may appear to some of our readers, we can assure them that it is a fact, as we have it from the most respectable authority.—A flock of geese belonging to Mr. Lloyd, of the Town-house at Marford, about seven miles from Chester, set a hare on the top of that hill on Tuesday last, when puss, bursting from the cackling tribe, ran down the hill, and was pursued by the whole flock, some flying, some running with extended wings, till they overtook her, when puss stily gave them the double; and returning, was so closely pursued by the irritated flock, as to be taken alive by a servant girl of Mrs. Pate's, as she was attempting the hatch in her mistress's garden, in the presence of upwards of twenty persons. Her carcass was afterwards made a present of to a wedding-party in the neighbourhood.—*Chester Chronicle.*

The following trait of self-devotion is recorded of a Spanish officer, who commanded a detachment of 300 men, at Horsens, in Jutland, who were on their march to join their countrymen, conformably with the plan so admirably concerted between admiral Keats and the marquis de Romana. Having missed the road, the detachment was surrounded by a party of French, so much superior in numbers, as to leave no hope whatever, from any effort it could make, of carrying the desired object into execution. The officer, perfectly aware of the savage inhumanity of the French, and that it was not likely to be exercised sparingly on his party, halted his detachment, walked up to the officer commanding the French, and declared that his loyalty to his sovereign, and love for his country,

had induced him to take the step he was on the point of accomplishing; that he lamented having now lost every hope of being useful to his country in her present distress; assured him that his unfortunate companions were perfectly ignorant of his plan, and therefore innocent; and hoped that the word of a dying man might be taken, and would influence his conduct towards them when they had fallen, as they soon must do, into his hands. Having said this, he drew a pistol from his belt, and shot himself through the head.

Police.—Singular Charge.

Bow-street.—On Friday a charge of a very novel nature was exhibited against Miss Sarah P——, a maiden lady, of considerable fortune, (for robbing her own servant,) who keeps a house in Bernard-street, Russel-square, and a number of servants. It appeared that Miss P—— suspected that some bottles of brandy had been stolen, and on Thursday, between one and two o'clock, she was going over her house in search of the brandy, particularly the servants' rooms and boxes; she called to Martha Kent, one of the servants, and asked her for the key of her box. The girl said she had it, and was very readily giving it to her mistress, but Miss P. observed, that she need not do it, as, when she was moving the box by the lid, it came open in her hand, and she was satisfied the brandy was not there. Martha Kent returned to the kitchen, but it immediately struck her, as her box was open, to ascertain if all her things were safe, and on her examining the box, she found that the lid had been broken open, and that all

her clothes were safe, but that cash and notes, to the amount of sixteen guineas, had been stolen, which she saw in the box the night previous; and Mary Dixon, the cook, saw the box safe, and not broken, a short time before Miss P—— was at it. It was urged by Miss P——, the improbability of her taking the money, and that all the servants, as well as the hair-dresser, who had been at her house that morning, had access to the room where the box was. Mr. Read, in reply, observed, that the servant had lived with her between five and six years, consequently she had approved of her conduct, and as such her testimony was unimpeached. It was clear the box had been broken open, and she (Miss P.) was the only person found near it, and she acknowledged to have been at it; with these facts before him, it was impossible for him to discharge her; however, on the application of her attorney, she was not committed, he engaging for her appearance on a future day.

Melancholy Catastrophe.

A young man of the name of Stringer, between 23 and 24 years of age, who was what is termed a *clicker*, or foreman, to a boot and shoe maker, was to have been married at nine in the morning, on Sunday last, at St. Clement's Church, to a young woman of decent connections, near St. Martin's Church. He had purchased furniture, and prepared apartments for the reception of the intended bride, in Denmark-court, in the Strand. It was found on Sunday morning that he was not punctual to his time for going to church; upon being called he answered, but was unable to open the door, and it was forced

open. A surgeon (Mr. Stanton of the Strand) was sent for and attended; but all the exertion of his skill proved unavailing; the poor young man was a lifeless corpse at a quarter after ten that morning.

Caution.—A new mode of getting into houses is effected in the following manner:—A man, dressed in female attire, and who generally assumes the character of the wife of a reduced tradesman, knocks at the door, states her situation to the servant, and requests that a note may be presented to the master or mistress of the house, soliciting employment in some way or other. He then, during the absence of the servant, proceeds to examine the fastenings of the door, as well as to measure the different distances of the bolts from the top of the door, size of the key, &c. By these means they are enabled to force an entrance with more expedition and less noise than they could otherwise accomplish it.

Remarkable Occurrence.—A storm-finch, or stormy-petrel, (the mother Carey's chicken of the sailors, *procellaris pelagica* of Linnæus) was found at Roslin on Tuesday last, in an exhausted state. It died immediately upon being taken up. This is a bird which is seldom or never seen but in the great ocean, and then, when observed flying near a ship, is the sure prognostication of a storm. It appears that the severity of the storm had driven them in considerable numbers up the Frith, as they were seen flying off the mouth of Leith harbour, in large flocks, during the late gale; a circumstance which has not occurred in the memory of any person here.

Royal Hunt.—On Saturday morning

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 st of the solid walls. It
 ed to take a circle, ran up
 the clock-room, and along
 of, to the other side of the
 g. There are ten holes made
 slated roof, six in the wall,
 in the wall exactly as if they
 een battered by cannon. The
 had much the same appear-
 ce. One of them is three feet
 ng. Most providentially, a fami-
 sleeping in one of the rooms,
 escaped with the dreadful fright
 only. The fire made its way out
 at two south windows, which it
 broke, as well as injured the work,
 and broke some other windows in
 the neighbourhood by the shock.
 The gardener's house was filled
 with a strong sulphureous smell.

Upon a late application from the
 merchants of Holland to Bonaparte
 for some relaxation of his commer-
 cial decrees, they were told to con-
 sider themselves as French subjects,
 in all matters relative to trade. A
 new and severe regulation against
 the clandestine introduction of fo-
 reign merchandize is still intended
 to take place in Holland, on the
 30th instant. It is something in
 the nature of an excise. Officers
 are to be appointed in every port,
 to take an account of the various
 articles in the several ships and
 warehouses, and also of all those
 sold and delivered. Should it ap-
 pear that there has at any time
 been an increase of the stock, the
 introduction of which cannot be
 supported by legal and sufficient
 vouchers, such surplus is to be sub-
 jected to confiscation.

3. A ~~large~~ hall, 45 feet long,
 ran

ran ashore on the banks of the Frith, betwixt Allo and Cambus, where it was discovered by two ploughmen, who endeavoured for a long time to kill it with their knives, but without effect; the fish at the same time making great exertions to escape. At last, a surgeon pointed out the mortal part, and, by applying a spit, they effected their purpose. It is intended to get some vessel near it, to lift it to a proper spot for dissection.

9. A broker of the name of Oliver, in Mary-le-bone, has had a piece of extraordinary good fortune, in a purchase not only of great profit to him, but of immense value to the arts. A short time since, general Gwynne, who had recently purchased an estate in the vicinity of Farnham, gave instructions for the sale of the decayed antique furniture, in the mansion-house, attached to the property. Among other things were several old pictures, lying in a heap in one of the lumber-rooms. They were bought for 5*l.* 12*s.* 6*d.* by a chandler at Farnham, who took the opinion respecting them of a coach-herald painter in the neighbourhood. This person saw they were works of a great master, and wrote to his father, Oliver, the broker, to send him 30*l.* For 25*l.* he got possession of the paintings, and bore them off in triumph to the capital. Since their arrival they have been inspected by the *lovers of vertu*, and by them are estimated at 30,000*l.* value. How far the latter report may be depended upon we know not; but certain it is, that sixteen thousand pounds have been tendered and refused. These admirable pictures prove to be ten of the Cæsars, by Titian; they are

3

each about seven feet in height. Each of the Cæsars is mounted on horseback; the fire and spirit displayed by the animals are astonishingly great. The burning of Rome is a master-piece. Each picture has an historical description, placed in an appropriate situation.

Another remarkable circumstance respecting the discovery of a celebrated picture, the good fortune of its owner, and the honourable conduct of two *cognoscenti*, has also occurred in the course of the past week:—Mr. Jennings, commonly called Chiliby Jennings, of eccentric memory, a man of large fortune, an antiquarian, and a virtuoso, passing through Chelsea, a few days since, saw at a broker's shop a picture painted in oil, of vast dimensions. On inspecting it closely, he asked the man the price of it. The reply was, "Thirty-six shillings."—After taking a more minute survey of the subject, Mr. Jennings addressed the vender with, "Have you a family?"—"I have a wife and four children," was the reply.—"My good man," said Mr. Jennings, "take my advice; it will prove a fortune to you and your posterity; do not sell the picture for a less sum than three thousand pounds." Mr. Jennings left the shop, and meeting with tall S—ns in the Park, informed him of the circumstance. S. posted away in a great hurry to the broker's residence; and after taking a slight survey of the picture, asked the man, with an air of indifference, what he expected for it? "Really, sir," replied the broker, "I know not what to ask for it, as a gentleman, not an hour ago, told me it was worth three thousand pounds." Fifteen hundred, and, since,

since, two thousand pounds have been tendered. The subject is the *Fabulous Pantheon*, by Rubens. It is in a high state of preservation, with only a hole in a part of the back-ground, of no consequence whatever to the picture.

14. The members of the court of inquiry, convened by virtue of his majesty's warrant, assembled, in the great hall of Chelsea Hospital, to inquire into the circumstances that led to the convention of Cintra: president, gen. sir D. Dundas; members, generals earl Moira, P. Craig, and lord Heathfield; lieutenant-generals, earl Pembroke, sir G. Nugent, and O. Nichols. The board was constituted without any formality; and, after the members had taken their seats, heard his majesty's warrant read by the deputy judge-advocate, and deliberated a short time in private, was adjourned.

17. The court assembled at half-past ten; and the business was opened by the judge-advocate, who read the various official correspondence between lord Castlereagh, sir A. Wellesley, sir H. Dalrymple, sir H. Burrard, sir C. Cotton, &c. &c. down to the dispatches of the 21st September. Sir H. Dalrymple then came forward, and addressed the court at some length, in vindication of his character, which, he said, had been grossly aspersed in the public prints, to serve, as it would seem, the cause of a more favoured officer. It had been asserted that he was the sole author of the convention; that he had acted in opposition to the plan of proceedings previously agreed on; that he had dashed the laurels from the brow of the victor; and that sir A. Wellesley had protested

against, or strongly disapproved of, the terms of the convention. He now pledged himself to that court, and to his country, that sir H. Burrard, sir A. Wellesley, and himself, were present with general Kellerman, when the preliminaries were discussed and settled, and that sir A. Wellesley bore that prominent part in the discussion, to which the important situation he held in the country, the glorious victory he had lately gained, and the information, more particularly of a local nature, which he possessed, so well entitled him to assume. —Sir A. Wellesley begged to say a few words in answer to what he had just heard. He regretted exceedingly that any thing should have appeared in any of the public prints which could be supposed to have the effect of serving him at the expense of the conduct or character of sir H. Dalrymple; and he disclaimed, in his own name and that of his relations and friends, any approbation or knowledge of such statements. He had agreed with the commander-in-chief on the principle of those articles, though he had differed from him in some of the details: he had signed the preliminaries at the desire of sir H. Dalrymple, but not in consequence of any command or compulsion. The judge-advocate, we understand, publicly expressed the wish of the court, that its proceedings should not be published until its conclusion, and his majesty's pleasure should be known whether any further proceedings of a military nature were to be instituted. The duke of Cumberland and a number of elegantly dressed females, were present. Sir Hew Dalrymple was accompanied by general Green,

Green, and sir Arthur Wellesley by major Tucker. Sir Hew spoke with firmness and precision, and appeared in good spirits.

An ecclesiastical cause has been determined in Scotland, which is something curious. The harvest of last year being very wet, Mr. Wright, minister of Maybole, took the opportunity after sermon, on a Sunday which proved dry, to recommend to his parishioners to take advantage of the weather to house their corn. His advice was followed by several; but the ensuing presbytery thought proper to institute an inquiry against him for breaking the sabbath; but, on an appeal to the synod, they set aside the proceedings of the presbytery.

18. A shark was caught by the fishermen at Hastings. It was entangled in 17 of their nets, and completely broke them all; but being wounded, and nearly spent, they contrived to tow on shore this monster of the deep. It measures 30 feet in length, and upwards of 20 in circumference, and it is supposed to weigh at least ten ton; has four rows of teeth, and the throat is so large that it could swallow a man with the greatest ease. It is the largest of the species ever met with in any of the seas of Europe. Col. Bothwell has purchased it for his friend Mr. Home, surgeon, of Sackville-street, who intends to dissect it, and place the skeleton in his museum. A sea-snake, 60 feet long, being the second of the kind ever seen, has been driven ashore on the estate of M. Laing, esq. M. P. in one of the Orkney islands.

19. At the change of the moon, and during an invisible eclipse of the sun, this night, an extraordi-

nary high tide, accompanied by a strong south-west wind, inundated the whole of the southern coast, from Folkstone to the Isle of Wight. At the former place, the galling of the sea carried off a prodigious quantity of the beach and sand, so as to leave the foundation of several houses quite naked. Fears were at one time entertained that the weight of the sea would break the banks of the royal military canal at Hythe, though situated a quarter of a mile from the shore; but fortunately, after destroying several store-houses, hay-stacks, &c. the sea obtained a vent to the canal, and was thus prevented doing further damage.

Abandoned Tax-Collector.—The collector of taxes at the west end of the town, alluded to some days past as having decamped with several thousand pounds, the produce of the taxes received, proves to be Mr. Launcelot Atkinson, the collector of the property and other taxes for the parish of St. James's, and is deficient to the amount of upwards of 10,000*l*. This unfortunate man's family are very respectable; his father kept a cheese-monger's shop for a great number of years in Jermyn-street, and he succeeded his father in the business, and married the daughter of Mr. Constable, a wealthy and eminent butcher in St. James's Market, with whom he received eight thousand pounds as a fortune. It is supposed he was not prosperous in business, and the commissioners of the parish, out of respect for his family and connections, very handsomely appointed him collector of the taxes. The increase of taxation in the parochial collection being now very

very enormous, it is supposed to have produced him between three and four hundred a year. The officers, with considerable difficulty, traced him by different conveyances, across the country to Portsmouth, Falmouth, and Penzance. — At this place, a person calling himself Mr. Ward, resided several days, and then removed to Truro, where the officers arrived on Tuesday evening se'nnight. They continued their inquiries, and learnt sufficient information to satisfy their minds that Mr. Atkinson was there, under the assumed name of Ward, and had purchased the lease of a house and some land, and was residing in it with Mrs. Ward and their four children. On the following morning they went to the mayor, who is an attorney, and communicated their business. He confirmed their suspicions, and said he had done some business for him; at the same time he expressed his astonishment that he had acted wrong, as he appeared to be one of the most correct and regular men he had ever had any transactions with. The officers proceeded to his house, and fortunately met with him at his door, going to walk in his garden; they addressed him in a familiar manner, and introduced his favourite topic, which they had learnt from the mayor; this answered their purpose, and, as an enticement to get him from home, told him, if he would walk to the mayor's house, they would shew him the documents; this likewise succeeded. When they got him into the mayor's parlour, they told him it was then necessary to undeceive him, and that he was their prisoner, and explained to him their commission, &c. and that he must give

up all the money he had made off with; which he consented to, and they returned to his house, when he asked Mrs. Ward for the keys, and delivered to the officers a large pocket-book containing bank-notes and bills to the amount of upwards of five thousand pounds. They arrived in London with him on Monday night, and he has undergone several examinations before the commissioners at the house of Mr. Rice, their clerk, in Dufours-place, Broad-street. He has remained in custody, hitherto, of Pearkes, the officer.

Wonderful Preservation... Charles Birkett, of Kentmere, near Kendal, had a one-year old sheep covered with snow on the night of the 19th of November, not having room to move, which remained in that confined state till Tuesday the 22d ult. being 33 days and nights. It is now able to travel, and is likely to do well.

Some workmen, who were lately employed in levelling the floor of an old house at the Cambus, in Clackmannanshire, discovered an earthen pitcher, which, on breaking, they found filled with silver coins, from the size of a farthing to that of a crown. Those of the latter size are foreign pieces, chiefly of the electors of Germany, dated in the 16th and 17th centuries. There are also many coins of queen Elizabeth, which have been much worn, and some of Charles II. which are as distinct in the impression as when they came from the mint. The latest date hitherto observed upon them is 1638. The pitcher was about a gallon measure, and was completely filled. The workmen, on the discovery of the treasure, immer

their pockets with as much as each could secure; but legal efforts are now making to compel them to refund their shares, in order that some interesting particulars may be collected from their investigation, by antiquarians.

Brighton, Nov. 20. The chasm formed in the Cliff, between the Crescent and the New Steyne, has attracted numberless visitants to that quarter, both yesterday and to-day. The place has really a ghastly and terrific appearance, and the owners of the buildings thereabout are beginning to be very seriously alarmed. They appear now to be convinced that their new groynes do not project far enough into the sea, though, at the same time, they seem disinclined to submit to farther expences in rendering them more useful, or by the timely erection of additional jetties upon a larger scale, to obtain the security they desire. Procrastination, it has been justly observed, is the thief of time, and this thief now menaces to rob the town of property to the amount of many thousands of pounds. The miraculous escape which messrs. Chatfield, Kirby (not Chapman, as by mistake previously mentioned,) and others had, when the fall of that part of the cliff above alluded to took place on Friday morning, is still the current topic of conversation. The gentlemen in question were leaning against the fence, the margin of the cliff projected many feet beyond it, when they felt the ground shake beneath them, and immediately after discovered a crack in the road, ten or twelve feet to the north of them, and which extended to a considerable distance both to the right and left. They needed not telling of

their danger, they saw it with horror, and, at the instant, happily avoided it. Scarcely had they crossed the severed part of the road, than down it fell with a tremendous crash, the water and mud raised thereby ascending, it is supposed, at least an hundred feet above their heads, and with which they were nearly overwhelmed. Two dogs that were fighting near the spot, went over the cliff and perished. There is, at this time, a tremendous crack in the cliff, nearly opposite Rock Buildings. This projectment is expected to fall every hour; it is impossible that it can long remain. The wall at the base of the cliff, opposite the Royal Circus, the summit of which formed a kind of terrace, is completely gone, and nothing but a sufficient jetty timely run out there, can ultimately preserve the houses from the merciless encroachments of Neptune. Not a vestige remains of the heavy pump that belonged to the original baths, but, fortunately, the groyne to which it was attached, remains secure, and preserves the property about that part. The weather, yesterday, moderated, or the injuries sustained here must have been greatly increased; and to-day, though damp, the wind has been completely hushed. Sea weeds, as far as the eye can reach, cover the beach both to the east and west; the spectacle the scene altogether presents is at once grand and terrible, and it is regarded with those feelings of awe that would be very difficult to describe. All the world of fashion at present here have been reviewing the ruins from their carriages to-day, and the rides, consequently, as the various equipages returned, were generally resorted to,

to, and which displayed very animated appearances.

A remarkable instance of the effects of fear on irrational animals lately occurred in Blickling Park, Norwich, during the races there:—At the very height of the sport a covey of partridges sprang up, and were flying across the ground, when they fell lifeless among the crowded throng, and were picked up by some of the spectators.

23. Captain Fremantle and captain Bayntun, who were deputed to see the monument erected on Portsdown Hill, to the memory of lord Nelson, properly executed, inspected it last week, and are satisfied that the wishes of the fleet have been complied with. They have given directions for the following inscription to be put on it:

“Consecrated to the memory of lord viscount Nelson, by the zealous attachment of all those who fought at Trafalgar, to perpetuate his triumph, and their regret. 1805.”

And on the opposite side the following:

“The British fleet consisted of 27 ships of the line; of France and Spain there were 33, 19 of which were taken or destroyed.”

William Fitzgerald, esq. M. P. and Mr. Lawler, a gentleman of considerable property in Cork, have joined the Spanish army under general Blake, as volunteers.

A sea-snake, 60 feet long, being the second of the kind ever seen, has been driven ashore on the estate of Malcolm Laing, esq. M. P. in one of the Orkney islands.

A short time ago, Mr. T. Warwick, of Warwick, shot a partridge with *three wings*: the third

wing (which grew out of the breast) was in every respect as perfect as the other two, but somewhat shorter. Mr. Warwick has this very remarkable bird preserved.

Living Human Monsters.—On the most respectable authority we communicate the following particulars respecting two human monsters:

“The first is living near Chirk, in Denbighshire, with his mother, a single woman, who supports herself and it by her labour. The gentleman who described it, says he never saw so wild and wretched a spot as the situation of the poor hut where they reside: the creature is about eighteen, as tall as a human being of that age, but he has very little human in his appearance: he is covered with long hair, and seldom stands upright, but usually grovels on the ground, where he digs holes with his nails in the floor of the cottage; he is not suffered to be loose, but is fastened to a post; and the part of the hut where he is in, is parted from the rest by an open wooden railing; he is wild and ferocious to all but his mother. I do not recollect whether he can speak: the woman owns him for her son, but refuses to give any account of his father, alledging that as she does not trouble the parish for his support, no one has a right to question her. A most horrible mystery seems to hang over the whole.

“The other creature is a boy of nine years old, son of a farmer, near Market Drayton, in Shropshire; his head and breast are handsome, but he is in every other respect deformed; he has a third leg, which grows under the skin of his right leg, of the same bigness, but not

not so long, for the foot comes out at the instep. A third arm wraps round the body under the skin, and the hand comes out in the middle of the back; all the trunk is studded with excrescences resembling fingers and thumbs—the child has a most extraordinary appetite, and really consumes as much as two persons, and his voice is singularly deep-toned and loud; his capacity is extremely good, and he goes regularly to school in the village.”

The earl of Berkeley had lately the following very perilous adventure:—Walking in the deer park with his son, a child, his lordship was attacked by an American deer, whose horns he immediately seized with both arms, and kept fast hold thereof when thrown down and trampled on by the furious animal. In this situation, he desired the child not to be afraid, but to take from his (the father's) pocket a large knife, and therewith to stab the deer, and to cut his throat, if possible. The son, worthy of such an intrepid sire, obeyed his father's orders; but had not strength enough to sever the wind-pipe, and completely cut the deer's throat. He did, however, by frequent stabs, occasion the creature to lose much blood, and to run away. Lord Berkeley was quite exhausted; but, we are happy to add, has recovered from the injury received.

DECEMBER.

2. An American, who has arrived within this week from Hamburg, gives a most melancholy account of the distress and oppression to which the Hamburgers are subjected, under the régime of the French. The prejudice of Bona-

parte against that city, seems to operate with increasing virulence. Police regulations have been adopted and enforced with unexampled rigour against every species of commerce, particularly where there exists a shadow of suspicion that any articles of English produce or manufacture are attempted to be introduced. Our informant has seen women, on their returning from a mere walk in the country, searched in a manner that betrayed a complete contempt for common decency. All the merchants and members of the ancient municipality are treated with peculiar harshness. So much indeed is this felt, that such as can contrive to remove their property, never fail to emigrate; but the vigilance of the French to prevent the removal of property, guards against any considerable emigration. All of property that is to be found, those marauders appear resolved to seize under the name of contributions. Those contributions for the last twelve months have amounted to eighteen millions of marks banco. In fact, from all that we have heard, Bonaparte seems determined upon the total destruction of that devoted city.

Naval Anecdote.—The English are charged, and perhaps not unjustly, with manifesting, on too many occasions, a derogating opinion of the conduct of their enemy. It is with much satisfaction, therefore, we state the following recent fact, so honourable to the character of a vanquished French commander. After the desperate action between his majesty's frigate *Virginie*, commanded by captain Bracc, and the Dutch frigate *Guelderland*, under the command of monsieur Bergere, the crew of the latter

latter were no sooner removed on-board the *Virginie*, than her prize, the *Guelderland*, was discovered to be on fire. While captain Brace was consulting with his first lieutenant what was best to be done on the alarming occasion, having nearly double the number of the enemy on board, monsieur de Bergere, addressing him, said, "Sir, I see your embarrassment, and, if you allow me, I think I can relieve it:—send me on board, with fifty of my own people, and I trust we shall be able to save your prize. I scarcely need tender you my word of honour for my return." Captain Brace accepted this offer; when monsieur Bergere, by his prompt energy, extinguished the fire, and immediately returned with his people on board the *Virginie*.

5. *Royal Family of Spain*.—Charles the Fourth, his queen, and Godoy, the Prince of Peace, have been removed to the palace of Chamberd, near Blois, till the seat of Navarre near Evreux, in Normandy, which belonged to the late duke de Bouillon, can be prepared for their reception. The queen of Etruria, and her young son, are placed at a house in the village of St. Mendez, near Paris, under proper care. Ferdinand and his two brothers, the infant Charles Isidore, who is near 21 years of age, and the infant Francis, who is about 14, continue closely confined in the castle of Valency. It was Bonaparte's intention, some weeks ago, to have removed Ferdinand to Paris, and he was taken out of his prison for that purpose; but on the road to the capital, counter-orders arrived, and he was remanded into confinement.

Madrid, Dec. 5.—The 2d at noon

his majesty arrived in person on the heights which impend over Madrid, on which were already placed the divisions of dragoons of generals Latour, Maubourg, and Lahoussaye, and the imperial horse-guards. The anniversary of the coronation, that epoche which has signalised so many days for ever fortunate for France, awakened in all hearts the most agreeable recollections, and inspired all the troops with an enthusiasm which manifested itself in a thousand exclamations. The weather was beautiful, and like that enjoyed in France in the month of May. The marshal duke of Istria sent to summon the town, where a military junta was formed, under the presidency of the marquis of Castelar, who had under his orders general Morla, captain-general of Audalusia, and inspector-general of artillery. The town contained a number of armed peasants, assembled from all quarters, 6000 troops of the line, and 100 pieces of cannon. Sixty thousand men were in arms. Their cries were heard on every side; the bells of 200 churches rung altogether, and every thing presented the appearance of disorder and madness. The general of the troops of the line appeared at the advanced posts to answer the summons of the duke of Istria. He was accompanied by thirty men of the people, whose dress, looks, and ferocious language, recalled the recollection of the assassins of September. When the Spanish general was asked whether he meant to expose women, children, and old men, to the horrors of an assault? he manifested the grief with which he was secretly penetrated: he made known by signs, that he, as well as all the bo-

nest men of Madrid, groaned under oppression; and when he raised his voice, his words were dictated by the wretches who watched over him. No doubt could be entertained of the excess to which the tyranny of the multitude was carried when they saw him write down all his words, and caused the record to be verified by the assassins who surrounded him. The aide-de-camp of the duke of Istria, who had been sent into the town, was seized by men of the lowest class of the people, and was about to be massacred, when the troops of the line, indignant at the outrage, took him under their protection, and caused him to be restored to his general. A little time after, some deserters from the Walloon guards came to the camp. Their depositions convinced us that the people of property, and honest men, were without influence; and it was to be concluded that conciliation was altogether impossible. The marquis of Perales, a reputable man, who had hitherto appeared to enjoy the confidence of the people, had been, on the day before this, accused of putting sand into the cartridges. He was immediately strangled. It was determined that all the cartridges should be re-made; 3 or 4,000 monks were employed upon this work at the Retiro. All the palaces and houses were ordered to be open to furnish provisions at discretion. The French infantry were still three leagues from Madrid. The emperor employed the evening in reconnoitring the town, and deciding a plan of attack, consistent with the consideration due to the great number of honest people always to be found in a great capital. At seven o'clock, the division of

Lapissi, of the corps of the duke of Belluno, arrived. The moon shone with a brightness that seemed to prolong the day. The emperor ordered the general of brigade Maisson to take possession of the suburbs, and charged the general of brigade Lauriston to support him in the enterprise, with four pieces of artillery belonging to the guards. The sharpshooters of the 16th regiment took possession of some houses, and, in particular, of the grand cemetery. At the first fire, the enemy shewed as much cowardice as he did of arrogance all the day. The duke of Belluno employed all the night in placing his artillery in the posts designed for the attack. At midnight, the prince of Neufchatel sent to Madrid a Spanish lieutenant-colonel of artillery, who had been taken at Somosierra, and who saw with affright the obstinacy of his fellow-citizens. The general of brigade Lenamont, an officer of great merit, had already placed 80 pieces of artillery, and had commenced a very smart fire, which made a breach in the walls of the Retiro. The sharpshooters of the division of Villatte, having passed the breach, the battalion followed them, and in less than a quarter of an hour 1000 men, who defended the Retiro, were knocked on the head. The palace of the Retiro, the important posts of the observatory, of the porcelain manufactory, of the grand barrack, the hotel of Medina Cell, and all the outlets which had been fortified, were taken by our troops. On another side, 20 pieces of cannon of the guards, accompanied by light troops, threw shells, and attracted the attention of the enemy by a false attack.

Court

Court of Session in Scotland.

Edinburgh, Dec.'8.—On Tuesday last the court determined a case of a very interesting nature. Mr. Donald M'Arthur, the pastor of a dissenting congregation at Port Bannatyne, in the island of Bute, brought an action against John Campbell, esq. of Southall, upon the ground that the latter gentleman, on the 20th of October, 1805, while Mr. M'Arthur was celebrating divine service in the midst of his congregation, had violently seized upon his person, forced him on-board a vessel bound for Greece, and having landed him a few miles from that place, had, after confining him in a small inn during the night, marched him along the road as a common felon, and delivered him to captain Tatham, the regulating officer for that quarter, as a fit person to serve in his majesty's navy. That officer accordingly (as the pursuer further stated) sent him immediately on-board the *Tourterelle* frigate, which speedily conveyed him out of the jurisdiction of the Scottish courts. After being detained for five weeks on-board different ships of war, and suffering, as he alledged, every species of indignity and hardship, Mr. M'Arthur was discharged by express order of the lords of the admiralty, and furnished with a certificate, that he was never again to be impressed into his majesty's service. The summons concluded against Mr. Campbell for 2000*l.* damages, with expences.

Mr. Campbell, in his pleadings before the lord ordinary, denied several of the most aggravating circumstances of the case. In particular, he alledged that the pursuer was in the practice of preaching

immoral and seditious doctrines, that he was a fit object of the impress, having been formerly employed in the herring fishery, and being consequently a seafaring man, and that, under these circumstances, acting *bona fide* as a justice of peace, he conceived himself fully entitled to deliver him to captain Tatham. The lord ordinary (lord Meadowbank) pronounced an interlocutor of considerable length, finding, for the reasons therein stated, the whole proceeding scandalous and unjustifiable; repelling the defences, whether founded on the pursuer's having once been a seafaring man, or on the religious doctrines he is said to have taught, or on the seditious speeches which it is stated that it was rumoured he uttered; and further finding the pursuer entitled to 105*l.* sterling, as a *solatium* for the wrong he suffered; together with the indemnification of the expences incurred by him, personally or otherwise, in obtaining his deliverance, and expences of process.

Mr. Campbell presented a petition against this judgment to the whole court, to which answers were given by Mr. M'Arthur, and the cause was upon these pleadings advised on Tuesday by the judges of the second division, who delivered their opinions on the point. The sentence of the lord ordinary was affirmed with expences.

3. *The King v. Alexander Davidson.*—This was an information filed by the attorney-general against the defendant, charging him with fraud, in his character of agent to the barrack-master-general, in furnishing supplies for that department of the public service. The information, in specific

cise nature of the fraud, sets forth, that the defendant, by an agreement entered into with general Delancy, in the year 1795, stipulated to purchase stores for the barrack department, and to see them packed and forwarded to their place of destination; he being allowed for his agency two and a half per cent. upon the charges and expences so incurred; that he continued to act in the character of agent, consistent with the terms stipulated in the agreement, till the year 1798, when, instead of purchasing the supplies from the merchants, as he had been accustomed to do, he furnished them from his own stores, assuming to himself the double character of seller as well as buyer; and having caused fictitious bills of parcels to be made out in the names of two of his clerks (Watson and Allen), and taken from them receipts, as if they had been dealt with on their own account. These accounts were returned to the barrack office, and the commission charged and allowed upon the transactions, the same as if the defendant had actually been the purchaser on the part of government, and not the seller. By these fabricated bills and receipts, the barrack-master-general was deceived, and the government defrauded, and the defendant obtained a commission which he was not entitled to under his agreement, in addition to his profits on the supplies furnished.

The attorney-general having stated the case, brought evidence to prove the same; and it appeared, that the contract was fairly abided by, from 1795 to 1798, but that the fraud stated in the information was carried on from 1798 until

1802, when the practice was discontinued, in consequence of some investigation into the accounts of the barrack department, and ultimately brought to light by the military commission instituted by the house of commons. The particular instance of fraud imputed, amounted to about 1500*l.* being the commission charged on 15,000*l.*

Mr. Dallas, for the defendant, said, that such a sum could not be an inducement to a man in such an extensive business, and high line in society, to forfeit all that could be dear to him, and that he was employed by general Delancy, without any previous acquaintance, but entirely from his knowledge in business, and great mercantile concerns. — Mr. Dallas said, he would admit, by that agreement, he was employed merely as an agent, at a stipulated commission; and that he was bound to deliver in bills of parcels from the parties he dealt with, as vouchers for the purchases he made on the barrack accounts; and he would ask, if it was likely, after four years of honourable conduct, diligent and faithful in the discharge of his duty, and accurate and punctual in his accounts, he should all at once deviate from that line of propriety, and be guilty of a fraudulent breach in the execution of his contract? — The defence, however, on which he rested, was, that between the years 1795 and 1798, general Delancy found considerable difficulty to obtain supplies from the merchants, and knowing, that, by the first agreement, Mr. Davidson was prohibited from furnishing supplies from his own stores, entered into a fresh agreement with him, and to benefit the public service, agreed that

that that stipulation should be done away, and that he should be allowed to furnish the supplies himself. The circumstance of the defendant's bills being made out in the name of his two clerks, in this case, evinced no fraud, but was done merely for the safety of formality, as it would have been irregular for the same person to appear both as buyer and seller in the same document. The commission was charged inadvertently, and when the defendant discovered the error, he had endeavoured to get back the accounts from the office, to correct them, but it was too late, the accounts having been passed.

General Delaney was then called, who admitted that he agreed to the defendant's furnishing the supplies from his own stores, but not to his charging commission upon them. Had he done so, he should have considered himself as guilty of a flagrant breach of his duty to the public. He never knew the commission was charged, though he had no doubt Mr. Davidson might have laid the case on that head before the barrack board, that would have called for his consideration.

Lord Moira, sir Evan Nepean, sir Andrew Snape Hammond, sir William Rule, the hon. Wellesley Pole, and Messrs. Lee, Hunter, Cowley, Smart, Davidson, Jordaine, Black, Gilpin, Long, and Huskisson, were then examined as to character, and all described the defendant as a man of strict probity and honour, and that they believed him to be incapable of committing a deliberate fraud.

The attorney-general made an able reply, insisting that the defence had contributed to substan-

tiate the fraud. The inaccuracies the defendant wished to correct were not relative to the commission, they respected other errors in his accounts.

Lord Ellenborough summed up with great accuracy and precision: he observed with strong emphasis upon the fabricating of the bills of parcels and the receipts, and said it seldom happened that deceit was necessary to produce an honourable or honest purpose.

The jury, after consulting for some time, found the defendant—*Guilty.*

9. *Subscription to assist the Spaniards.*—A numerous and respectable meeting of the merchants and traders of London, was on Friday held at the City of London tavern, for the purpose of instituting a subscription in aid of the patriotic armies in Spain.

The lord mayor was called to the chair; who, on taking it, observed, that the cause for which they had met together, was of so glorious and meritorious a nature, and spoke so powerfully for itself to the hearts of all present, that little or nothing was left for him to say, further than to express the pride he felt in presiding over so highly respectable a meeting, and the interest which, he was persuaded, every true Englishman took in its success.

This motion having been seconded, Mr. Rowcroft thought it necessary to inform the meeting of some circumstances which had occurred relative to it. Those who had proposed to call it, had, in the first place, considered the popular feeling which prevails so strongly in favour of Spain, and which would, he trusted, be made mani-

fest by the measure which was now recommended. They had also ascertained that government would see with pleasure such a manifestation of the public mind respecting the Spanish cause, and that such a measure would be very pleasing to the Spanish deputy in this country, admiral Apodaca, who would thankfully receive, and speedily transmit to his own country, whatever sums should be subscribed for its use. Due notice was then given of the meeting, which had drawn the attention of ministers, who were anxious that every appearance should be avoided which would seem like a reflection cast upon them, for omitting any exertion that it was in their power to make in aid of the Spanish cause. This feeling had induced Mr. Perceval, the chancellor of the exchequer, to write a letter to the lord mayor (which had been received only a few hours), explanatory of the aids which government had already furnished, or were now furnishing. He then read the letter, which was to the following effect:—

“MY LORD;—Understanding that a meeting is to be convened under the sanction of your lordship, for the purpose of promoting a subscription for the purchase of shoes, clothes, and other necessities for the Spanish army, I feel it necessary to furnish you with the fullest information of what has been already done, and what is now doing by government for those objects. I hope I shall not be so far misunderstood, as to be supposed desirous of repressing any proof which the city of London may be disposed to give, of that sentiment which is felt so generally in this country; but I feel appre-

hensive, that unless great caution be used, some injury might be done to that cause which it is the object of this meeting to promote. I therefore think it necessary to inform you, that as to the purchase of shoes, which is stated as the first object of the subscription, government have taken every means of procuring an abundant supply. From the orders they had given, not only in England, but in Ireland and Scotland, they expect to be furnished with 40 or 50,000 pair a month for the British and Spanish armies. If the zeal of individuals were to go farther, there would be a great danger that it would create a competition, which would raise the price, and be otherwise injurious. The same observation would also apply to a subscription for the purpose of buying uniforms or clothing. With regard to arms, ammunition, and field equipage, it is unnecessary for me to make any remark, as I understand that such articles are not within the contemplation of those gentlemen who are about to promote the subscription in view. The money, however, which may be subscribed might be applied to the purchase of other articles, which could not interfere with those on which government are occupied; and which would have the advantage of manifesting unequivocally to Spain, that besides the government of this country, she has with her the strong wish and general feeling of the people.”

A committee was appointed; and several lists of subscriptions were read by different members of the committee.

The thanks of the meeting were voted to the lord mayor.

Saturday se'nnight, La Loire,
3 captain

captain Schomberg, sailed from Portsmouth for Coruana, with 2,200,000 dollars on board, for the service of the patriots, and with merchants' money for Cadiz, and dispatches for Mr. Duff, the consul. M. Adlerberg, the Swedish minister to the Supreme Junta, and suite, went in her.

19. *The Pyrenean Mountains.*

—This prodigious range of mountains extends from the Atlantic to the Mediterranean, a distance of 212 miles; and many parts of them are 108 miles in width. The roads, or passes, are four in number. The first and greatest, is that which Joseph Bonaparte took on his route from Bayonne to Madrid. This road, for about 22 leagues, lies through the Pyrenees. The second pass is from Perpignan to Barcelona, a distance of 50 miles through the mountains, where in many places 100 armed peasants may arrest the march of an army, and where neither houses, provisions, or accommodations can be found. The third pass leads from Bayonne to Pampelona, the capital of Navarre; this difficult defile is only passable between the months of May and October. The fourth road is that which leads from Tarbes in Bigorre to Saragossa. It is a track merely pervious to muleteers during the summer; but in winter, the wolves and snows render it totally impassable.

There are nearly sixty other narrow passes called *openings*, most of which are rugged, intricate, and hardly passable for laden beasts, and even these are frequently blocked up with snow.

The Pyrenees present, in profile, a mighty amphitheatre, declining by steps about 400 yards

each. The point of Vignemal is 3456 yards in perpendicular height; from hence is a rapid declivity to la Somma de Seuka, which is 3214 yards in height. The peak of Ania in height is 2560 yards. The fourth range declines to the level of the mountain of Hery, the height of which is 1602 yards. The level of the mountain of Haussa, about the vale of Baztan, which is the sixth, is 1334 yards in height. The seventh is that of La Rhune, about St. Jean de Luz, which is 924 yards high. The mountain of Aizquibel, on the border of the sea, and which is the eighth of the above series of steps, rises above its surface 556 yards. This mountain terminates in a very precipitate decline to the very edge of the ocean. The peaks of these mountains are formed of naked rock, and mostly covered with snow all the year. In the vallies the heat is frequently so intense as to be fatal to human life on extraordinary exertion, and the fogs are so impenetrable as to render many parts of the mountains utterly impassable.

Scotch Law.—Court of Session.

—About four years ago, the sheep, pasturing on the grounds in the neighbourhood of the city of Edinburgh, were much infested by dogs in the night time, and on many occasions great numbers of them were worried and destroyed. No discovery could be obtained of these nightly depredators; and as the mischief still continued, the procurator fiscal of the county, at the instance of some of the proprietors, offered rewards, first of 25 guineas, and afterwards of 50 guineas, to any person who should be the means of "obtaining a discovery in the premises," which rewards

were

were offered by advertisements, published repeatedly, for many months, in the Edinburgh papers, and were to be paid by the procurator fiscal, on conviction.

It happened that a poor washer-woman at Stockbridge, who had been sitting up all night, paying the last duties of humanity to one of her fellow-creatures, going to the door of her house early in the morning of the 17th of April, 1803, discovered a dog worrying sheep in a field belonging to a gentleman at Stockbridge. The destructive animal had already killed six sheep, and was chasing the remainder of the flock, when the poor woman, whose name is Charlotte Wilson, frightened him away. The dog was traced to his house; the owner of the dog was cited before the sheriff of the county, and the dog being fully convicted of the offence, was executed.

It was some months before the final sentence was pronounced upon the dog, owing to a litigation which the master of it maintained with the gentleman whose sheep had been worried; but as soon as the conviction took place, Mrs. Wilson applied to the procurator fiscal for the promised reward, which was refused, chiefly on the ground that the information given by her was not in the terms of the advertisement. She applied by petition to the sheriff of the county, who found her entitled to the reward of fifty guineas. The procurator fiscal brought the sheriff's judgment under review of the supreme court, where the litigation has been maintained for upwards of three years; and at last, the contest was finished by two consecutive judgments of the whole lords, ordaining the pro-

curator fiscal to pay to Mrs. Wilson the reward of 50 guineas; and he was also found liable in all expences of suit.

Extract from a private Letter, dated Stockholm, December 15.—“A Swedish messenger, baron Klenkowsstrom, captain in the navy, set out by the last mail for England. Orders have been sent to Carlsrona to prepare the fleet for the spring. We talk of nothing but war. The king is very popular, and more so than ever he was. Every thing is well, as far as relates to loyalty, patriotism, and devotion to the common cause; but we have indeed hard times. The poor suffer exceedingly from privations of every kind, and we have daily hundreds of emigrants from Finland, who arrive in the most deplorable condition, many of them being nearly naked. I heard to-day that the English have subscribed for the poor Finlanders. I remember when I was in Germany, some time since, how much good the English did them—surely the Swedes have not forfeited their friendship and esteem. We are all astonished at the Russian general's agreeing to the armistice—25,000 Russians, and only 7000 Swedes; but thanks to our brave general Adlerkreutz, who would not agree to the first demands made by the Russians; though he was in a most critical situation.

Murder.—Last Sunday evening, about eight o'clock, as Mr. Wm. White, a respectable farmer of Ilco, near Upnor in Kent, was sitting in his parlour reading, a shot was fired through the window, which instantly killed him. The alarm was given, immediate search was made after the perpetrator, but

but without effect. A gun, recently discharged, was found in a ditch, about forty rods from the house, near the Mill-rap; from which it is presumed the villain escaped by water. The deceased was a widower, and bore an excellent character: he has left a family of eleven children to lament his loss. The most deliberate aim must have been taken by the perpetrator, as he had placed a hurdle before the window to rest the gun on. The elder branches of the family were sitting near the unfortunate man, and his eldest daughter had just risen to reach something from an adjoining cupboard when the shot was fired, which entered the back part of his head, and came out under his right eye. The gun is an old musket barrel fastened to the stock by a nail in the breach, hammered down double in the wood; the lock will not stand at whole cock, but was fastened back by a piece of twine, which is supposed to have been cut at the time of firing, as it appeared in that state when found.

Horrid Murder.—Plymouth, Dec. 16.—Yesterday, the *Parthian*, 18, capt. Baldeston, was ordered to Comanza with dispatches, and while talking to the purser on the quarter-deck, one of the master's mates came behind him, and shot him with a pistol between the shoulders through the spinal marrow. Capt. B. exclaimed, "Oh, Lord! I am killed," fell on the deck, and expired instantly. The villain was instantly secured in irons by the ship's company, who were with difficulty restrained from tearing him to pieces, so much was capt. B. beloved by his ship's company. This morning, the body of capt.

B. was placed in a shell, and brought ashore to the Royal Hospital for the purpose of a coroner's inquest. Minute-guns were fired from the *Parthian* while the boat was carrying the body on shore. She sailed directly for her station. Captain B. was about 22 years of age, a gentlemanly and good officer, and is much lamented.

So many irregularities and disturbances have recently broke out amongst the students of the East-India college, near Hertford, as to require a personal investigation of the court of directors, who have in consequence come to a resolution to expel every student who shall commit any similar offence: amongst the other *pranks* of these *Oriental* pupils, that of *sporting* over the manors of the neighbouring gentry, and destroying their game, has been a principal amusement.

The place of collector of the customs, now become extinct, produced an immense income. The late earl of Liverpool, we believe, declined telling its amount, when an enquiry respecting it was sent to him from a committee of the house of commons.

22. Friday, the remains of the earl of Liverpool were removed in state from his late house in Hertford-street, to be interred in the family vault at Hawkesbury, in Gloucestershire.

Providential Escapes.—A melancholy event occurred on Thursday at Pitblieu, accompanied with very extraordinary circumstances. Mr. Mac, a hair-dresser, who resided in Ranelagh-street, had, in consequence of a domestic misfortune, suffered mental derangement; but being by medical aid recovered, he some time since resumed his occupation.

pation. That morning he attended, as usual, to dress and shave several gentlemen in his neighbourhood, by whom he was much esteemed. He had in all dressed and shaved nine of his customers, the last of whom was Mr. Palmer, of Drury-lane theatre. Immediately upon his leaving Mr. Palmer, he returned home, without attending to any of his other employers, and cut his throat with one of his razors. The wound was so deep and extensive, that he died in a few moments. The gentlemen with whom he had been, all observed something very singular in his conduct, and there is no doubt that, during the whole of the morning, he was labouring under the terrible malady which induced him to put a period to his existence. Each of the nine has reason, therefore, to be thankful that the fatal razor was not applied to his neck before the unfortunate maniac raised it against his own.

A few days since, the following shocking circumstance occurred in Sandgate, in Newcastle:—A young woman, sleeping with an infant child, awoke early in the morning, and missed the child out of the bed. On searching the room, she found that it had fallen from the bed into a tub of water, which had been left near it, and was drowned. The shrieks of the young woman, on discovering this melancholy event, alarmed the neighbours, who, instead of endeavouring to quiet her perturbed mind, began to charge her with carelessness, &c. This, added to the anticipated reflections of the mother, who was then at Shields, operated so strongly on the young woman's feelings, that she rushed out of the house, and in a fit of phrenzy, precipitated her-

self into the river, where she was drowned before any assistance could be afforded.

25. *Murder of Captain Baldeston.*—On Monday last, a court-martial was held on-board his majesty's ship *Salvador del Mundo*, in Hamoaze, on Mr. Smith, master's mate of the *Parthian*, on charges exhibited against him, by lieutenant Stevenson, of the *Parthian*, for the murder of capt. Baldeston, on the 12th inst.—President, vice-admiral Sutton.

The court having heard the evidence in support of the charge, as well as what the prisoner had to offer in his defence; and having very maturely and deliberately weighed and considered the same, was of opinion, that the charge had been proved against the prisoner; and did, in consequence thereof, adjudge the said Mr. James Smith to be hanged by the neck until he is dead, at the yard-arm of such one of his majesty's ships, and at such time, as the lords commissioners of the Admiralty shall direct. The trial lasted upwards of four hours, during the whole of which the prisoner appeared totally indifferent to his fate.

Picture of King Joseph Napoleon, as drawn in the French Journal of Barcelona.—The French would now make us believe that their hero Joseph is a perfect Adonis, endowed with every grace, and worthy of all our affection. It may be so, but the following picture, which they have drawn of him in the *Barcelona Journal*, is not very seducing:—

“The *Diario de Manresa* has stated, in one of its numbers, that his majesty Joseph I. is crooked, lame, and hump-backed. Doubtless

less neither the graces of the body, nor any external accomplishments, ought to be regarded as qualities which render princes objects of respect. We can assert, however, that our monarch is well proportioned, though of middle stature; and that to the fine qualities of the heart and the head which eminently distinguish him, he joins regularity of features, and a lively and agreeable physiognomy. For the rest, this prince is known throughout all France, and a great part of Europe, and will soon be equally well known in Spain. In the mean time, enough has been said in reply to the effrontery and falsehood of the *Diario de Mauresa*."—*The Observer*.

This singular panegyric shews that the Observer thought he had reason to apologize for both the inside and the outside of the brother of the great Napoleon. It is said that this journalist is a wretched comic poet, whom the French have employed as their translator.

BIRTHS in the Year 1806.

Jan. 4. The lady of sir John Pigot, bart. of a son.

5. The lady of the right hon. Robert Dundas, of a daughter.

9. Lady Elizabeth Norman, of a son.

Lady Charles Fitzroy, of a daughter.

18. The lady of Thomas Tooke, esq. of a son.

20. The countess of Aboync, of a son.

30. The lady of Horatio Beavor, esq. of a daughter.

Feb. 1. Lady Mosley, of a daughter.

4. Countess Moira, of a son and heir.

6. Hon. Mrs. Fitzroy, of a son.

12. Lady Stanley, of a son.

16. Lady Blacket, of a son.

23. Viscountess Morpeth, of a son.

27. Lady Phillips, of a son.

28. The lady of sir John Hope, of a son.

March 1. Lady Bagot, of a daughter.

3. The lady of the hon. George Villiers, of a son.

6. Mrs. Saunders, of two sons and a daughter.

8. Lady Jemima Johnston Hope, of a son.

12. Mrs. Harper, of two sons and a daughter.

19. The lady of George Polhill, esq. of a daughter.

28. The countess of Aberdeen, of a daughter.

April 2. Lady Sinclair, of a son.

4. Countess of Jersey, of a son and heir.

12. The lady of the hon. Montgomerie Stewart, of a son.

17. Countess Talbot, of a daughter.

25. Lady Stanley, of a son.

The lady of William Cavendish, esq. M. P. of a son and heir.

May 1. The wife of Isaac Goldsmid, esq. of a son.

10. The lady of captain H. M. Ommanney, of the royal navy, of a daughter.

18. Countess Grey, of a son.

20. The lady of sir William Walter Yeo, of a son.

21. The lady of the hon. Richard Ryder, of a son.

31. The lady of Wilbraham Egerton, of a son.

June 3. The wife of Joseph Johnson, of three daughters.

In Hertford-street, Mayfair, the right hon. lady Rous, of a daughter.

In

In Montague-street; Russel-square, the lady of sir Henry Fitzherbert, bart. of a son and heir.

14. The lady of Alexander Adair, esq. of a son and heir.

18. The lady of John Gurney, esq. of a daughter.

The countess of Abingdon, of a son.

28. The lady of lord William Beauchamp, of a son.

July 3. The lady of sir Frederic Eden, of a son.

4. The countess of Caithness, of a son.

9. The lady of colonel Hammond, of a daughter.

The lady of William Domville, esq. of a daughter.

18. Lady Lambert, of a son.

The lady of William Tooke, esq. of a daughter.

22. The lady of the hon. and rev. F. Powys, of a son.

31. Viscountess Marsham, of a son and heir.

August 6. The dutchess of Newcastle, of a son.

10. The lady of the hon. colonel King, of a son.

18. The lady of John Finch Simpson, esq. of a daughter.

20. Viscountess Anson, of two sons.

The lady of sir Robert Meade Wilmot, of a son.

21. The countess of Bristol, of a son.

24. Lady Petre, of a daughter.

25. The lady of lord Francis Spencer, of a daughter.

28. The lady of H. Thornton, esq. M. P. of a daughter.

Sept. 1. The lady of col. Anson, M. P. of a son.

2. Lady Kenyon, of a daughter.

11. Lady Henry Stuart, of a son.

25. Lady William Levison Gower, of a daughter.

Oct. 4. Lady Kinnaid, of a daughter.

5. The lady of sir H. Lushington, of a son.

9. The lady of the hon. E. Stewart, of a son.

12. Viscountess Hinchinbroke, of a daughter.

19. The lady of Francis Grellet, esq. of twins.

23. Dutchess of Bedford, of a son.

27. The lady of Thomas Hope, esq. of a son.

31. Viscountess Duncan, of a daughter.

Nov. 9. Countess of Banbury, of a daughter.

15. The lady of major Northcott, of a son.

19. The lady of James Goudere Sparrow, esq. of a daughter.

20. The lady of sir Wm. Johnston, bart. of a daughter.

24. The lady of Benj. Hobhouse, esq. M. P. of a daughter.

28. Viscountess Pollington, of a daughter.

Dec. 7. Lady Mulgrave, of a son.

8. The wife of Mr. M'Curne, Holborn, of three children.

10. The lady of Caleb Whitford, esq. of a son.

12. The lady of sir Hector M'Kenzie, bart. of a son.

15. The lady of sir James Lake, bart. of a son.

17. Lady Strong, of a son.

21. Lady Anne Ashley Cowper, of a son.

26. The hon. Mrs. Winn, of a son.

MARRIAGES

PAGES in the Year 1803.

The emperor of Austria,
Maria Beatriz.

A. R. Sutherland, esq. M. P.
Mills.

By special licence, the right
lord Keith, to miss Thrale,
daughter of the late Henry
T. esq.

16. The rev. William French,
late fellow of Jesus College, Cam-
bridge, to miss Blackburne, daugh-
ter of the late Francis B. and grand-
daughter of the late venerable arch-
deacon B.

At St. George's, Bloomsbury,
Taylor Combe, esq. of the British
Museum, to Elizabeth, youngest
daughter of the late Dr. Edward
Whitaker Gray, of that establish-
ment.

At Mary-le-bone church, James
Grant, esq. to miss Helen Phila-
delphia Nixon, daughter of the late
major-general sir Eccles Nixon,
knt.

George Shee, esq. eldest son of
sir George Shee, bart. to Jane, the
eldest daughter of William Young,
esq. of Harley-street, Cavendish-
square.

20. James Banks, esq. to miss
Mary Barnard.

At St. George's, Hanover-square,
Joshua Sydney Horton, esq. captain
of H. M. S. Princess of Orange, to
Mrs. Whorwood, widow of the late
H. M. W. esq. of Headington-
House, Oxon.

At St. George's, Bloomsbury,
Mr. Robert Smith, of Kingston-
upon-Thames, to miss Steinman,
eldest daughter of George S. esq.
of Woburn-place, Russel-square.

At Beckenham, by special li-
cence, John Spalding, esq. of Hill-
street, Berkley-square, to Mary-

Anne, daughter of the late T.
Eden, esq. of Wimbledon, and niece
to lord Auckland.

Feb. 2. William Sturges Bourne,
esq. M. P. to miss Anne Bowles.

Captain Bathurst, of the royal
navy, to miss Marianne Wood, of
Manchester-street.

9. Joseph Gurlt, esq. to miss
Louisa Brandram, daughter of Sa-
muel B. esq.

Hosace Beckford, esq. to miss
Rigby.

13. Charles Cockeril, esq. to the
hon. Harriet Rushout.

At St. Mary's, Nowington, Re-
bert Fillingham, esq. of Guilford-
street, to miss Burne, daughter of
Thomas B. esq. of Walworth.

At St. George's the Martyr,
Queen-square, Joseph Leacock, esq.
of the Island of Barbadoes, to miss
Catherine Bennet Rashleigh, daugh-
ter of Thomas R. esq. of Black-
heath.

20. Henry Hoare, esq. to miss
Deering.

March 3. Captain Coffin, to miss
Larkins.

12. John Lewis Mallet, to miss
Baring.

13. N. E. Garrick, esq. to miss
Blunt.

15. James Amos, esq. to Mrs.
Mitchell, relict of Henry Crichley
Mitchell, esq. of Teignmouth-house,
Devon.

P. Pestel, esq. of Harnsey, to
Mrs. Godfrey, widow of John G.
esq.

At Wanstead, the rev. H. H.
Parker, esq. to miss Knowles.

19. Captain Sullivan, to miss
Henrietta James.

23. Col. Dorien, to miss Le
Clerc.

30. Lord Henry Petty, to lady
Susan Strangeways.

April

April 6. Admiral Edw. O'Brien, to Mrs. Bradby.

7. Sir Thomas Dyke Ackland, to miss Hoare.

At St. George's, Bloomsbury, Mathews Corsellis, esq. to miss Utterson, eldest daughter of the late John U. esq. of Marwell-hall, Hants.

10. General Campbell, to Mrs. Knox.

11. H. J. Shepherd, esq. to lady Mary Primrose.

At Chelsea, George Kindersley, of Lincoln's Inn, esq. to miss Adams, eldest daughter of John A. late of Peterwell, in the county of Cardigan, esq.

18. Davies Giddy, esq. M. P. to miss M. A. Gilbert.

22. William Symonds, esq. to miss Elizabeth Luscombe.

25. C. W. Taylor, esq. M. P. to miss Charlotte Thomson.

May 1. C. J. Reshall, esq. to miss Martin.

3. Sir Nelson Ryecroft, to miss Margaret Mandeville.

4. The right hon. Reginald Pole Carew, to the hon. lady Caroline Lyttleton.

At Kensington, J. Sykes, jun. esq. of Arundel-street, Strand, to Maria Henrietta, eldest daughter of the late rev. T. A. Abdy, of Thoydon Garnon, Essex.

At Walthamstow, J. F. Timms, esq. late commander of the Royal George East-Indiaman, to Elizabeth, eldest daughter of R. Anderson, esq.

14. Sir Thos. Duckworth, K. B. to miss S. C. Buller.

20. Lord viscount Primrose, to Harriet, second daughter of the hon. Bartholomew Bouverie.

20. J. E. Wilmot, esq. to Eliza-

beth Emma, 4th daughter of Dr. Parry, Bath.

23. The hon. E. S. Cowper, M. P. to miss Catherine Philips.

28. Captain Murray, to lady Elizabeth, youngest daughter of the duke of Athol.

June 1. The hon. John George Dalrymple, to miss Manners, daughter of lady Louisa Manners, and sister to the dutchess of St. Albans.

7. Stafford O'Brien, esq. to Emma, second daughter of G. N. Noel, esq.

14. N. W. Ridley Colborne, esq. to miss Steele.

18. Edward Hartopp, jun. esq. to Anna Eleonora, eldest daughter of sir Bourchier Wray, bart.

19. James Moncrief, esq. to miss Robertson.

23. Lord Arthur Somerset, to Elizabeth, eldest daughter of the late viscount Falmouth.

29. Geo. Harris, esq. to Christabell, only daughter of admiral Chambers.

July 7. Lord Louth, to the eldest daughter of lord Dunsany.

At the Tower-chapel, the rev. T. C. Wilkinson, rector of All Saints, Stamford, Lincolnshire, to miss Eliza Porret, second daughter of Robert P. esq. of the Ordnance office.

14. Lieutenant-Col. Hanmer, to miss Bucknall.

19. Wm. Macdonald, esq. to miss Miller.

25. At the earl of Beverley's house, Portman-square, Mortimer Drummond, esq. to lady Emily Percy, youngest daughter of the above nobleman.

36. James Coulthurst, esq. to miss Warren.

August

August 4. Sir Mordaunt Martin, bart. to Mrs. North.

8. At Harrington House, the marquis of Tavistock, eldest son of the duke of Bedford, to lady Anna Maria Stanhope, eldest daughter of the earl of Harrington.

At St. George's, Hanover-square, sir Charles Meyrick Burrell, bart. to the hon. miss Windham, eldest daughter of the earl of Egremont.

10. Robert Smith, esq. to miss Emma Smith.

14. — Forrest, esq. of Binfield, Berks, to miss Lowther, eldest daughter of colonel Lowther, M. P. for Westmorland.

15. Sir John Gore, to the eldest daughter of admiral Montague, commander-in-chief at Portsmouth.

At Mary-le-Bonne church, the rev. Blackley Cooper, of Yetminster, Dorset, to miss Bacon.

At Battersea, William Saunders, esq. of Battersea Rice, to Maria, eldest daughter of S. Rolleston, esq. of Arlington-street.

25. Sir William George Parker, bart. to miss Still.

29. Philip John Ducarel, esq. to Lucy, youngest daughter of the late Dr. Crossman.

Sept. 1. Thomas Fenton, esq. to miss Ann Spode.

5. J. H. Holder, esq. to miss Elizabeth Hewitt.

At Chelsea, William Chambers, esq. of Aylsham, Norfolk, to miss R. Thompson, daughter of Mr. Wm. T. of Northwold, in the same county.

At St. Martin's, Mr. T. W. Williams, of Fleet-street, to miss Catherine Beaumont, daughter of William B. esq. of Bishops Stortford, Herts.—And, at the same time and place, Mr. Edward Bevan Thomas, of Basinghall-street,

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to miss Martha Beaumont, second daughter of the above gentleman.

At Islington, James Edward Pownall, esq. to miss Gage, daughter of captain G. of the West London militia.

12. Rev. Sam. Serral, to miss Harriet Digby.

21. Lord Charles Bentinck, to miss Seymour.

27. George Low, esq. to miss Still.

Oct. 3. Wm. A'Court, esq. to Maria, second daughter of lady Bridget Bouverie.

At St. Pancras, Thomas Swale, esq. of Barton Lodge, Suffolk, to Mrs. Sharpe, widow of George S. esq. of the Views, Huntingdonshire, and daughter of the late sir Giles Payne, bart. of Tempsford-Hall.

10. Mr. Thompson, to miss F. L. Stodart.

14. Hon. Robert Curzon, to miss Bishopp.

At St. George's, Hanover-square, major Alexander Morison, of the East-India Company's service, to miss Jane Carnell, youngest daughter of James C. esq. of Sevenoaks.

17. Major Smith, to miss Eliza Coles.

At St. James's church, J. Drayton, esq. of Cheltenham, banker, to miss Wells of that place.

E. Marjoribanks, esq. to miss Georgina Latour, third daughter of the late Francis L. esq. of Madras.

27. Capt. Hopkins, to miss Chamberlaine.

Nov. 8. The hon. Fitzroy Stanhope, to miss Caroline Wyndham.

At Ealing, captain J. H. Godby, R. N. to miss Bell, of New Grove-House.

At Hampton Court, Geo. Vernon, esq. of Clontarf Castle, county K of

of Dublin, to Henrietta, youngest daughter of Wilson Bradyll, esq. of Coltishhead Priory, Lancashire.

15. Mr. Francis Wakefield, to Elizabeth, youngest daughter of the late rev. Gilbert Wakefield.

22. Lord George Beresford, to miss Harriet Schulz.

Sir George Bowyer, bart. to miss Douglas.

24. Launcelot Rollaston, esq. to the only daughter of sir George Chetwynds.

30. Richard Sharpe, esq. to Mrs. Sherwin.

December 1. Richard Priestley, esq. to miss Elizabeth Paley.

John Fearn, esq. of Sloane-street, to Harriet, second daughter of Philip William Thomas, esq. of Highbury-grove.

7. Joshua Hobson, esq. to miss Jane Pulsford.

At St. Catherine's, Coleman-street, Benjamin Bushel, esq. of Clive house, Kent, to miss Tomlin, of Fenchurch-street.

At Clapham, Mr. L. G. Keir, of Bridge-street, to miss Bellamy, eldest daughter of John B. esq. of the house of commons.

10. Wm. F. Bonnel, esq. to miss Anna Collins.

26. The prince de Conde, to the princess dowager de Monaco.

January 1. Captain Lydiard, of the Anson frigate, which was wrecked.

3. In Lower Brook-street, John Leland, esq. M.P. for the borough of Stamford, in Lincolnshire, a general in the army, colonel of the 64th regiment of foot, and lieutenant-governor of Cork. He was bred in the army, and came into parliament in the year 1796. His promotions were, colonel, November 17, 1780; major-general, September 28, 1787; lieutenant-general, April 29, 1802; and colonel of the 64th regiment, June 26, 1790.

4. Edward Horne, esq.

8. Lord Alexander Gordon.

10. Rev. Cornelius Winter.

13. The hon. Margaret Stuart Wortley Mackenzie.

15. Hon. Charles Lewis Mor-daunt.

16. At Warne's Hotel, Conduit-street, Hanover-square, in the 20th year of his age, Horatio, lord viscount Trafalgar, only son of earl Nelson, and nephew of the immortal admiral lord Nelson. He was a most amiable and promising youth, and by his death, the national honours and estate of Nelson will, on the decease of the present earl, pass from the male to the female line through Mrs. Bolton, the gallant conqueror's sister, who has three sons and as many daughters, and whose son Thomas is the next in remainder. His lordship died on the 16th of January; and on the 25th of the same month, his remains were interred in St. Paul's Cathedral, attended by Mr. Bolton, his uncle, as chief mourner, Mr. Alexander Davidson, and Mr. Hazlewood, who were in the first coach; the domestics of the deceased

DEATHS in the Year 1808.

Died at Worcester, after passing the summer at Malvern Wells, John Francis Buller Hippisley Cox, youngest son of James Buller, esq. and nephew to Henry Hippisley Cox, esq. of Stone-Easton, county of Somerset, late M.P. for that county.

ceased in the second; and the carriages of earl Nelson, Mr. Davidson, and Mr. Hazlewood followed. The procession having arrived at St. Paul's, the body was taken into the choir, and the funeral service performed by the bishop of Chester. The body was deposited in the vault, near the remains of his ever-to-be-lamented uncle, the brave and gallant Nelson.

23. Mr. Robert Freebairn, an eminent painter.

29. At his house in town, the right hon. Henry viscount lord Gage, of the kingdom of Ireland, who succeeded to the family title on the death of his uncle in 1791, when the English barony of Gage became extinct. He married, in 1789, miss Skinner, daughter of the late general, by whom he had several children. The title and estate devolve on the eldest son, Henry, just come of age.

30. Leonard More, esq.

Rev. Robert Wharton.

February 1. At his lordship's house, in Lower Brook-street, Grosvenor-square, the right hon. Charlotte Maria, countess of Euston, wife of the earl of Euston, eldest son of the duke of Grafton. Her ladyship was the second daughter of James, second earl Waldegrave, by Maria, second daughter of the late sir Edward Walpole, K.B. and afterwards duchess of Gloucester. She was born October 11, 1761, and married the earl of Euston, November 16, 1784, by whom she had issue, six sons and four daughters, several of whom survive her. Lady Euston was an example of every thing amiable in woman, and the death of her mother the duchess of Glou-

cester, a few months ago, is said to have affected her health considerably.

Lately at Linlithgow, Scotland, Norval Smith, driver on the Stirling road for fifteen years; an instance too rare of what may be accomplished by carefulness and sobriety, he left property and money to the amount of 1500*l*.

At Rinfrauns, near Perth, Scotland, in his 87th year, Andrew Hall, sexton of that parish. He succeeded his father in the year 1742; and it is probably a circumstance unequalled in the annals of the church of Scotland, that his grandfather, his father, and himself, held that office for the long space of 150 years. It is supposed his youngest son, who is 68 years of age, will succeed to the office of sexton.

5. James White, aged 107.

10. The marquis of Thomond, by a fall from his horse in Grosvenor-square.

12. Mrs. A. M. Bennet, author of many excellent novels.

15. John Coltman, esq.

20. Gerard lord Lake.

21. George Hill, the king's most ancient serjeant.

29. The rev. Dr. Barnet.

At Gordon's Hotel, after a few days' illness, colonel William Fullarton, of Fullarton, deeply lamented by his numerous relatives and friends, as an irreparable loss. He was much distinguished for all the social virtues, brilliant talents, and most accomplished mind; and his death must be regretted by every friend to his country, to justice, and to humanity. He was buried at Isleworth, his remains being drawn in a hearse and six,

preceded by numerous horsemen, and followed by six mourning coaches and four, with about 25 private carriages.

In Lower Grosvenor-street, aged 85, the right hon. James Peachey, baron Selsey, of Selsey, in Sussex, a baronet, and F.R.S. He was born March 8, 1723, and married, August 19, 1747, lady Georgiana Carolina, eldest daughter of Henry, first earl of Deloraine. He succeeded his brother, the late sir John Peachey, bart. in the baronetcy, July 3, 1765, and was elected in two parliaments, representative for Seaford, in Sussex. In 1751 he was appointed groom of the bed-chamber to his present majesty when prince of Wales, and, in 1792, succeeded the earl of Cardigan in the office of master of the robes to the king, which his lordship held at the time of his decease. His majesty was pleased to raise him to the peerage on the 13th of August, 1794, by the title of baron Selsey, of Selsey, in Sussex. He is succeeded in his title and estates by his eldest son John, now lord Selsey, born March 16, 1749, who is married to Hester Elizabeth, daughter of George Jennings, esq. of Newsell, Herts, by whom he has three sons and two daughters.

In his 50th year, the right hon. George Evelyn Boscawen, viscount Falmouth, captain of the band of gentleman pensioners: his lordship was a son of the brave admiral Boscawen, succeeded his uncle in February 1782; married Miss Crewe, only daughter of John Crewe, esq. who died in 1793, leaving two sons and two daughters; the eldest son, Edward, now

viscount Falmouth, will be 21 years old in May next.

At his house in Airshire, the earl of Craufurd and Lindsey.

On-board a brig, off Bideford, Devon, on his voyage to Greenock, the rev. George Hay Drummond, M.A. prebendary of York, son of the late archbishop of York, and uncle to the present earl of Kinnoul. His portfolio, with several letters, and 360 beautiful drawings of the various places he had visited, were washed on shore. He was of Christ-Church, Oxford; A.M. 1783; and has published several sermons.

March 1. At the house of his grandfather, the duke of Buccleugh, in Whitehall, in the 11th year of his age, lord Scott, son of the earl of Dalkeith. This promising young nobleman sickened with the measles at Eton school, of which disease he died.

5. The lady of sir Henry Martin.

At Elie House, Fifeshire, sir Philip Anstruther, bart.; he is succeeded in his title and estates by the right hon. sir John Anstruther, bart. late chief justice of Bengal.

In Kelso, Thomas Barstow, esq. his majesty's falconer for Scotland, eldest son of the late Thomas B. esq. town-clerk of Leeds.

6. In Park-lane, George Damer, earl of Dorchester, viscount and baron Milton, of Milton-abbey, in Dorsetshire, also baron Milton, of Shrone-hill, in Ireland, lord-lieutenant of Dorsetshire, aged 62. His lordship was never married; his only sister, lady Caroline Damer, always resided with him. His disorder was the gout, with which he had been afflicted many years.

3 This

... a great favourite
... who always
... with a visit during
... Weymouth. He
... to have died rich, and
... in his titles and es-
... is only brother, the hon.
... Damer, now earl of Dor-
... Chester.

10. William Siddons, esq. the husband of Mrs. Siddons. Though he had been for some time infirm, his death was rather sudden, as he passed the preceding evening with a party of friends, and appeared to be in good health. Mr. Siddons was an estimable man in private life, distinguished for his probity and an exact performance of all his duties. He had a correct taste for literature, and a ready turn for poetry, which appeared in many loyal and patriotic songs, to which, however, he was too modest to put his name.

At Clifton, the countess-dowager of Fingal. She was the only daughter and heiress of William Woolascot, esq. of Woolverton, Berkshire, and mother to the earl of Fingal and lady Teresa Dease. Her ladyship was one of the mildest, gentlest, and most amiable of her sex.

At her house in Grosvenor-square, aged 82, Mrs. Allanson, of Studley, Yorkshire, widow of Charles Allanson, esq. of Bramham Biggin, and the only surviving daughter of the late W. Aislabie, esq. The high estimation in which her character was deservedly held by all ranks and conditions in life, is far above panegyric; her benevolence and liberality to the public in general, to the tenants, and poor in particular, was unbounded; and it may be truly said, that in her,

society has lost one of its brightest ornaments.

12. George Gregory, D.D. F.S.A.

14. Rev. Philip Du Val, D.D. F.R. and A.S.S.

17. Sophia-Anne, the lady of sir Wm. Pole.

At her cottage, in the Isle of Wight, lady Bridget Tollemache, sister to the earl of Dysart.

19. In Portman-square, at her son's house, Jane, countess-dowager of Dundonald. She was the mother of twelve sons and daughters, and among her descendants, she has an admiral and five captains in his majesty's navy.

20. W. Jones, of the hydrophobia.

Lady Morgan.

25. In her 101st year, Mrs. Catherine Stocks.

26. At Bath, sir Nigel Bowyer Gresley, bart. of Drakelow, in the county of Derby; whose title with the estates devolved upon his eldest son Roger, so named from his ancestor Roger de Toeni, standard-bearer of Normandy, at the time of William the Conqueror, who was descended from Malahulclus, uncle to the famous Rolla, duke of Normandy.

At her house on the canal, Salisbury, aged 83 years, Mrs. Collins, mother of Mr. B. C. Collins, late printer of the Salisbury paper.

30. At a very advanced age, sir Henry Grey, bart. elder brother to the late earl Grey, and uncle to the present, who is his heir. He never was married; and by his death, earl Grey comes in possession of estates to the amount of 37,000*l.* per annum, besides a fortune for each of his younger children.

31. At Newcastle, in his 85th year, Robert Roddam, esq. senior admiral of the red, brother to the late Edward Roddam, of Roddam, in the county of Northumberland, esq. and third son of Edward Roddam, of Roddam and Little Houghton, esq. by Jane, daughter of Robert Shelly, esq. merchant, of Newcastle-upon-Tyne.

April 1. The rev. W. Wood, F.L.S.

4. Lady Charlotte Murray.

7. Peter Rainier, admiral of the blue.

11. Dowager countess Moira. This lady was uncommonly gifted! great powers of memory, great quickness of intellect, and a peculiar easy, yet splendid elocution, with which she adorned whatever subject she touched upon, whether the mere passing events of the day, the various topics of literature, or those useful arts by which the community is benefited, and the resources of a nation enlarged. Her acquaintance with such branches of knowledge was by no means limited or superficial; on the contrary, some learned societies have borne respectful testimony to her acquirements in this particular, and the real utility which flowed from the productions of her active and discerning genius. She was married to the late earl of Moira in February, 1752; and resided in Dublin, or the north of Ireland (with the exception of one year's absence in France), for more than half a century! for the long period of fifty-six years. Let those who remember what Moira house was in the earlier days of that period, when she led, and reflected a grace upon every beneficial fashion; when she cultivated the fine arts; when

she rendered her house the favourite spot where every person of genius or talents in Dublin, or who visited Dublin, loved most to resort to; let such persons say, whether Moira house, and its illustrious lady, as well as its truly noble and beneficent lord, deserve not every panegyric which gratitude can bestow. She was the last in a direct line of the great name of Hastings—the last!! a word when so applied, every liberal nature will dwell upon with melancholy sensations, even to enthusiasm—such are perhaps the universal feelings of mankind in favour of exalted birth, which a vain-glorious philosophy never can eradicate, that when a race of nobility, distinguished by the length of years during which they wore their honours uninterrupted, is finally terminated; the extinction of such a family is regarded, not without a generous sympathy; but when the tomb closes on a noble matron, the representative of a great house, with whose history the best, and perhaps most inspiring images of our earliest days are associated, and herself not inferior to any in that history, it is scarcely possible, even for a stranger, not to hang over such a tomb, without every emotion of sorrow, of regret, and of veneration. Such sentiments may ill accord with a frivolous, and in some respects, a selfish age. Be it so—yet this age, even under the influence of a more than iron war, and much bigotry, has not lost “all its original brightness,” but retains much of its good old virtues undiminished. It possesses domestic charity at least; and those who know how to appreciate charity, will learn to venerate the memory of

of the countess of Moira, for in truth she may be said to have been charity itself. She had a strong resemblance, in many respects, to her ancestors: a lofty spirit, magnificence of disposition, untired hospitality—altogether, she was a lady of other times; and when she mingled with society more than her increased infirmities would of late years allow, few persons ever beheld her without something of more heroic days passing in indistinct, yet splendid array, before the imagination. In the reception of persons of the first distinction at her house, there was an air, a dignity, will hardly be equalled, and never can be surpassed. But the noble manner, the imposing ceremonial of life, leave but slight vestiges for remembrance, compared to those intrinsic and domestic virtues which give to the female sex their truest ornament. In all the private relations of life, she was, to the utmost, valuable! Her maternal duties she fulfilled with the enlightened spirit, and more, perhaps, than the sensibility of a Cornelia. They could only be equalled by the unceasing assiduities, the soothing tenderness, the sweet and pious and filial regards which accompanied her to her last hour—but sorrow is sacred, and the writer forbears. He can only add, that this imperfect tribute is the product of an hasty, an anxious moment, the effusion of gratitude, resting indeed upon the basis of truth, but no exact delineation of lady Moira's character. The style is warm, for it flows from the heart; and who that knew her, could write of lady Moira in a style which was inert and grovelling? Ireland will long have cause to regret her—she cul-

tivated its best interests—to the gentry, she displayed an example of attachment to the country, which they might have well imitated—to the peasantry of all descriptions, she was a guardian friend—to every illiberal, party-distinction, whether arising from a false zeal for the state or religion, she was an unprejudiced, enlightened opponent. From the contemplation of such a character it is indeed not easy to withdraw. She survived her husband nearly fifteen years. She was daughter to Theophilus, and sister to Francis, late earls of Huntingdon. Her mother was the lady Selina Shirley, daughter of earl Ferrers.

15. In Charles-street, St. James's-square, James Paull, esq. the well-known candidate for the representation of Westminster. He was found by his servants in bed, with his head nearly severed from his body, and three small cuts in one of his arms. Near him lay a razor and a surgeon's lancet. At the inquest held on his body, it appeared in evidence, that Mr. Paull came home at five o'clock in the morning of the day on which he perpetrated the fatal deed, and retired to bed. The maid-servant went up at ten o'clock to light the bed-room fire, when he desired her to tell his man not to disturb him until he rang the bell, which she accordingly did. She went up again about two o'clock in the afternoon, and tried the outward room door; it was locked, and she was desired by Mr. Paull, in a faint voice, not to come in yet. She went up again at half-past five, and fancied that she heard her master groan. She then called the butler, who went in with her, and they found Mr. Paull in

the situation described. From the testimony of the witnesses, and other circumstances which have transpired, it should seem, that in consequence of a variety of untoward circumstances, and the excruciating pain occasioned by the wound he received in his duel with sir Francis Burdett, which was not healed to the last, that Mr. Paull's intellects had undergone a most material change, and that his derangement was so marked in the strangeness of his conduct, as to be visible to all his friends and acquaintances. He had been at a gambling-house the last night of his life, where it is said he added to his embarrassment by loss at play. There can be no doubt, that his first design was, by opening a vein, to bleed to death, but that, urged by the importunities of his servants, he had recourse to the razor, with which he perpetrated the fatal deed.

At Roehampton, suddenly, in the prime of life, Benjamin Goldsmid, esq. senior partner of the well known and highly respected firm of B. and A. Goldsmid, many years brokers to the English government, contractors for loans of unparalleled magnitude, and partners in a house esteemed one of the most wealthy in Europe. Mr. G. was beloved by all who knew him, and was as much celebrated for his benevolence and munificence as for his immense wealth.

20. The dowager lady Frankland.

24. Mrs. Foss, wife of E. S. Foss, esq.

At Kensington, John Bulley, esq. formerly writing-master to the prince of Wales and duke of York, aged 82.

At Edgware, the rev. John De Veil, rector of Aldenham: Herts, and one of the justices of the peace for the county of Middlesex.

At Bush hill, Edmonton, Robert Kelham, esq. the oldest member of the two societies of Lincoln's-inn, and Staples-inn, aged 90.

In the 53d year of her age, Mrs. Martha Gill, wife of Mr. George G. of Camberwell, Surry. She was in the act of making tea, and apparently in good health, when suddenly her head fell forward; her brother, who was present, caught her in his arms; but she expired instantly without a sigh or a groan. She was a most cheerful and affectionate woman, and has left a husband with five children, to lament her loss.

May 1. Allan, second son of the earl of Galloway.

2. Capt. George Gardner, esq.

3. John Brown, esq. admiral of the blue.

5. The right hon. and rev. Charles Aynsley.

In Scotland-yard, William Lowndes, esq. one of the commissioners of excise, last surviving grandson of the right hon. William Lowndes, commonly called Ways-and-Means Lowndes, secretary to the treasury during the reigns of William III. and his two successors.

At his house, at Ealing, of a fit of apoplexy, Mr. John Freeborn, aged 53. He, for many years, was principal manager of the business of the late Mr. Dodsley, of Pall-mall, where, during his leisure hours, he assiduously cultivated a natural taste for science in general, but more particularly mathematics and natural philosophy, in which he excelled. He possessed a strong

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vein of humour, which he occasionally indulged in epigrammatic compositions; but the uniform benevolence of his heart ever prevented his satire from giving pain to individuals; and all who knew him, can bear testimony to his unsullied integrity.

11. Lady Tyrawley.

14. Rev. Thomas Percy, LL.D.

In Dean's-yard, Westminster, in his 80th year, that venerable actor, Mr. Thomas Hull, who had been so long a member of the theatrical community, that he had become the father of the stage. He was originally in the medical profession, and among those who knew him long was generally styled Dr. Hull. He was a good scholar, and possessed literary talents, which he frequently exercised, many years ago, with credit to his character. His compositions were invariably intended to promote the interests of virtue, and excite the benevolent affections. But what must for ever render his name dear to the friends of humanity, and particularly the theatrical world, he was the founder of that institution which provides subsistence for decayed actors and actresses, when they are no longer qualified for the duties of their profession. If this institution had been properly supported by the proprietors of the theatres and the principal performers, it would have been much more prosperous than it has been, and would, of course, have afforded a more comfortable support for those who are not, in general, much disposed to provide for the decline of life; who often delight the public, but whom the public think very little of, when the power of delighting is at an end. Mr. Hull wrote a tra-

gedy upon the subject of Fair Rosamond, which he dedicated to the memory of Shenstone the poet, of whose friendship he was reasonably proud, and of whom he had an original portrait, which he held in great veneration. Mr. Hull lost an amiable wife a few years ago, who had formerly been his pupil. His aged mother resided many years in Bath, and is interred at Weston, near that city, where a small monument, with a few affectionate lines to her memory, was erected by Mr Hull.

In Portland-place, Mrs. Bastard, wife of John Pollexfen B. esq. M.P. for Devonshire. Her remains were interred in the parish church of Yealmpton, in that county. The melancholy procession was attended by a numerous concourse of people, who, by their silent and respectful attention, shewed a proper sense of the loss they had sustained. The domestics, with unfeigned sorrow, lamented a kind and indulgent mistress, and the lower ranks of people deplored the loss of a liberal benefactress. Her talents and taste were of the first order, and a lasting monument of her genius is left in her exquisite picture, from sacred history, of Abraham's dismissal of Hagar, as the magic of her needle has rendered this piece one of the most magnificent works this country can boast. Her strength of mind supported her in her lingering illness, and the closing scene of her life was marked with fortitude and cheerful resignation to the Divine will.

15. Alicia, lady of sir Isaac Heard.

At his house in Cornhill, Mr. Lambert,

Lambert, an eminent stock-broker. He put an end to his life by shooting himself with a pistol. It appears that he was under considerable embarrassments, which were unknown even to his partner, Mr. Cotton, or his family, but which had occasioned a depression of spirits that led on to the fatal catastrophe. On a minute examination of his affairs, a deficiency to the amount of upwards of 60,000*l.* was discovered.

23. Edward Ayrton, Mus.D.

In his 24th year, viscount Royston, eldest son of the earl of Hardwicke, and M.P. for Ryegate. This young nobleman left Ireland about two years since, and was on his return in the ship *Agatha* of Lubec, when the vessel was wrecked in a storm not far from Memel, and his lordship was among the unfortunate sufferers who perished. Never was a more promising young nobleman given to his country's hopes, or more untimely snatched away. At an age when most are content to study the ancient authors, with a view only to attain the language in which they wrote, his lordship was so thoroughly master of their contents, that he translated the most obscure of them with astonishing perspicuity and spirit. It was from a desire of adding to the store of ancient and modern learning which he possessed, the advantages that result from personal observation and travels, that his lordship quitted the splendour of an affluent home, and encountered the dangers under which he finally perished. His title devolves to his brother lord Charles.

At St. Albans, Herts, Caroline, eldest daughter of the rev. Dr. Bowen, master of the grammar-

school in that town, aged 15. This young lady possessed uncommon abilities, and had been instructed for seven years, by her own desire, in every branch of classical learning; in which, independently of female accomplishments, she had made such a proficiency, that, at the early age of ten years, she read, in the Greek language, Homer, Demosthenes, Thucydides, &c. and in the Latin, Horace, Livy, Cicero, &c. while, at the same time, by her amiable and candid disposition, and her modest and obliging deportment, she acquired the love of all who knew her.

In Gloucester-place, Mrs. Elizabeth Cocks, sister to the late, and aunt to the present lord Somers, aged 79.

In Green-street, Grosvenor-square, Mrs. Higginson, relict of William H. esq. of Liverpool, and daughter of Samuel Powell, esq. of Stanage-park, Radnorshire.

At Whitehall, the hon. Anne Smith, daughter of lord Carrington.

In Queen-Ann-street West, Mrs. Ord, relict of William Ord, esq. of Fenham, Northumberland, aged 81.

Lady Peyton, mother of sir Henry P. bart.

In Grenville-street, Brunswick-square, Mrs. Skynner, relict of the rev. John S. late of Easton, Lincolnshire.

In Gower-street, Bedford-square, Dr. Huet.

In Finsbury-place, Caroline, eldest daughter of the rev. G. A. Wylic.

In New Palace-yard, Mrs. Dickens, wife of George D. esq.

In Sloane-street, captain Thompson, of the Coldstream regiment of guards.

At

At the Vicarage-house, Stanwell, Mrs. Phelp, mother of the rev. Mr. P.

June 5. The rev. Dr. Underhill.

10. The rev. George Ashby, B.D. F.S.A.

13. Much lamented, sir Roger Kerrison, banker, at Norwich, by a sudden and instant stroke of apoplexy. He was a rare instance of the good effects of exemplary conduct and character in commercial life, having, from small beginnings, realized immense property, both real and personal, the principal part of which devolves upon his only son.

George Theakston, esq. of Christchurch, Surrey, who in his professional character was looked up to with unlimited confidence, and who, as a husband, father, and friend, will be long remembered with love and esteem by all those who had the happiness to be connected with him in these several relations.

16. The rev. Richard Coulton.

17. At his house Above-bar, Southampton, at an advanced age, colonel Heywood, deputy warden, ranger, and woodward, of the New Forest, and a member of the corporation of Southampton. He was an old acquaintance of his majesty and the royal family, and at whose house they usually took their residence, when they went to that town.

19. Alexander Dalrymple, esq.

27. Aged 110 years and six months, Mary Ralphson.

At Ballygurt, county of Kilkenny, Ireland, at the extraordinary age of 118 years, during the lapse of which he never experienced an hour's sickness, Denis Carroll, farmer.

At Hartlebury-castle, aged 88, the right rev. Richard Hurd, D.D. bishop of Worcester. This learned and truly venerable prelate was born at Congreve, a village in Staffordshire, where his father was a respectable farmer. Being designed for the church, he was educated under the care of the rev. William Budworth, master of the grammar-school in Brewood, of whom he makes a grateful mention in the dedication of his Horace. Having attained a sound classical knowledge, he was sent to Cambridge, where he was admitted of Emanuel college, of which he afterwards became fellow; and was presented by that society to the living of Thnrleston in Lincolnshire. In this retirement he devoted himself to the duties of his situation, and the cultivation of letters. Here he prepared his edition of Horace, which he judiciously dedicated to bishop Warburton, then considered the colossus of literature, and the first critic of his day. Few persons had a keener eye to discern the merits of men than Warburton; and though no one, perhaps, had a more haughty mind, or even treated his adversaries with such coarse severity, yet certainly he was destitute of envy, and dreaded not the depreciation of his own fame, in consequence of the rising reputation of others. He allured Mr. Hurd from his beloved seclusion, and brought him forward to the world, almost against his own inclination. He made him archdeacon of Gloucester, and by way of acquiring popularity for him in the metropolis, associated him with himself in the situation of preacher at the chapel in Lincoln's-inn. The object of the bishop was soon obtained.

tained. Hurd's discourses procured general admiration; and the preacher attracted the notice and friendship of the earl of Mansfield; through whose interest he obtained the distinguished office of preceptor to the prince of Wales and duke of York; a situation for which no man in the kingdom was better calculated, and the duties of which he performed with great credit. Preferment was now certain, nor was it long withheld. In 1775 he was made bishop of Litchfield and Coventry; in 1781 he was appointed clerk of the closet to the king; and on the 30th of June, of the same year, he was confirmed in the see of Worcester. On the death of Dr. Cornwallis, archbishop of Canterbury, in 1783, that dignity was offered to bishop Hurd; but he had obtained a situation more congenial to his wishes, and therefore he declined it. Since his translation to Worcester, his lordship almost secluded himself from the busy world, residing chiefly at Hartlebury-castle, the episcopal palace of his diocese. This ancient and noble pile he enriched by a large and inestimable library, containing the greater part of the books that had belonged to Mr. Pope and bishop Warburton, which he has bequeathed for the use of his successors. Dr. Hurd has shewn his critical powers and taste to the greatest advantage, in his edition of Horace's "*Epistolæ ad Pisones*," &c. with an English commentary and notes; and also in his edition of Cowley's works. The first appeared in 1759, and the latter in 1772. But the work which procured him the greatest reputation, was his "*Moral and Political Dialogues*, with *Letters on Chivalry*

and Romance," 3 vols. 8vo. 1765. Some of the pieces had appeared before, without a name, and their success probably led the ingenious author to publish a complete and enlarged edition. These dialogues evince a profound knowledge of the English history and constitution, and breathe a warm attachment to the cause of liberty. It is said that the king, one day pointing to these dialogues, observed, "These made Hurd a bishop. I never saw him till he came to kiss hands." As a theological writer, his principal productions are two volumes of excellent sermons, preached before the society of Lincoln's-inn; and another of Discourses on the Prophecies, at the lecture founded by bishop Warburton at the same place. In these compositions we observe deep thinking, close logical reasoning, fervent piety, and chaste and elegant language. As a disputant, Dr. Hurd appeared to great advantage, in a pamphlet intitled, "*Remarks on Mr. Hume's Essay on the Natural History of Religion*." This anonymous performance irritated the philosopher considerably, and he expressed his resentment in terms that shewed how much he had been hurt by the castigation. The attachment manifested by Dr. Hurd to bishop Warburton often brought upon him very liberal censures. About the time of his first connection with that great prelate, he printed an "*Essay on the Delicacy of Friendship*," in which Dr. Jortin and Dr. Leland of Dublin were treated rather roughly, for their want of due respect to the author's patron. When we recollect the motives which produced this essay, we see no reason to blame

blame Dr. Hurd; his zeal for his friend was commendable, though it perhaps carried him rather beyond the line of prudence. When reflection operated on his mind, he accordingly saw reason to disapprove of his hastiness, and, much to his honour, took great pains to suppress the obnoxious pamphlet. It would have been, perhaps, better if the book had been suffered to sink into that oblivion which the author wished; as unfortunately, on his lordship's publishing a large and magnificent edition of his friend's works in 1788, one of the greatest scholars of this age, too officiously, perhaps, and too much in that very spirit which he wanted to expose, reprinted the Essay, with some other "Tracts by Warburton and a Warburtonian." When bishop Hurd's edition of Warburton's works appeared, the world was greatly disappointed at not finding the long expected life of that celebrated character. This afforded fresh ground for censure, which was by no means spared. In consequence of this complaint, he printed a prefatory discourse, by way of introduction to the work, containing a brief but elegant memoir of the author. The merit of the deceased prelate as a writer has been variously estimated, and literary men have gone into opposite extremes. It must be acknowledged that his veneration for the author of the Divine Legation seduced him into excessive panegyric, both of the work itself and the author, and caused him to depreciate the merits and labours of all who differed from him in their opinions. With much ingenuity in criticism, there will be

discovered some unnecessary refinement, and, in this instance, the character of the two prelates will descend to posterity as perfectly congenial. As an author, he certainly possessed acute discernment, sound judgment, and general erudition; but he was also eminently distinguished by an elegance of manners, for which he was not less indebted to nature than to his connection with the court.

30. Mrs. Garrow, wife of W. Garrow, esq.

July 1. Rev. Mr. Owen, of Christ-church-college, Oxford, shot himself with a pistol. He was engaged as tutor to a young nobleman; and had ordered a chaise to be ready at the door that morning, to take him to town. He was about 26 years of age; of a most excellent character; and not the least embarrassed in circumstances.

Mrs. Jardine, relict of the rev. D. B. Jardine.

6. Miss Emma Marsham, third daughter of the hon. and rev. Dr. Jacob Marsham.

7. In Charlotte-street, Berkeley-square, the right hon. lady Anne Wombwell, wife of sir George Wombwell, and second daughter of the late earl of Fauconberg.

On Friday se'nnight, at Sutton, near Hull, George Ryston, an out-pensioner of Chelsea, who was at the battles of Dettingen and Culloden, and at the taking of Belleisle. This veteran, who thrice gave up his pension to be serviceable to his king and country, was thirteen times married, and had six of his wives living at one time.

William Churchill, esq.

14. Anne, the lady of sir Frederick Eden.

18. The

18. The rev. Thomas Randolph, M.A.

19. Mrs. Longman, relict of the late Thomas L. esq.

23. Mr. Barthelemon, the celebrated player of the violin.

27. John Thomas de Burgh, thirteenth earl of Clanricard.

31. The dowager lady Dunbar.

At Brighton, the right hon. Henrietta Laura Pulteney, countess of Bath, viscountess Pulteney, and baroness of Haydon, in her own right. Her ladyship was married in 1794 to sir James Murray, now sir James Pulteney, by whom she had no issue. She has left to sir James Pulteney the income, for his life, of all her personal property, amounting to near six hundred thousand pounds. After his decease, this immense property is bequeathed to her cousin, who was the wife of the rev. Mr. Markham, son to the late archbishop of York. That lady, the daughter of sir Richard Sutton, was divorced some years ago from her husband, and has lived, during several years, principally under lady Bath's protection. The fortune is to descend to her children by Mr. Markham. Sir John Johnston, the earl of Darlington, and sir Richard Sutton, all inherit very considerable estates. Her ladyship's remains were interred in the west cloisters of Westminster-abbey.

Madame Gautherot, the celebrated professor of the violin.

Mr. James Taill, of Cornhill.

At Berwick, James Morrison, an old pensioner. He was, for his gallant behaviour at the battle of Minden, offered a pair of colours, which he refused, never having learned to write. He was in the

American war, and was there much distinguished for his bravery.

At her house at Epsom, Mrs. Hodgson, relict of the late Robert Hodgson, esq. formerly a captain in the 1st regiment of dragoon guards. Captain Hodgson was at the battle of Minden; with lord George Sackville. Mrs. Hodgson was first married to Thomas Winteringham, esq. descended from the same ancestor in the reign of Elizabeth, with the late sir Clifton Winteringham. She was of the respectable family of the Halls, at Colchester, and nearly related to the late rev. John Halls. The bulk of her fortune she bequeathed to Mr. Brown, a near kinsman of her first husband.

August 1. At his father's house, in Lower Grosvenor-street, lieutenant-general Churchill, who signalized himself in so many engagements in Flanders, and in St. Domingo, where he had a chief command for many years.

Lady Diana Beauclerc, sister of the duke of Marlborough, and of the countess dowager of Pembroke. Her ladyship was first cousin to Aubrey, fifth duke of St. Albans, father of the present duke, and of lord William, the present high sheriff for the county of Lincoln. She was first married in 1757, to Frederick St. John, lord viscount Bolingbroke; from whom she was divorced in 1768, and married, secondly, in 1768, the hon. Topham Beauclerc (son of lord Sydney Beauclerc, and grandson of the first duke of St. Albans), well known by his intimacy with Dr. Johnson, Edmund Burke, and other men of learning and genius of his time. He died in March 1780.

Mr.

Mr. W. Pym, one of the store-keepers in the Tower. He was opening a loop-hole, to take in bedding, above the small armoury, when a sudden gust of wind took the doors, which precipitated him upwards of ninety feet, and he was killed on the spot. He had served in the American war, and was taken with general Burgoyne; he afterwards was put on-board the *Ville de Paris*, when count de Grasse offered him a valuable consideration to enter into the French service, which he refused; in consequence of which, the count behaved to him in the most friendly manner, until the time he was retaken by the late lord Rodney.

5. Mr. John Peltro, engraver.

10. Matthew Richard Onslow, esq. eldest son of admiral sir Richard O. bart.

14. In Devonshire-place, the lady of sir Charles William Rouse Boughton, bart.

19. James Comming, esq. admiral of the white.

22. Benjamin Way, esq.

At the house of his brother, the hon. William Maule, in Spring-garden, the hon. Henry Ramsay. This amiable young gentleman was in the naval service of the India company; and when last in China, was drawn into a duel with a brother officer, in which he received a wound in the head, that, on his return to England, required the operation of the trepan. It was performed by Mr. Home, with every prospect of success, but inflammation ensued, and baffled all medical skill.

26. At his seat, Forthampton-court, Gloucestershire, the hon. and right rev. James Yorke, LL.D. lord bishop of Ely, governor of Ad-

denbrook's hospital, and visitor of Jesus, St. John's, and Peter's, colleges, Cambridge. His lordship was uncle to the earl of Hardwicke, and was in his 78th year. He was the youngest and only surviving son of the chancellor, who has been named the Great Lord Hardwicke. He was successively appointed to the deanery of Lincoln, and the bishoprics of St. David's, Gloucester, and Ely, the last of which he has held twenty-seven years. His lordship was affectionately loyal to his sovereign, politely attentive to his equals, and kindly interested for the welfare of his inferiors. It is almost unnecessary to mention, among so many instances of his disinterested sense of duty, that the mastership of Jesus college, Cambridge, was offered to the late Dr. Paley without solicitation; and that during his superintendence, by example and exhortation, to the clergy of the diocese, especially with respect to residence, the isle of Ely had much improved in morals, in social order, and in general felicity. His lordship has left a widow, whose affliction will doubtless be mitigated by the recollection of having been a dutiful and affectionate companion during a long course of years, employed in the exercise of useful virtue and charitable piety; also numerous relatives and descendants, by whom he will ever be regretted, and a memory worthy of the dignified situation in which he was placed. He lived to his latest hour with the consolation and the tranquillity of a patriarch. He succeeded to the see of St. David's in 1774, was translated to Gloucester in 1779, and in 1781 to that of Ely, on the death of Dr. Keene.

24. At Gosford, aged 85; the right hon. Francis Charteris Wemyss, earl of Wemyss.

At Worthing, lady Wm. Russell.

29. In Gloucester-place, Catharine, 2d daughter of lieutenant-general lord Forbes, aged eight years and five months.

At Mortimer-street, Cavendish-square, J. Boys, M. D.

Miss Mabella Turton, second daughter of John Turton, esq.

Sept. 4. At Merchison-bank, Scotland, in the 86th year of his age, Mr. Home, author of the tragedy of Douglas; he was a gentleman of considerable literary abilities, and a most worthy member of society.

5. Rev. Clement Crutwell.

12. At Richmond, Mrs. Denn, widow of the late James Denn, esq. and mother to the right hon. lady Beauchamp.

13. Lady Anne Rich, of Beaumont-street, Devonshire-place, widow of admiral sir Thomas Rich, bart.

At her seat, at Lewisham, in Kent, Gertrude Brand, baroness Dacre, relict of Thomas Brand, esq. of the Hoo, in Hertfordshire, who died in February, 1794. Her ladyship succeeded her brother, the hon. Charles Trevor Roper, the late lord Dacre, in July, 1794; and is now succeeded by her eldest son, the hon. Thomas Brand, M. P. for Hertfordshire. No wife more sincerely regretted the loss of an affectionate husband than her ladyship. When at Lewisham, she, every evening, unattended, visited his tomb, and shed tears to his memory. Her life was a continued scene of benevolence and charity; and her memory will long be cherished by the widow and the or-

phan. She was in her 58th year.

At her house, in James-street, Westminster, in the 45th year of her age, the hon. miss Trefusis, sister to the late and aunt to the present lord Clinton. Of her taste and genius the public have seen a specimen, in some pieces of poetry just published.

At Brompton Grove, Benjamin Harding, esq. late of St. James's-street, aged 69.

In Southampton-row, Bloomsbury, Wm. Nepecker, esq. of the Royal Navy Hospital, Deal, aged 44.

At Hagley, Worcestershire, William Henry lord Lyttelton, baron of Frankley, in the county of Worcester, also baron Wescote of Beulamare, in the county of Longford, Ireland, and an English baronet. His lordship was the youngest son of sir Thomas Lyttelton, bart. and was born in January 1725. Soon after he came of age, he was elected member of parliament for the borough of Bewdley. In 1755 he was appointed governor of South Carolina, and afterwards of Jamaica; and in 1766 envoy extraordinary and plenipotentiary to the court of Lisbon. On his return to England, he was again elected member for Bewdley, and in 1766 created a peer of Ireland, and soon afterwards constituted one of the commissioners of the treasury. In 1794, the English peerage of Lyttelton of Frankley, extinct by the decease of his nephew, to the greater part of whose estates he had succeeded, was revived in his favour. His lordship married in June 1761, Mary, daughter and co-heiress of James Macartney, esq. in Ireland. By this lady, who died in 1765, he had

a daughter, Hester, married to sir Richard Colt Hoare, bart. and two sons, George Fulke and Charles Adam, deceased. His lordship married secondly, in 1774, Caroline daughter of John Bristow, esq. by whom he has had several children, of whom only two have survived him, viz. Caroline Anne, married to the right hon. R. P. Carew; and William Henry, one of the representatives for the county of Worcester. His lordship is succeeded in his honour and estate by his eldest son, George Fulke, now lord Lyttelton.

16. Peter Isaac Thelluson, baron Rendlesham.

In Park-street, the dowager lady Myddelton, 77. She was daughter and co-heiress of George Cartwright, esq. of Ollington, in Nottinghamshire, and has left four children, lord Myddelton and three daughters: the countess of Scarborough, the hon. Mrs. Langley, and the hon. Mrs. Biddulph.

At the rev. H. Hunter's, Hammersmith, in his 18th year, Mr. William Gay, only son of the late William Gay, esq. of Bale, in Norfolk. As a son and brother, his duty, love, and kindness, few exceeded. His unaffected piety and goodness of heart will long endear his memory to his family and friends.

In John-street, Bedford-row, Mrs. Vanderzee, wife of Geo. V. esq.

In Russel-square, Mrs. Trelawny, wife of captain T. of the Bedfordshire militia.

In Fludyer-street, A. Windus, esq. who filled the office of cashier, and other departments in the war-office, 27 years.

25. Rich. Porson, M.A. Greek professor at Cambridge.

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Master P. T. Walker, son of Peter Walker, esq. of Gloucester-place, Portman-square.

Oct. 1. John Newman, esq.

2. Rev. William James French, of Trinity College, Cambridge.

5. John Pym, esq.

8. John Sheldon, esq. F. R. S.

In the rules of the King's Bench, captain E. A. Caulfield, late of the 1st Guards, whose appearance on the stage, and the crim. con. action, brought against him by captain Chambers, are subjects of general notoriety. For the damages given in that action, he had been confined several years. Captain C. was nearly related to the earl of Charlemont; and, by his mother's side, grandson to James lord Ruthven; he was also nearly connected with the duke of Argyle, lord Bute, lord Elphinstone, and several other ancient families.

In Hans-place, Sloane-street, Mrs. Cowell, wife of lieutenant-col. C. late of the first battalion of royals.

10. Rev. John Beevor, rector of Great and Little Burlington.

15. Marianne, wife of gen. H. E. Fox.

16. Rev. James Nasmyth, D. D.

In Upper Harley-street, H. Stracey, esq. a man of great variety of information; a most accomplished scholar; and in the whole range of polite literature, surpassed by few: a man of strict moral worth, of piety without cant, and of uncommon goodness of heart.

At Brompton Grove, Mrs. Grogan, widow of Francis G. esq. 71.

In Portugal-street, Grosvenor-square, Mrs. Fyers, wife of col. F. 54.

22. Mr. R. W. Jennings, attorney at law.

In Piccadilly, Mr. Brookes, lottery-office

tery-office keeper and stock-broker. He put a period to his existence, by shooting himself through the head. The recent failure in the city had been productive of some temporary embarrassment to Mr. B. but it is believed that the fatal event was occasioned by some very illiberal and unfounded insinuations which were thrown out against his character on the Stock Exchange.

In Vere-street, Clare-market, Mr. Cullum, cheesemonger. From a very humble beginning Mr. Cullum had realized full 60,000*l.* in the house where he died: he contracted for the produce of many large dairies in Somersetshire, and had made some considerable purchases of land in that county.

At Dartford, Peter Gaussen, esq. of the Coldstream Guards, 22.

In Hill-street, Berkeley-square, Catherine Maria, wife of William Leveson Gower, esq. and heiress of the late sir John Gresham, bart.

In Upper Berkeley-street, miss Saunders, eldest daughter of Dr. S.

At Greenwich, Samuel Gillam Mills, esq.

In King-street, Mrs. Johnson, relict of Sam. Johnson, esq. counsellor at law, and the last surviving daughter of Hamon L'Estrange, esq. of the ancient house of the L'Estranges, of Hunstanton. This venerable lady was born in the year 1712.

At Knightsbridge, in the 81st year of his age, and 57th of his ministry, the rev. Dr. John Trotter, of the Scotch church, Swallow-street.

In Guilford-street, Anthony Van Dam, esq. formerly of New York, 77.

At Hammersmith, Mr. S. For-

ster, son of T. F. esq. of Southampton-street, Bloomsbury-square.

28. Mrs. Charlotte Dalrymple.

Nov. 3. Isabella, countess of Errol.

Rev. Theophilus Lindsey, many years minister of the Unitarian chapel in Essex-street.

10. At his seat in Berkshire, the right honourable Guy Carleton, lord Dorchester, knight of the bath, a general in the army, colonel of the 4th or Queen's own Dragoons, governor of Fort Charlemont in Ireland, and governor-general and commander in chief in Canada. This veteran soldier was one of the oldest officers in the British army. He was descended from an ancient family residing many ages, at Carleton, in Cumberland, whence the survivors removed into Ireland: of the family, three brothers, who espoused the royal cause in the 17th century, lost their lives at the battle of Marston-Moor. A fourth, who survived the Restoration, was rewarded for his loyalty with the bishopric of Bristol. From this prelate his lordship was directly descended. He was born in the year 1722, and at an early period entered into the Guards, in which corps he continued until the year 1748, when he was promoted to be lieutenant-colonel of the 72d regiment. Upon the breaking out of the seven years war, his professional knowledge was put to an honourable test. In 1758 he embarked with general Amherst for the siege of Louisburgh, where his active exertions obtained him considerable reputation. In the next year he was at the siege of Québec, under the immortal Wolfe; where his important services did not escape the notice.

tice of his superiors. He was singled out as a proper officer, to be detached with an adequate force, to secure a post on the western point of the Isle d'Orleans, a service which he effectually performed. Some time after he was again detached to dislodge the French from Point-au-Trempe, 20 miles distant from Quebec, where he was equally successful. The next service in which colonel Carleton was engaged, was at the siege of Belleisle, where he acted in the capacity of brigadier-general, having been honoured with that rank on the spot on which he received his first wound from the enemy. The public dispatches of general Hodgson, who commanded on this expedition, spoke in terms highly flattering of the conduct of the brigadier. In February, 1762, he was promoted to the rank of colonel in the army, and soon afterwards he embarked for the siege of the Havannah. In this arduous enterprize our hero had his full share of honourable toil. On the 10th of June he was detached from the camp into the woods between Coximar and the Moro, with a body of light infantry and grenadiers, who invested the Moro Castle; on the 11th, he carried the Spanish redoubt upon Moro Hill, establishing a post there; but again he had the misfortune to receive a wound. Many officers, however, thought themselves fully compensated for these accidents, and for their incessant fatigues, by the ample sums of prize-money they shared after their conquest. The peace which took place after the end of this campaign interrupted the career of this aspiring soldier, and he remained several years without any opportu-

nity of exerting his military talents. He was not, however, altogether idle; when the late general Murray was recalled from Quebec, he was appointed lieutenant-governor of that province; and when it was determined that the general should not return, he was promoted to the government in his room; and he continued in this station for many years. In 1772 he was advanced to the rank of major-general in the army, and appointed colonel of the 47th regiment of foot. In addition to these favours conferred on him by his sovereign, he had the happiness to receive the hand of lady Mary Howard, sister to the late earl of Effingham.—When the contest between Great Britain and the American colonies began to wear a serious aspect, the ministry called on general Carleton for his advice; and it is supposed that it was upon his suggestions they brought forward the celebrated Quebec bill. During the agitation of this measure in the House of Commons, the general was examined at the bar, and his evidence satisfying both sides of the House of the expediency of the measure, it tended of course to accelerate its adoption. After the passing of the Quebec bill, he immediately repaired to his government, and had a difficult task to perform. He had few troops in the province, and one of the first attempts made by the Americans was, with a powerful army, to gain possession of it. They had surprized Ticonderago and Crown Point. General Carleton formed a plan for the recovery of these posts; but for want of British troops, and the cordial co-operation of the Canadians, his design failed. The general had also

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the mortification to be defeated in the field, and it was not without great difficulty and address that he escaped in a whale-boat into the town of Quebec. Here his energy of mind became conspicuous; being almost destitute of regular troops, he trained the inhabitants to arms, and soon put the place in such a posture of defence as to defeat general Montgomery in his attempt to storm it, although that brave officer led the forlorn hope in person. In the first discharge of a well-directed fire from the British battery, that intrepid American fell, with a considerable number of his men. The assailants, thus deprived of their gallant leader, paused but did not retreat, and they sustained a galling fire for half an hour longer from cannon and musquetry, before they finally withdrew from the attack. Quebec was thus preserved till the arrival of reinforcements from England. As soon as he had received these, he drove the enemy from his province, and prepared to take revenge for his previous disappointments. For this purpose he endeavoured to engage the Indians in the English interest; but, from the well-known humanity of his disposition, we have reason to conclude, he never approved of the shocking enormities which they perpetrated when not under his personal observation. He advanced with a powerful army towards the lakes; to obtain the complete command of which, it became necessary to equip some armed vessels, which had been constructed in England; but this work took up so much time, that the season was far advanced before they were completed. When this was done, he immediately attacked the American

flotilla on Lake Champlain, under the command of general Arnold, and totally defeated it; but the lateness of the season obliged him to abandon further operations, and to return into Canada for winter quarters.—It was expected that general Carleton would have been employed in the ensuing campaign, but it is believed he declined so hazardous a service, with the small number of troops that were allowed. The fate of general Burgoyne under that foreseen disadvantage, justified general Carleton's refusal. On Burgoyne's arrival to supersede him, general Carleton evinced no censurable jealousy; on the contrary, he exerted himself to the utmost, to enable his successor to take the field to advantage. He then resigned his government to general Halimand, and returned to England, where his merit, in so ably and effectually defending Quebec, procured him a red ribbon. In 1781 he was appointed to succeed sir Henry Clinton as commander in chief in America, and on his arrival at New York, he began and completed many excellent reforms. He broke up the band of American loyalists, whose conduct had given umbrage to the well-disposed. He checked the profuse and useless expensiture of money in several departments, and restrained the rapacity of the commissaries; he had the credit also of having done every thing in his power to soften the rigours of war, and to conciliate the minds of the Americans. In this situation he continued until peace was established between the two countries, when, after an interview with general Washington, he evacuated New York, and returned to England. During his residence in London

London before his last appointment, he acted as one of the commissioners of public accounts. He retained the command of the 47th regiment of foot until 1790, when he was promoted to that of the 15th dragoons, which he held at the time of his death. It having been resolved to put the British possessions in North America under the direction of a governor-general, sir Guy Carleton, now created lord Dorchester, was appointed to that powerful and important office, having under his authority all the northern settlements, except Newfoundland. In this situation and government he remained several years, still acquiring fresh reputation. Since his return to England, his lordship has led a very retired life, chiefly residing in the country. He is succeeded in his title and estate by his eldest son Thomas, a general in the army, lieutenant-governor of New Brunswick, and colonel *en second* of the 60th foot.

11. At Bath, sir Henry Paulet St. John Mildmay, bart. M. P. for the county of Hants, 43. He was the son of the late sir Henry Paulet, who was created a baronet in 1772, and whom he succeeded in 1784. The addition of Mildmay was made in consequence of his marriage to a Hampshire heiress of that name, who survives him, and by whom he has left fifteen children. Sir Henry first came into parliament for Westbury, in Wiltshire, in 1796, and was elected for the city of Winchester in 1802. At the general election in 1806, he was almost unanimously called forward by a very large meeting, held at Chichester, to join Mr. Chute, in opposition to the other candidates, Mr. Thistlethwaite and the

hon. Wm. Herbert. In this contest, after an arduous struggle, he was unsuccessful; but, as he energetically expressed himself in his address at the close of the election, "defeated, but not dismayed, and when the hour of honourable struggle shall again arrive, I shall be found at my post." This pledge he redeemed at the ensuing contest, in the following year, when he and his colleague, Mr. Chute, were both returned by a very large majority, after one day's poll. We need offer no other panegyric than what is contained in the address of one of the gentlemen who now offers himself as a candidate to succeed him, and who declares, that "though he had been opposed to him in political differences, he ever respected his talents and his virtues." Sir Henry certainly injured a naturally tender constitution by his great exertions at both these contests, and his unwearied application to the laborious duties of a constant attendance in parliament. The conduct of sir Henry, as a member of the legislative body, has been distinguished for manly independence. In 1796, he voted for a censure on Mr. Pitt and his colleagues, for the particular measure of voting subsidies without the knowledge of parliament; but in 1802, when that statesman was out of office, he opposed those who wished to criminate his conduct, and boldly asserted his belief, "that to William Pitt England was indebted for the preservation of her laws and religion, and the king for the crown which he then wore." He concluded with moving an amendment, containing a vote of thanks to the ex-minister, for his pre-eminent services to the country,

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which was carried by a majority of 159.—In 1803, sir Henry made some remarks on the delay of the commissioners of the navy, in respect to their reports, and adduced the case of Mr. Taylor, a block-maker and contractor, who had been discharged, as one of great hardship to an individual.—In 1803, he also objected to some of the provisions in the new income tax bill. In 1804, he voted with sir John Wrottesley, on the motion of the latter, for an inquiry into the conduct of the government during the insurrection in Dublin; in favour of Mr. Pitt's proposition relative to the state of our naval force, and of Mr. Fox's motion for a retrospective inquiry into the provisions for our national defence. When lord Melville's conduct came under the review of the house, he was one of those who voted for referring it to the decision of a select committee; and afterwards sat in the committee of twenty-one, appointed to examine the tenth report of the naval commissioners. In the same year sir Henry appeared in the character of an author, in the re-publication, in seven octavo volumes, of *The Light of Nature Pursued*, by Abraham Tucker, esq. which he revised and corrected, with the addition of some account of the author.—Sir Henry generally resided at Dagmersfield Park, near Odiham, Hampshire, and commanded the Dagmersfield Volunteers. His hospitality was open and liberal, like his manners; and his humanity was evinced by his visits to the various jails of the metropolis, in company with the benevolent Nield, and his munificent donations to the poor. The complaint that proved fatal was a dis-

ease of the liver, with which he had been long afflicted, and which he endured with manly firmness and patient resignation. He is succeeded in his titles and estates, computed at the annual value of 25,000*l.* by his eldest son Henry, 22 years of age.

At his rectory of Ruan-Lanyhorne, near Tregony, Cornwall, the rev. J. Whitaker.—He was born at Manchester, about the year 1735. Of the school part of his education we know little or nothing, but that he went early to Oxford, where he was elected fellow of C.C.C., and where he discovered, in a very short time, those originalities, and peculiarities of mind, which afterwards so strongly marked him as an author and as a man. His vigour of intellect at once displayed itself amongst his acquaintance; but whilst his animated conversation drew many around him, a few were repelled from the circle by his impatience of contradiction. The character of his genius, however, was soon decided in literary composition. In 1771, Mr. Whitaker published his "*History of Manchester*," in quarto—a work distinguished for acuteness of research, bold imagination, independent sentiment, and correct information. Nor does its composition less merit our applause; whether we have respect to the arrangement of the materials, the style, or the language. With regard to the general subject, it may be observed, that Mr. W. was the first writer who could so light up the region of antiquarianism, and to dissipate its obscurity, even to the eyes of ordinary spectators. The discoveries of our antiquaries, indeed, have been attended with no brilliant

brilliant success; and Whitaker's "Manchester" is perhaps the only book, in which the truth of our island history has been elucidated by the hand of a master. It is rather singular, that this work was, in the order of merit as well as time, the first of Mr. Whitaker's publications. In proportion as he advanced in life, his imagination seems, by a strange inversion of what is characteristic of our nature, to have gained an ascendancy over his judgment, and we shall perceive more of fancy and of passion, of conjecture and hypothesis, in some of his subsequent productions, than just opinion, or deliberate investigation. Mr. Whitaker's "Genuine History of the Britons Asserted," an octavo volume, published in 1782, may be accepted as a sequel to "The Manchester." It contains a complete refutation of Macpherson, whose "Introduction to the History of Great Britain and Ireland" is full of palpable mistakes and misrepresentations. In 1773, we find Mr. W. the morning preacher of Berkeley-Chapel; to which office he had been appointed by a Mr. Hughes; but, about the end of the following year, he was removed from that situation. This gave occasion, to "The Case between Mr. W. and Mr. Hughes, relative to the morning-preachership of Berkeley-Chapel;" in which Mr. W. relates some remarkable particulars, and declares himself unalterably determined to carry the matter into Westminster-Hall." He actually used his utmost efforts to bring his determination into action, but the fervour of his resentment threw him off his guard; and he expressed himself so indiscreetly, that

his "Case" was considered as a libel by the court of King's Bench. During his residence in London, he had an opportunity of conversing with several of our most celebrated writers; among whom were the author of "The Rambler," and the historian of the Roman Empire. It does not appear, indeed, that Johnson was much attached to Whitaker. Equally strong in understanding, equally tenacious of opinion, and equally impassioned in conversation, it is not probable that they should amicably coalesce on all occasions. In the Ossianic controversy, they were decidedly hostile. With Gibbon, Mr. W. was well acquainted; and the manuscript of the first volume of "The Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire," was submitted to Mr. Whitaker's inspection. But what was his surprise, when, as he read the same volume in print, that chapter which has been so obnoxious to the Christian world, was then first introduced to his notice? That chapter, Gibbon had suppressed in the manuscript, over-awed by Mr. Whitaker's high character, and afraid of his censure. And, in fact, that the historian should have shrunk from his indignant eye, may well be conceived, when we see his Christian principle and his manly spirit uniting in the rejection of a living of considerable value, which was at this time offered him by a Unitarian patron.—He spurned at the temptation; and pitied the seducer. Of his integrity, however, some recompense was now at hand; and about the year 1778, he succeeded, as fellow of Corpus Christi College, to the rectory of Ruan-Lanyhorne, Cornwall, one of the most valuable livings in the gift of

that college, where he had proceeded to his degree of B. D. and into that county he went, to reside upon his rectory. There, it might have been expected, that retirement and leisure would greatly favour the pursuits of literature; and that, though "the converser," (to use an expression of Mr. W.) had disappeared, the author would break forth with new energies. But Ruan-Lanyhorne was, for several years, no tranquil seat of the Muses. That pleasant seclusion was now the scene of contest—but of contest which (in the opinion of the writer of this memoir) was absolutely unavoidable. Mr. Whitaker had proposed a tythe-composition to his parishioners by no means unreasonable. This they refused to pay: but Mr. Whitaker was steady to his purpose. A rupture ensued between the parties—the tythes were demanded in kind—disputes arose upon disputes—animosities were kindled—and litigations took place. That Mr. Whitaker was finally victorious; afforded pleasure to the friends of the rector, and, let us add, to the friends of justice and of truth. Yet it was long before harmony was restored to Ruan-Lanyhorne. That his literary schemes had been so disagreeably interrupted, was the subject of general regret. But the conscientious pastor looked with a deeper concern to the spiritual welfare of his parishioners. He saw with sorrow their aversion from his preaching—their indifference to his instructions—their repugnance to his authority; and "he laboured more abundantly;" till, after a few years, he had the satisfaction to

perceive a visible alteration in the behaviour of the principal parishioners; and a mutual good understanding was established between the pastor and his flock. His cordial, his familiar manner, indeed, was always pleasing to those whom prejudice had not armed against him: and, in proportion as they became acquainted with his kind disposition, the transitoriness of his resentments, and, after injuries, his promptness to forgive, and anxious wish to be forgiven; they endeavoured more and more to cultivate his friendship, and at length loved and revered him as their father. Nothing can more fully display the warmth of his affections, his zeal as a minister of Christ, or his impassioned style of eloquence, than those "Sermons,"* which he published in 1783; after having preached them to his parishioners, we doubt not with a voice and manner to penetrate the conscience, and strike conviction into the soul; to awaken the tears of penitence, and elevate the hopes of the Christian to the abodes of immortality. That he should have published so little in the line of his profession, is, perhaps, to be regretted; though his "Origin of Arianism" be a large volume, it is a controversial tract, full of erudition and ingenious argumentation. We have read no other work of Mr. W. in divinity, except "The Real Origin of Government," (expanded into a considerable treatise, from a sermon which he had preached before bishop Buller, at his lordship's primary visitation), and "The Introduction to Flindell's Bible." This has been much ad-

* They are intitled "Sermons upon Death, Judgment, Heaven, and Hell."

minged as a masterly piece of eloquence. In the mean time, the antiquary was not at rest. His "Mary Queen of Scots," published in 1787, in three octavo volumes; his "Course of Hannibal over the Alps,"—his "Ancient Cathedral of Cornwall,"—his "Supplement to Mr. Polwhele's Antiquities of Cornwall,"—his "London," and his "Oxford," (both as yet in MS.) furnish good evidence of an imagination continually occupied in pursuits which kindled up its brightest flame, though not always of that judgment, discretion, or candour, which, if human characters had been ever perfect, we should have expected from a Whitaker. In criticism, however, (where writing anonymously, he would probably have written as temper or caprice suggested,) we find him, for the most part, candid and good-natured—not sparing of censure, nor yet lavish of applause—and affording us, in numerous instances, the most agreeable proofs of genuine benevolence. Even in the instance of Gibbon*, where he has been thought severe beyond all former example, we have a large mixture of the sweet with bitterness. It was the critique on Gibbon that contributed greatly to the reputation of "The English Review," in which Mr. W. was the author of many valuable articles. To his pen, also, "The British Critic," and "The Antijacobin Review," were indebted for various pieces of criticism. But the strength of his principles is no where more apparent than in those articles where he comes forward, armed with the pa-

noply of truth, in defence of our civil and ecclesiastical constitution. It was there he struck his adversaries with consternation, and we beheld the host of jacobins shrinking away from before his face, and creeping into their caverns of darkness. But we are here, perhaps, betrayed into expressions too violent for plain prose, which reminds us of another part of our friend's literary character—we mean his poetical genius. That he contributed some fine pieces of poetry to "the Cornwall and Devon poets," is well known. These were published in two small octavo volumes; and the editor has now in his possession a sufficient quantity of good verse, by Mr. Whitaker, to fill forty or fifty pages of a third volume, now in contemplation. The last work upon which Mr. Whitaker employed his pen was a life of St. Neot, the eldest brother of king Alfred, which, indeed, has not yet made its appearance, but most of the proof sheets of which he lived to correct. We have thus, with rapid glances, reviewed the productions of Mr. W. in the several departments of the historian, the theologian, the critic, the politician, and the poet. Versatility, like Whitaker's, is, in truth, of rare occurrence. But still more rare is the splendour of original genius, exhibited in walks so various. Not that Mr. W. was equally happy in them all. His characteristic traits as a writer, were acute discernment, and a velocity of ideas which acquired new force in composition, and a power of combining images in a manner peculiarly striking, and

* Whitaker's Review of Gibbon's History, (vols. iv. v. and vi.) originally appeared in the English Review.

of flinging on every topic of discussion the strongest illustration. With little scruple, therefore, we hazard an opinion, that though his chief excellence be recognized in antiquarian research, he would have risen to higher eminence as a poet, had he cultivated in early youth the favour of the muses. Be this, however, as it may—there are none who will deem us extravagant in pronouncing, that Mr. W. was a “great” literary character, that he was “good” as well as great, would sufficiently appear in the recollection of any period of his life; whether we saw him abandoning preferment from principle, and heard him “reasoning of righteousness and judgment to come;” or whether, amongst his parishioners, we witnessed his unaffected earnestness of preaching, his humility in conversing with the poorest cottagers, his sincerity in assisting them with advice, his tenderness in offering them consolation, and his charity in relieving their distresses. It is true, to the same warmth of temper, together with a sense of good intentions, we must attribute an irritability at times destructive of social comfort, an impetuosity, that brooked not opposition, and bore down all before it. This precipitation was in part also to be traced to his ignorance of the world; to his simplicity in believing others like himself, precisely what they seemed to be; and, on the detection of his error, his anger at dissimulation or hypocrisy. But his general good humour, his hospitality, and his convivial pleasantries, were surely enough to atone

for those sudden bursts of passion, those flashes which betrayed his “human frailty,” but still argued genius. And they who knew how “fearfully and wonderfully he was made,” could bear from a Whitaker what they could not so well have tolerated in another. In his family, Mr. W. was uniformly regular; nor did he suffer at any time his literary cares to trench on his domestic duties. The loss of such a man must be deemed as it were a chasm both in public and private life. But, for the latter, we may truly say, that if ever wife had cause to lament the kind and faithful husband, or *children the affectionate parent, or servants the indulgent master, the family at Ruan-Lanyhorne must feel their loss irreparable†. Such was the historian of Manchester and the rector of Ruan-Lanyhorne, of whom we have given a very hasty sketch, we hope, however, a just and impartial one. That he should have lived to the age of 73 is rather to be wondered. For, strong as was his bodily constitution, his mind, ever active and restless, must have worn out (we should have presumed) even that athletic frame, long before the period assigned to man’s existence. Amidst his ardent and indefatigable researches into the antiquities of London, his friends detected the first symptoms of bodily decay. His journey to London, his vast exertions there in procuring information, his energetic and various conversation with literary characters, brought on a debility which he little regarded, till it alarmed him in a stroke of pa-

* Two amiable daughters.

† Mrs. W. was a Miss Tregenna, of an ancient Cornish family,

palsy.

ralysis. From this he never recovered to such a degree as to be able to resume, with any good effect, his studies or occupations. But, for the last year, his decline has been gradual; and it was such as might be contemplated with pleasure, since he was sensible of his approaching dissolution, yet invariably supported by the faith of a Christian. His indeed was the resignation, the cheerfulness becoming a primitive disciple of that Jesus, in whose mercies he reposed, and to whom only he looked for acceptance. And he who would derive comfort from the prospect of death, should keep in view this venerable divine, who at peace with himself, his fellow-creatures, and his God, sank as into quiet slumber, without a trouble or a pain, and with a smile on his countenance expired.

20. Captain Thomas Dacres.

28. Sir Richard Hill.

29. Thomas Panton, esq. brother to the late duchess of Ancaster.

Admiral sir Thomas Pasley, bart.

At Rome, in the 67th year of her age, the celebrated artist, Angelica Kauffman. — The illness which preceded her dissolution was long and painful, but sustained with pious fortitude, and exemplary resignation. In Rome, where the love of the arts is the sole sentiment that has survived the shipwreck of its glory, the death of this distinguished person caused an universal sensation. People of all ranks were emulous to testify their respect for her memory. Her funeral obsequies were performed with decorous pomp, and more than usual solemnity. Many of the nobility, above 100 ecclesiastics, in the habits of their several orders, and the

members of all the literary societies at Rome, walked in the procession. The pall was supported by young ladies, dressed in white; and immediately after the corpse, some of Angelica's best pictures were displayed, borne upon the shoulders of the mourners.

At his brother's house, Adelphi Terrace, universally regretted, Charles Minier, esq. of Oakfield Lodge, Croydon.

At Edinburgh, Mr. George Reid, printer, a gentleman highly respectable in character and in talents. He had formerly been the editor of two of the principal newspapers of the Scotch metropolis.

Dec. 5. Anna Maria, baroness Forester whose title devolved on the hon. J. Grimston, M. P. eldest son of lord Grimston.

4. Hon. Henrietta Sophia Phipps, eldest daughter of lord Mulgrave.

Henry Arundel, eighth lord Arundel of Wardour, and a count of the holy Roman empire.

12. At Plymouth, on board the Parthian, of 18 guns, of which he was captain, Mr. John Basset Balderston, in his 28th year. He died in consequence of a pistol shot, basely aimed at him by one of the master's mates of the Parthian, which has deprived the navy of an excellent and zealous officer. He is universally regretted by his relations and friends, and particularly by the ship's company of the Parthian, and has left a mother and two sisters to lament the loss of an affectionate son and brother.

Hugo Meynell, esq. so well known on the turf and in all the fashionable circles, for half a century past, died on Wednesday morning, at the age of 81 years. He had been repeatedly attacked by paralytic

paralytic strokes. He has left a large property behind him.

17. Mark Sprott, esq. famous for his evidence in the trial of lord Melville.

22. The dowager lady Shelly.

24. Aged 104, Thomas Clee, of Mitcham, in Surrey.

28. At Bath, the rev. John Duncan, D. D.

30. Alan Lord Gardner, admiral of the white.

James Bucknal Grimston, lord Verulam, viscount Grimston.

Near Rotherham, aged 101, Mrs. Anne Addy.

PROMOTIONS *in the Year 1808.*

Queen's Palace, Jan. 6. His grace William duke of Manchester, sworn captain-general and governor in chief of the island of Jamaica.

Foreign-office, Jan. 7. Francis Hill, esq. appointed his majesty's secretary of legation to the court of his royal highness the prince regent of Portugal.

Downing-street, Jan. 8. William Anne Villetes, esq. lieutenant-general of his majesty's forces, appointed lieutenant-governor of the island of Jamaica, and commander of the forces, with the local rank of general in the island of Jamaica.

Downing-street, Jan. 16. Sir George Prevost, bart. appointed lieutenant-governor of the province of Nova Scotia, *vice* sir John Wentworth, bart.; and to be commander of the forces, with the local rank of lieutenant-general in Nova Scotia only.

Whitchull, Jan. 16. Rev. William Leigh, L.L.B. recommended, by letter, to the chapter of the ca-

thedral church of Hereford, to be chosen dean of the said cathedral church, *vice* rev. Dr. Nathan Wetherell, dec.—Rev. Samuel Birch, M.A. fellow of St. John's College, Cambridge (son of alderman B.) presented to the united rectorics of St. Mary, Woolnoth, and St. Mary, Woolchurch Haw, in the city of London, *vice* rev. John Newton, dec.—Rev. William Long, LL. B. presented to the rectory of Pulham St. Mary with the chapel of St. Mary-Magdalen thereunto annexed, in the county of Norfolk, *vice* rev. Thomas Bowen, dec.—Rev. Michael Stirling, presented to the church and parish of Cargill, in the county of Perth, and presbytery of Dunkeld, *vice* Mr. J. P. Bannerman, dec.

Carlton-house, Jan. 18. Rev. Frederick-William Blomberg, M.A. chaplain in ordinary to the prince of Wales, appointed clerk of the closet to his royal highness, *vice* rev. Dr. Lockman, dec.

Whitchall, Jan. 19. Rev. Chas. Digby, M.A. appointed a prebendary of the Free Chapel of St. George, in the castle of Windsor, *vice* rev. Dr. John Lockman, dec.—Rev. Edward-Christopher Dowdeswell, D.D. appointed a canon of the cathedral church of Christ, in the university of Oxford, *vice* right rev. Edward Venables, late bishop of Carlisle, translated to the archiepiscopal see of York.

Queen's Palace, Jan. 20. His grace Edward Venables, lord archbishop of York, sworn of his majesty's privy council.

Whitchall, Jan. 26. Rev. Samuel Goodenough, LL. D. dean of Rochester, recommended by *congé d'elire*, to be elected bishop of Carlisle, *vice* right rev. Dr. Edward Venables

Venables Vernon, translated to the archiepiscopal see of York.—Rev. Walter King, D.D. appointed a prebendary of the collegiate church of St. Peter, Westminster, *vice* rev. Dr. Nathan Wetherell, dec.

Whitehall, Jan. 30. Rev. Edward Otter, M.A. presented to the canonry or prebend of Ulliskelfe, in York cathedral, *vice* Drummond, dec.—Rev. Michael Marlow, D.D. appointed a canon or prebend of Canterbury cathedral, *vice* King, resigned.

Queen's Palace, Feb. 24. Robert Barnford, of Upton, esq. appointed sheriff of the county of Chester, *vice* Charles Trelawny Brereton, of Shotwick park, esq.; Marmaduke Middleton Middleton, of Lear, esq. to be sheriff of the county of Derby; William Cary, of Cannock, esq. to be sheriff of the county of Stafford; John Fullarton, of Barton on the Heath, esq. to be sheriff of the county of Warwick; John Nathaniel Miers, of Cadostone juxta Neath, esq. to be sheriff of the county of Glamorgan, *vice* the hon. William Booth Grey, of Duffrin; Rees Williams, of Gwainclawth, esq. to be sheriff of the county of Brecon; and John Jones of Penrhose Brodwen, esq. to be sheriff of the county of Anglesey, *vice* Edward Jones, of Cromleck, esq.

War-office, Feb. 27. General William viscount Howe, K.B. governor of Berwick, appointed governor of Plymouth, *vice* lord Lake, dec.;—and lieutenant-general Banastre Tarleton, to be governor of Berwick, *vice* lord Howe.

Queen's Palace, March 2. Hon. William Asheton Harbord, sworn lieutenant of the county of Norfolk, and city of Norwich, and

county of the same, *vice* marquis Townshend, dec.—Francis Lloyd, of Domgay, esq. appointed sheriff of the county of Montgomery, *vice* Robert Knight, of Gweraygoe, esq.

War-office, March 8. Colonel William Dickson, of the 42d foot, appointed lieutenant-governor of Cork, *vice* general Leland, dec.

Queen's palace, March 9. Right hon. Richard earl of Mount-Edgumbe, sworn one of his majesty's most hon. privy council.

Whitehall, March 15. Reverend William Beaumont Busby, D.D. appointed dean of the cathedral church of Rochester, *vice* rev. Dr. Samuel Goodenough, promoted to the bishopric of Carlisle.

Queen's palace, March 16. Right hon. George earl of Aberdeen, invested with the ensigns of the order of the Thistle.—Right hon. Percy viscount Strangford, created a knight of the Bath, and sworn of his majesty's most honourable privy council.—Right hon. Edward earl of Digby, sworn lord lieutenant of the county of Dorset, and the town of Poole, and county of the said town, *vice* the earl of Dorchester, dec.—William Eger-ton, of Tatton park, esq. appointed sheriff of the county of Chester, *vice* Robert Bampton, of Upton, esq.

Whitehall, March 19. Hon. and rev. Henry Ryder, M. A. appointed a prebendary of the Free Chapel of St. George, in the Castle of Windsor, *vice* Busby, resigned.—Rev. William Cooper, B. D. presented to the rectory of Wadingham, St. Mary's, and St. Peter's, with the chapel of Smitherby, co. Lincoln; *vice* Barker; dec.

Whitehall, March 22. Brigadier-general

general Charles Shipley, of the corps of royal engineers, knighted.

Whitehall, March 29. Rev. Joseph Goodall, D.D. appointed a prebendary of his majesty's Free Chapel of St. George, in the Castle of Windsor, *vice* Du Val, dec.—Francis lord Napier, appointed his majesty's high commissioner to the general assembly of the church of Scotland.

Whitehall, April 5. Rev. Frederick Blomberg, M.A. appointed a prebendary of the Collegiate Church of St. Peter, Westminster, *vice* Smith, dec.

Carlton-house, April 20. Right hon. Richard Brinsley Sheridan, appointed (by the prince of Wales) receiver-general of the duchy of Cornwall, *vice* lord Lake, dec.—[Mr. S. has appointed Charles Carpenter, esq. of Moditonham, his deputy.]

Foreign-office, April 23. James Gambier, esq. appointed his majesty's consul-general in the Portuguese dominions in South America.

Queen's palace, April 27. James Gambier, esq. knighted.

Admiralty-office, April 28. Admirals of the white, Charles Buckner, esq. and Alan lord Gardner, to be admirals of the red.—Admirals of the blue, from Robert Man, esq. to Alexander Græme, esq. to be admirals of the white.—Vice-admirals of the red, from John Brown, esq. to sir Charles Cotton, bart. to be admirals of the blue.—Vice-admirals of the white, from James Hawkins Whitshed, esq. to Peter Aplin, esq. to be vice-admirals of the red.—Vice-admirals of the blue, from George Bowen, esq. to Edward Thornbrough, esq. to be vice-admirals of the white.—Rear-admirals from Thomas

Drury, esq. to Richard Boger, esq. to be vice-admirals of the blue.—Rear-admirals of the white, from Jonathan Faulknor, esq. to William Essington, esq. to be rear-admirals of the red.—Rear-admirals of the blue, from John M'Dougall, esq. to sir Edmund Nagle, knt. to be rear-admirals of the red.—Rear-admirals of the blue, from John Wells, esq. to Herbert Sawyer, esq. to be rear-admirals of the white.—Captains, from Robert Devereux Fancourt, esq. to Thomas Bertie, esq. to be rear-admirals of the blue.—Charles Boyles, esq. sir Thomas Williams, knt. William Hargood, esq. and Robert Moorsom, esq. to be colonels of his majesty's royal marine forces, *vice* Edward Buller, esq. the hon. Robert Stopford, Wm. Lechmere, esq. and T. Foley, esq. appointed flag-officers of his majesty's fleet.

War-office, May 6. Lieutenant-general his royal highness Ernest Augustus duke of Cumberland, K. G. to be general in the army; by commission dated April 25.—Lieutenant-general his royal highness Adolphus Frederick, duke of Cambridge, K. G. to be general in the army, by commission dated April 25.—Lieutenant-general his royal highness William Frederick duke of Gloucester, K. G. to be general in the army, by commission dated April 25.—Lieutenant-generals, from Edward Fanning to sir James Pulteney, bart. to be generals in the army.—Major-generals, from the hon. Robert Taylor to Ferdinand baron Hompesch, to be lieutenant-generals in the army.—Colonels, from William Carr Beresford, of the 88th foot, to the hon. William Stewart, of the 95th foot, to be major-generals in the

the army.—Lieutenant-colonels, from Thomas Barrow, of the 5th West-India regiment, to Francis John Wilder, of the 35th foot, to be colonels in the army.—Lieutenant-colonels, hon. George de Crey, of the 1st dragoons, and Samuel Hawker, of the 14th light dragoons, to be aides-de-camp to the king.—Majors, from George Herbert Adams, of the 66th foot, to Richard Collins, of the 83d foot, to be lieutenant-colonels in the army.—Captains, from Edmund Coghlan, of the 8th Garrison battalion, to William Collis, of the 27th foot, to be majors in the army.

Whitehall, May 7. Right hon. Henry baron Mulgrave, vice-admiral sir Richard Bickerton, bart. William Johnstone Hope, and Robert Ward, esqrs. the right hon. Henry John viscount Palmerston, James Buller, esq. and rear-admiral William Domett, appointed commissioners for executing the office of lord high admiral of the united kingdom, &c. &c.

War-office, May 10. Lieutenant-general Robert Morse, of the royal engineers, to be general in the army.—Major-general William Congreve, of the royal artillery, to be lieutenant-general in the army.—Colonels, from John Eveleigh to Edward Stevens, to be major-generals in the army.—Lieutenant-colonels, from Theophilus Lewis to David Collins, to be colonels in the army.—Majors, from Robert Stewart to Alexander Brice, to be lieutenant-colonels in the army.—Captains, from William Henry Boys to John Long, to be majors in the army.

Queen's palace, May 11. Mr. justice John Bayley, knighted, on

his appointment as one of the judges of the court of king's bench.

Queen's palace, May 25. Right hon. John Jeffreys, earl Camden, K. G. lord president of the privy council, sworn lord-lieutenant of the county of Kent, and of the city of Canterbury.

Downing-street, May 27. Brigadier-general James Montgomery, appointed governor and commander in chief in and over the island of Dominica in America.

Whitehall, June 14. Right rev. Dr. Folliot Herbert Walker Cornwall, bishop of Hereford, recommended, by *congé d'elire*, to be elected bishop of Worcester, *vice* Dr. Hurd, dec.

Treasury, June 25. C. T. Maling, esq. appointed a commissioner of the excise, *vice* Lowndes, dec.

Carlton-house, June 28. Benjamin Tucker, esq. appointed (by the prince of Wales) surveyor-general of his royal highness's duchy of Cornwall.

Lord Chamberlain's office, July 8. Mr. F. Carbery, of Conduit-street, appointed plumasier to his majesty, *vice* Mrs. Townshend, of Ludgate-hill, resigned.

Whitehall, July 9. Thomas Erskine, earl of Kellie, permitted to accept and wear the ensigns of a knight commander of the royal order of Vasa, conferred on him by the king of Sweden.

Whitehall, July 16. Right rev. John Luxmore, bishop of Bristol, translated, by *congé d'elire*, to the see of Hereford, *vice* Cornwall, dec.—Dr. Andrew Grant, appointed first minister of the Canongate church, co. Edinburgh, *vice* Walker, dec.

War-office, Aug. 6. Gen. sir W. Medows, K. B. appointed governor of

the king has been pleased to grant the dignity of a baronet of the united kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland to the following gentlemen, and the respective heirs-male of their bodies lawfully begotten, viz.

Whitchell, Sept. 11. Right hon. Thomas Baring, being of London, a barrister at law, and a member of the House of Commons.

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Whitchell, Sept. 11. Right hon. Thomas Baring, being of London, a barrister at law, and a member of the House of Commons.

Whitchell, Sept. 24. The king

has been pleased to grant the dignity of a baronet of the united kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland to the following gentlemen, and the respective heirs-male of their bodies lawfully begotten, viz. Edward Baring, of Tranant park, co. Down; rear-admiral of the fleet, Mark Wood, of Gatton, co. Surrey; Henry Conyngham, of the Hall, co. Down; Thomas Jones of Newmarket, co. Salop, esq.; James Jones, of Kirkstall, co. York, and of Richmond castle, co. Cumberland, esq.; Samuel Sitwell, of Richmond, co. Derby, esq.; Andrew Corbet, of Buckton-Corbet, co. Derby, and of Linslade, co. Buckingham, esq.; William Coles, of Milborne Port, co. Somerset, esq.; Charles Earl Harland, of Sutton, co. York, esq.; John Perring, a barrister at law, co. Devon, esq. and now in London; George Pigott, of London, in the Queen's county, and George Ouseley, of Chesham, co. Hereford, esq.

London, Sept. 30. His majesty has been pleased, by his order in council of the 28th inst., to confer upon the masters of his royal navy the rank of lieutenant according to the following regulations, viz. that they shall take rank in the ships of which they shall be warranted masters, immediately after the junior lieutenants of such ships; and that they shall have precedence in rank of surgeons of the navy.

Foreign Office, Oct. 8. Right hon. John Hookham Frere, appointed his majesty's envoy extraordinary and minister plenipotentiary to his Catholic majesty Ferdinand the VIII; and to reside in that

that character at the seat of the central or supreme junta in Spain.

Downing-street, Oct. 8. Lieut.-general George Beckwith, appointed governor and commander in chief of the island of Barbadoes; sir Charles Brisbane, knt. captain in the royal navy, to be governor and commander in chief of the island of St. Vincent; Hugh Elliot, esq. appointed captain-general and governor of the Leeward Islands; and William Wooley, esq. to be lieutenant-governor of Barbice.

Whitehall, Oct. 15. Rear-admiral Richard Goodwin Keats, nominated one of the knights-companions of the most honourable order of the Bath.

Carlton-house, Oct. 21. Lieut.-colonel Bloomfield, of the royal regiment of artillery, appointed (by the prince of Wales) gentleman-attendant on his royal highness, *vice* lord Lake, dec.

Foreign-office, Nov. 2. Anthony Merry, esq. appointed his majesty's envoy-extraordinary and minister-plenipotentiary to the court of Sweden; and Augustus John Foster, esq. to be his majesty's minister of legation at that court.

War-office, Nov. 12. General the hon. Chapple Norton, appointed governor of Charlemont; and major-general Francis Hugonin, to be colonel of the 4th regiment of dragoons; both *vice* the earl of Dorchester, dec.

Queen's palace, Nov. 16. Sir Charles Brisbane, knt. captain in the royal navy, sworn captain-general and governor in chief of the islands of St. Vincent, Bequia, and such other of the islands commonly called the Grenadines, as lie to the northward of Carriacou, in America

Queen's palace, Nov. 23. Right hon. George Coventry, commonly called lord viscount Deerhurst, sworn lord-lieutenant of the county of Worcester, and of the city of Worcester, and county of the same, *vice* his father, the earl of Coventry, resigned.

Whitehall, Nov. 26. Hon. Wil-
liam Harcourt, appointed gentle-
man and master of his majesty's
robes, *vice* lord Selsey, dec.

Downing-street, Nov. 29. Hon. Francis Nathaniel Burton, appointed lieutenant-governor of Lower Canada, in America.

Whitehall, Dec. 3. Rev. Walker King, D.D. recommended by *congé d'élire*, to be elected bishop of Rochester, *vice* Dr. Thomas Dampier, translated to the see of Ely.

Downing-street, Dec. 13. Henry Bentinck, esq. appointed governor and commander in chief of the settlements of Demarara and Essequibo.—Charles Bentinck, esq. to be governor and commander in chief of the settlement of Surinam, *vice* Hughes, *dec.*

Foreign-office, Dec. 16. Right hon. William Pitt lord Amherst, appointed his majesty's envoy-extraordinary and minister plenipotentiary at the court of his Sicilian majesty, *viz* Drummond, recalled.

Downing-street, Dec. 20. Lieut.-general sir John Stuart, K. B. appointed (by a commission dated Feb. 11) commander of his majesty's forces in the Mediterranean, the garrison of Gibraltar excepted.

SHERIFFS *appointed by his Majesty
in council for the year 1808.*

**Bedfordshire, Richard Orlebar,
of Puddington, esq.**

Berkshire, Wm. Congreve of Aldermaston, esq.

Bucks, Rich. Dayrell, of Sil-lingstone, esq.

Cambridge and Huntingdon, sir H. Peyton, of Emnoth, bart.

Cheshire, C. Trelawney Breerton, of Shotwich-park, esq.

Cumberland, Thomas Irvine, of Justice Town, esq.

Derbyshire, postponed.

Devonshire, sir H. Carew, of Haccombe, bart.

Dorsetshire, Nicholas Charles Daniel, of Upway, esq.

Essex, John Coggan, of Wanstead, esq.

Gloucestershire, sir Thos. Crawley Bowey, of Flaxley-abbey, bart.

Herefordshire, Samuel Pople, of Garnstone, esq.

Hertfordshire, James Smith, of Ashlyn's-hill, esq.

Kent, Charles Milner, of Preston-park, esq.

Leicestershire, G. Finch Simpson, of Launde Abbey, esq.

Lincolnshire, the hon. W. Beauclerc, of Radbourne.

Monmouthshire, Wm. Morgan, of Hamhilad, esq.

Norfolk, J. Thornton Mott, of Barmingham, esq.

Northamptonshire, G. Fleet Evans, of Saxton, esq.

Northumberland, Cuthbert Ellison, of Broomhouse, esq.

Nottinghamshire, J. Manners Sutton, of Kelham, esq.

Oxfordshire, the hon. T. Parker, of Ensham-hall.

Rutlandshire, Thos. Bryan, of Stoke, esq.

Shropshire, Ralph B. Wyld Browne, of Coyghley, esq.

Somersetshire, C. Hemeys Tynte, of Haleswell, esq.

Staffordshire, postponed.

Southampton, George Hanbury Michell, of Titchfield-lodge, esq.

Suffolk, J. Vernon, of Nacton, esq.

Surrey, James Mangles, of Woodbridge, esq.

Sussex, W. Stanford, of Beaton, esq.

Warwickshire, postponed.

Wiltshire, J. Holton, of Grittle-ton, esq.

Worcestershire, sir J. Packington, of Westwood, bart.

Yorkshire, Wm. Joseph Denalson, of Ayton, esq.

SOUTH WALES.

Brecon, postponed.

Cardigan, Morgan Jones, of Panthyrllis, esq.

Carmarthen, Morgan Price Lloyd, of Glansein, esq.

Glamorgan, hon. Wm. Booth Grey, of Duffryn.

Pembroke, John Henslergh Allen, of Carselty, esq.

Radnor, Thos. Thomas, of Pon-kerrig, esq.

NORTH WALES.

Anglesey, Edward Jones, of Cromlech, esq.

Carnarvonshire, Robert Thomas Carreg, of Carreg, esq.

Denbighshire, R. Henry Kenrick, of Nanlewdd, esq.

Flinthshire, T. Lloyd, of Tre-bierdd, esq.

Merioneth, Lewis Price Edwards, of Tolgarth, esq.

Montgomeryshire, R. Knight, of Gwernygoe, esq.

APPENDIX TO THE CHRONICLE.

Public Income of Great Britain for the Year ended the 5th of January 1808.

HEADS OF REVENUE.	Gross Revenue.			Net Produce.			Payments into Exchequer.		
ORDINARY REVENUES.									
<i>Permanent and Annual Taxes.</i>	<i>L.</i>	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>	<i>L.</i>	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>	<i>L.</i>	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>
Customs - - - - -	9,373,060	6	3	7,462,380	4	10½	6,476,942	6	4
Excise - - - - -	19,621,076	15	9	17,836,145	14	2	17,573,693	0	0
Stamps - - - - -	4,543,971	17	5½	4,458,738	14	0½	4,274,555	5	9
Land and assessed taxes - - - - -	6,909,190	12	9½	7,073,350	10	8½	6,384,750	14	1
Post-office - - - - -	1,493,490	11	9	1,277,538	11	4½	1,082,000	0	1½
1 s. in the L. on pensions & salaries - - - - -	61,057	2	1	62,685	5	8	60,544	6	1½
6 d. in the L. on pensions & salaries - - - - -	72,207	12	2½	71,353	0	5½	71,352	0	0
Hackney coaches - - - - -	28,751	15	0	26,455	2	5½	26,084	0	0
Hawkers and Pedlars - - - - -	13,231	0	4	10,325	9	5	9,950	0	0
Total permanent & annual duties	42,316,037	13	7½	38,339,152	13	2½	35,961,861	12	3½
<i>Small Branches of the Hereditary Revenue.</i>									
Alienation fines - - - - -	8,088	13	4	8,274	2	9	2,000	0	0
Post fines - - - - -	963	7	5½	3,004	0	1½	2,634	10	8
Seizures - - - - -	2,845	16	1	2,615	16	1	2,645	16	1
Compositions - - - - -	2	0	0	2	0	0	2	0	0
Profits - - - - -	550	3	7	550	3	7	550	3	7
Crown-lands - - - - -	45,510	1	10	74,946	12	1	966	13	4
<i>Extraordinary Resources.</i>									
War Taxes. { Customs - - - - -	3,065,904	14	2½	2,730,792	14	6½	2,730,702	14	6½
Excise - - - - -	6,320,552	17	11½	6,273,570	18	10½	6,232,543	0	0
Property tax - - - - -	10,131,344	7	3½	9,864,189	4	10½	9,864,189	4	10
Attreas. of income duty - - - - -	23,697	16	5½	23,072	19	0	23,072	19	0
Arrears of taxes collected under the Aid and Contribution Act - - - - -	2,966	15	9½	2,888	11	2½	2,888	11	2½
Lottery, net profit, 1-3d for Ireland - - - - -	797,500	0	0	774,694	11	0	774,694	11	0
Monies paid on account of the interest of loans raised for the service of Ireland - - - - -	1,967,677	14	0	1,967,677	14	0	1,967,677	14	0
On account of the commissioners appointed by act 35 Geo. III. for issuing exchequer bills for Grenada - - - - -	33,800	0	0	33,800	0	0	33,800	0	0
Fees of regulated exchequer offices - - - - -	40,545	0	2	40,545	0	2	40,545	0	2
Interest on stock transferred by instalments for the redemption of the Land Tax - - - - -	5,000	0	0	5,000	0	0	5,000	0	0
Monies paid on account of the surplus revenue of the Isle of Man - - - - -	2,210	11	0	2,210	11	0	2,210	11	0
Impress money paid by the public accountants - - - - -	33,442	7	8½	33,442	7	8½	33,442	7	8½
Other monies paid to the public - - - - -	6,954	12	2	6,954	12	2	6,954	12	2
Total, independent of loans - - - - -	64,865,595	13	1½	60,189,414	12	3½	57,688,472	1	6½
Loans paid into the exchequer, including 1,500,000l. for the service of Ireland - - - - -	15,257,211	19	3	15,257,211	19	3	15,257,211	19	3
GRAND TOTAL - - - - -	80,062,607	12	9½	75,446,625	11	6	72,945,684	0	1½

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PUBLIC EXPENDITURE.

				L.	s.	d.	L.	s.	d.	L.	s.	d.
I. Interest and Charges on the permanent Debt of Great-Britain				-	-	-	-	-	-	30,478,174	8	9
II. The Interest on Exchequer-bills				-	-	-	-	-	-	1,574,361	18	6
III. The Civil List				-	-	-	958,000	0	0			
IV.	{ Other Charges on the Consolidated Fund, viz. }	{ Courts of Justice ..		-	-	-	57,558	17	2½			
		{ Mint		-	-	-	11,576	2	0			
		{ Allow. to Roy. Fam. ..		-	-	-	290,171	4	9½			
		{ Sala. & Allowances ..		-	-	-	74,453	7	0½			
		{ Bounties		-	-	-	203,402	8	9			
V. Civil Government of Scotland				-	-	-				1,594,161	19	9
VI. Other Payments in Anticipation, Bounties for Fisheries, Manufactures, Corn, &c.				-	-	-	438,991	13	8½			
Pensions on the Heredit. Revenue				-	-	-	27,700	0	0			
Militia and Deserters Warrants, &c.				-	-	-	208,197	10	0½			
VII. Navy—Salaries to the Offices				130,800	0	0						
For Wages, Bounty, Flag-pay, Half-pay, and Pensions.				2,809,712	19	0						
For Dock-yards, Building of Ships, Stores, Pilotage, &c.				6,361,755	0	8						
For Marine Service on Shore.				412,100	0	0						
The Victualling Department				-	-	-	9,713,547	19	8			
Transport do. for Transports, Prisoners of War, Sick and Wounded Seamen, &c.				1,829,435	9	10				4,932,777	19	9
Miscellaneous Services				300,000	0	0						
							2,129,435	9	10			
VIII. Ordnance.				-	-	-				16,775,761	9	3
IX. Army—Ordinary Services, viz. For Regulars, Fencib. Milit. Invalids, and Volunteer Corps.				8,614,625	1	1				4,190,748	6	6
Barracks				256,549	8	2						
Staff-officers & Offic. of Garrisons ..				144,596	6	9						
Half-pay				198,343	3	0						
Widows' Pensions				21,500	0	0						
Chelsea Hospital				550,023	7	7						
Exchequer Fees. &c.				77,468	0	10						
Pay of Public Offices				93,578	6	0						
							9,956,683	13	5			
Extraordinary Services				-	-	-	5,431,867	0	11			
X. Loans, Remittances, and Advances to other Countries—Ireland				-	-	-				15,388,550	14	4
XI. Miscellaneous Services				-	-	-				3,681,251	3	4
At Home				-	-	-	1,049,205	7	8½			
Abroad				-	-	-	178,177	13	0			
										1,227,383	0	8½
										75,670,641	8	2
Deduct Loan, &c. for Ireland										3,681,251	3	4
										71,989,390	4	10

An Account, shewing how the Monies remaining in the Receipt of the Exchequer on the 5th Day of January, 1807, together with the Monies paid into the same during the Year ended the 5th of January, 1808, have been actually applied; so far as relates to Miscellaneous Services.

SERVICES AT HOME.

£. s. d.

To be paid to the officers of the houses of lords and commons, 1806-7	7,423	12	4
For defraying the charge of the superintendence of aliens, 1805-6-7	7,040	0	0
For the royal military college, 1806-7	31,345	2	11
For the use of the officers and seamen who served under the late vice-admiral lord viscount Nelson, at the battle off Cape Trafalgar, on the 21st October 1805-6	12,500	0	0
For defraying the charge of the works and repairs of the roads and bridges in the Highlands of Scotland, 1806	10,250	14	0
For confining, maintaining, and employing convicts at home, 1806-7	48,166	2	6½
For printing journals of the house of commons, for printing and delivering votes, and for printing reports, bills, &c. 1806	18,291	14	4
For printing 1,750 copies of the 58th volume of journals, 1806	4,000	0	0
For printing and stationery for the two houses of parliament, for 1806-7	30,682	15	6
For the French clergy and laity; Toulonese, Corsican, and Dutch emigrants; and American loyalists, 1806-7	133,119	2	7
Towards defraying the expence of the public office, Bow-street, 1806-7	12,701	18	5
For the royal military asylum at Chelsea, for 1806....	12,808	16	11
For his majesty's foreign and other secret services, 1806-7	<i>Vide Services Abroad.</i>		
For carrying on the building of a new mint, 1806-7....	58,033	2	0
Extraordinary expences of prosecutions relating to the coin of this kingdom, 1806-7	2,722	16	1
For the extra charge of messengers of the three secretaries of state, 1806-7	10,500	0	0
For do. of contingencies..... Do. 1806-7....	9,000	0	0
For the ministers of the Vaudois churches, for 1806-7	1,828	5	4½
To sheriffs, for conviction of felons and overpayments, 1806.....	6,700	0	0
For defraying law charges, 1806-7	13,000	0	0½
Protestant Dissenting ministers in England, and for the relief of the poor French Protestant clergy and laity, for 1806-7	9,370	5	0
For printing, by order of the commissioners of public records, 1806	3,596	5	10

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For

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For printing returns relative to the expence and maintenance of the poor, 1806	£.	s.	d.
	393	1	0½
For the royal college of surgeons, to erect a building for the reception of Dr. Hunter's collection, and a theatre for the delivery of public lectures on anatomy and surgery	4,000	0	0
For an allowance to the commissioners of naval inquiry, 1806	294	16	8
Towards the support of an institution called the Veterinary College, for 1806	1,500	0	0
For the deficiency of the grant, 1806, for the relief of the suffering clergy and laity of France, Toulonese, Dutch and Corsican emigrants, and American loyalists, 1807	1,432	13	6
For the deficiency of the grant, anno 1806, for the Protestant Dissenting ministers in England, and for the relief of the poor French Protestant clergy and laity, 1807	377	8	6
To defray bills of the usher of the court of exchequer for stationery, &c. for 1807	1,214	4	3
For works done at the two houses of parliament, and at the house of the speaker	27,900	0	0
For the deficiency of the grant of 1806, for do. 1807 ..	11,800	0	0
For the works and repairs of the military roads in North-Britain, 1807	4,993	5	0
For purchasing buildings and ground in and near Palace Yard, Westminster, 1807	11,750	14	6
Ditto	29,000	0	0
For deficiency of printing, &c. for the two houses of parliament	9,789	11	8½
For printing and delivering votes of the house of commons, and printing bills, reports, &c. 1807	16,168	8	3
For deficiency of the grant for ditto, anno 1806	14,881	16	2
For deficiency of the grant of 1806, for printing 1,750 copies of the 58th volume of journals of the house of commons, 1807	459	2	4
For defraying the expence of printing articles of impeachment, minutes of the evidence, and copies of the trial of lord viscount Melville, 1807	2,046	6	0
For defraying the expences incurred in the department of the lord chamberlain of his majesty's household, on the trial of lord viscount Melville, 1807	2,556	9	11½
For expence of making an inland navigation from the Eastern to the Western Sea	25,000	0	0
For paying fees on passing public accounts, 1807	5,000	0	0
To satisfy an award made by Dr. Swabey and Master Griffulhe, for the loss of the ship Dunkirk on the coast of Denmark, 1807	11,538	14	6
	2		For

For the captors of the second Swedish convoy, and for the balance due to the owners of the said ships, 1807	£.	s.	d.
To the trustees of the British Museum, for the purchase of the MSS. belonging to the late marquis of Lansdowne, 1807	10,306	18	5
Towards the repair of Henry the Seventh's Chapel, 1807	4,923	0	0
Further reward to Dr. Jenner, for promulgating his discovery of the vaccine inoculation, 1807	2,000	0	0
For enabling the trustees of the British Museum to carry on the trusts reposed in them by parliament, 1807	20,000	0	0
For erecting buildings for a naval asylum, and towards the maintenance of the said institution, 1807	5,556	5	0
For salaries to the officers, and incidental expences of the commissioners for reducing the national debt	30,000	0	0
To the representatives of William Young, esq. for expences attending the execution of an act for the redemption and sale of the land-tax	2,328	18	0
For salaries and expences of American commissioners	1,849	18	3
To the bank of England, for discount on prompt payments on loan 20,000,000l.	2,611	0	0
To Do. for receiving the above loan	251,672	4	1
To Do. for discount on prompt payments on lotteries, 1806-7	16,115	16	8
To Do. for receiving contributions to lotteries	2,571	4	6
Principal and interest of American and East Florida orders, for relief to such persons as have suffered during the late unhappy dissensions in America	5,000	0	0
To the commissioners for preparing and drawing lotteries, 1806-7	476	7	6½
To replace to his Majesty's Civil List Revenues the Sums issued thereout, pursuant to Addresses of the House of Commons; viz.	15,500	0	0
For rewards to persons employed under the commissioners for carrying into execution the measures recommended by the house of commons respecting the public records			
To the clerk assistant of the house of commons, sessions 1806	1,085	3	0
To the second clerk assistant to the house of commons, in ditto	980	2	8
To Edward Colman, esq. late serjeant-at-arms, attending the house of commons	1,085	4	0
To the deputy serjeant-at-arms, to make up his allowance equal to 500l. for the session 1806	250	0	0
To George Whittam, esq. for making an index to the votes in session 1806	332	3	0
To H. Alexander, esq. as chairman of the committee of ways and means, session 1806	350	0	0
	1,300	5	0

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To make good to his Majesty's Civil List Revenues Monies issued therout, for Public Services; viz.

	£.	s.	d.
For salaries of the additional commissioners for auditing the public accounts	5,397	2	0
To J. Johnson, architect, for carrying on the building of the new mint	5,000	0	0
For additional allowance to clerks in the office for auditing public accounts	4,252	1	1
To Dr. Clarke, for his trouble and attendance relative to an act for enforcing the residence of the clergy...	731	11	11
To Peter lord Gwydir, deputy great chamberlain, for expences attending the trial of lord viscount Melville.	1,216	17	10
To Joseph Kaye and John Winter, jun. solicitors to the managers of the impeachment against lord viscount Melville	7,549	0	2
To W. G. Rose, esq. and other officers of the house of commons, for their attendance on various committees in session 1806	233	10	0
To E. Stracey, esq. as a compensation for his services as counsel to the chairman of the committee of the house of peers, session 1806	762	10	0
For defraying the expences of a plan for the more perfect security of the shipping in the port of London..	649	12	0
To H. Cowper, esq. clerk-assistant to the house of lords, for additional trouble during the trial of lord viscount Melville	224	12	0
To W. Chinnery, esq. as a compensation to persons attending during the trial of lord viscount Melville	974	3	6
To J. Meheux, esq. assistant-secretary to the commissioners for the affairs of India, for the purchase of the lease of a house in Downing-street for an office for the said commissioners	272	5	4
For defraying the expences of a plan for the establishment of a horse-patrol for the public roads leading to the metropolis	3,172	18	0
To W. Chinnery, esq. to pay a bill drawn by sir Eyre Coote, for bounties on fish	535	9	0
To the secretary to the commissioners of military enquiry, for expences incurred by them	2,637	13	6
To the secretary to the West-India commissioners, for the expences of their office	1,622	19	6
To sir I. Heard, for extra expences incurred at the funeral of the late lord viscount Nelson	71	4	0
To William Chinnery, esq. for books of science and chemical articles for the settlement of New South Wales.	114	11	0
To J. Clementson, esq. for one year's rent of a house, in lieu of apartments he resigned at the house of commons	219	14	0

To W. Chinnery, esq. to pay bills drawn by Mr. commissary Laidlaw, for bounties on fish.....	£.	s.	d.
	271	12	6
To T. Nettleship, esq. for publishing the average price of brown sugar	434	17	0
To the secretary to the commissioners of naval enquiry, for contingent expenses	1,060	19	0
To W. Watson, esq. serjeant-at-arms to the house of lords, for his services during the session 1806	1,623	0	0
To lord Walsingham, chairman of the committees of the house of lords, for his attendance in session 1806....	2,698	13	0

SERVICES ABROAD.

For his majesty's foreign and other secret services, 1806-7.....	90,338	18	0
For repairing and maintaining British forts and settlements on the coast of Africa	18,000	0	0
To pay bills drawn from New South Wales, 1807	14,420	0	0
For the civil establishment of Upper Canada, 1807	8,280	0	0
_____ Nova Scotia, 1807	5,373	15	0
_____ New Brunswick, 1807..	4,650	0	0
_____ St. John's, 1807.....	3,100	0	0
_____ Cape Breton, 1807	2,040	0	0
_____ Bahamas, 1807.....	4,400	0	0
_____ Bermuda, 1806-7	870	0	0
_____ New South Wales, 1807	12,705	0	0
_____ Sierra Leone, 1807.....	14,000	0	0

£.1,227,383 0 8½

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PUBLIC INCOME OF IRELAND,

HEADS OF REVENUE.	Gross Receipt within the Year.			Total Receipt to be accounted for.			Re-payments, Drawbacks, Discounts, &c.			Charges of Management.		
	L.	s.	d.	L.	s.	d.	L.	s.	d.	L.	s.	d.
Ordinary Revenues:												
Customs.....	2,452,765	17	1½	5,772,063	19	8½	181,778	4	8	239,121	5	2½
Excise.....	2,306,455	4	11½				67,980	15	2	185,539	5	3½
Stamps.....	594,154	10	9½	720,076	0	11	16,226	14	11½	30,279	3	9½
Post-office.....	158,749	6	3	177,257	18	2½	17,477	9	1	73,723	15	9½
Landage fees.....	26,934	14	4½	26,934	14	4½						
Stamp fees.....	5,386	19	1½	5,386	19	1½						
Money on wrought plate.....	2,898	12	4½	2,898	12	4½						
Post-offices.....	4,324	11	0	4,324	11	0						
Total Ordinary Revenues..	5,551,669	15	11½	6,708,944	15	8½	285,463	3	10½	528,663	10	0½
Extraordinary Resources:												
Money by exchange on sums received from Great Britain..	15,973	10	4½	15,973	10	4½						
Commissions of the navy on account of advances by collectors in Ireland, for seamen's wages, &c.....	39,459	2	8½	39,459	2	8½						
Money in Great Britain, on account of the profit of lotteries....	224,904	10	3½	224,904	10	3½						
Money on several county treasurers, paid to several revenue collectors, on account of advances made by the treasury for enrolling the militia on several county treasurers, paid to several revenue collectors, on account of deficiencies in the army of reserve.....	2,925	6	9	18,405	17	6						
Money paid to the public	49,120	3	3½	49,120	3	3½						
Appropriate Duties for Local Objects.												
On manufacture.....	1,600	0	8	3,529	15	10½	774	9	6			
Improvement of Dublin.....	9,518	18	0	10,476	11	1	12	2	0			
Repairs of the Royal Exchange and Commercial Buildings...	1,659	5	0	2,071	19	2						
On navigation.....	3,476	2	10	3,614	11	0½	1,321	18	4	107	14	2½
Expenses of court.....	1,111	10	0	1,111	10	0						
Total, independent of the loans	5,901,551	5	10½	7,086,727	15	5½	285,571	13	8½	528,771	4	3
Money paid into the exchequer, the year ended, the 5th of January 1808.....	2,977,747	4	9	2,977,747	4	9						
Grand Total.....	3,879,298	10	7½	10,064,475	0	2½	285,571	13	8½	528,771	4	3

APPENDIX to the CHRONICLE.

18

for the Year ended the 5th of January 1808.

Total Payments out of the Gross Revenue.	Net Produce, applicable to National Objects, and to Paymts. into the Exchq.	Payments on account of Militia, Deserters, straggling Seamen, Army of Reserve, and Fortification Compensation.	Bounties for promoting the Fisheries, Linen Manufacture, &c.	Total Payments out of the Net Produce.	Payments into Exchequer.
<i>L.</i> <i>s.</i> <i>d.</i>	<i>L.</i> <i>s.</i> <i>d.</i>	<i>L.</i> <i>s.</i> <i>d.</i>	<i>L.</i> <i>s.</i> <i>d.</i>	<i>L.</i> <i>s.</i> <i>d.</i>	<i>L.</i> <i>s.</i>
428,899 9 10½	5,097,646 9 4½	76,886 2 2	25,940 0 9	25,940 0 9	1,976,961 6
253,580 0 5	673,570 2 1½	.....	101,345 5 6½	178,231 5 4½	1,765,466 4
46,505 18 9½	86,056 13 4	.....	.....	.....	564,624 15
91,301 4 10½	26,934 14 4½	.....	.....	.....	71,392 17
.....	5,386 19 1½	.....	.....	.....	26,934 14
.....	2,898 12 4½	.....	.....	.....	5,386 19
.....	4,324 11 0	.....	.....	.....	2,898 12
.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	4,324 11
812,126 13 11½	5,896,818 1 8½	76,886 2 2	127,285 4 1½	204,171 6 3½	4,417,990 0
.....	15,973 10 4½	.....	.....	.....	15,973 10
.....	39,459 2 8½	.....	.....	.....	36,459 2
.....	224,904 10 3½	.....	.....	.....	224,904 10
.....	18,405 17 6	.....	.....	.....	1,007 13
.....	9,115 8 5	.....	.....	.....	4,700 1
.....	49,120 3 3½	.....	.....	.....	49,120 3
774 9 6	2,755 6 4½	.....	.....	.....	1,745 15
12 2 0	10,464 9 1	.....	.....	.....	10,226 2
.....	2,071 19 2	.....	.....	.....	1,535 17
1,429 12 6½	2,184 18 6½	.....	.....	.....	1,413 8
.....	1,111 10 0	.....	.....	.....	1,111 10
814,343 17 11½	6,272,384 17 5½	76,886 2 2	127,285 4 1½	204,171 6 3½	4,769,187 13
.....	2,977,747 4 9	.....	.....	.....	2,977,747 4
814,343 17 11½	9,250,132 2 2½	76,886 2 2	127,285 4 1½	204,171 6 3½	7,746,934 18

DISPOSITION OF GRANTS.

An Account, shewing how the MONIES, granted for the SERVICE of the Year 1807, have been disposed of; so far as relates to IRELAND.

SERVICES.	Sums Granted.			Sums Paid.			Remains.		
	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.
FORCES.									
Army, with garrisons and their incidents (1,078,362 <i>l.</i> 7 <i>s.</i> 5 <i>d.</i> British, part of 4,051,623 <i>l.</i> 0 <i>s.</i> 6 <i>d.</i> Br.)	1,168,225	18	1						
Foreign corps (243,792 <i>l.</i> 2 <i>s.</i> 6 <i>d.</i> Br. part of 832,540 <i>l.</i> 19 <i>s.</i> 9 <i>d.</i> Br.)	264,108	2	8½						
Allowance to non-commissioned officers and private men of the regulars, for small beer, and while on a march (69,428 <i>l.</i> 11 <i>s.</i> 11½ <i>d.</i> Br. part of 467,273 <i>l.</i> 3 <i>s.</i> 11 <i>d.</i> Br.)	75,214	6	3½						
Recruiting and contingencies (124,481 <i>l.</i> 15 <i>s.</i> 3 <i>d.</i> Br. part of 277,249 <i>l.</i> 0 <i>s.</i> 10 <i>d.</i> Br.)	134,855	4	10½						
Militia, pay, &c. (849,081 <i>l.</i> 7 <i>s.</i> 7 <i>d.</i> Br. part of 2,493,644 <i>l.</i> 7 <i>s.</i> 5 <i>d.</i> Br.)	919,838	3	3	1,268,528	14	10½	373,874	17	1½
Allowance to non-commissioned officers and private men for small beer, and while on a march, (57,344 <i>l.</i> 11 <i>s.</i> 11½ <i>d.</i> Br. a further part of 467,273 <i>l.</i> 3 <i>s.</i> 11 <i>d.</i> Br.)	62,664	19	7½						
Contingencies (22,153 <i>l.</i> 17 <i>s.</i> 0 <i>d.</i> Br. part of 62,153 <i>l.</i> 17 <i>s.</i> 0 <i>d.</i> Br.)	24,000	0	0						
Volunteer corps, (830,301 <i>l.</i> 4 <i>s.</i> 8 <i>d.</i> Br. part of 1,490,301 <i>l.</i> 4 <i>s.</i> 8 <i>d.</i> Br.)	899,493	0	0	881,835	9	0	144,667	13	10½
General and staff officers, and officers of the hospitals, serving with the forces (57,594 <i>l.</i> 14 <i>s.</i> 0 <i>d.</i> Br. part of 190,529 <i>l.</i> 17 <i>s.</i> 6 <i>d.</i> Br.)	62,394	5	2	268,073	12	6	631,419	7	6
Full-pay to supernumerary officers of his majesty's forces, (1,029 <i>l.</i> 19 <i>s.</i> 5 <i>d.</i> part of 34,418 <i>l.</i> 11 <i>s.</i> 0 <i>d.</i> Br.)	1,115	16	1	64,304	10	7	89	14	7
	1,115	16	1	968	12	6	129	3	7

The

	Sums Granted.	Sums Paid.	Remains.
	£. s. d.	£. s. d.	£. s. d.
The principal officers of several public departments, their deputies, clerks, and contingent expences (8,897 <i>l.</i> 6 <i>s.</i> 6 <i>d.</i> Br. part of 221,200 <i>l.</i> 18 <i>s.</i> 5 <i>d.</i> Br.)	9,638 15 4½	9,466 14 8½	172 0 8½
Half-pay to reduced officers of his majesty's land forces, (26,982 <i>l.</i> 1 <i>s.</i> 9 <i>d.</i> Br. part of 186,982 <i>l.</i> 1 <i>s.</i> 9 <i>d.</i> Br.)	29,230 11 11	24,452 4 8	4,748 7 3
Military allowances to reduced officers of his majesty's land forces (533 <i>l.</i> 1 <i>s.</i> 2 <i>d.</i> Br. part of 5,633 <i>l.</i> 1 <i>s.</i> 2 <i>d.</i> Br.)	577 9 7	318 8 10½	259 0 8½
In and out pensioners of the royal hospital near Kilmaham, and expences of said hospital (46,977 <i>l.</i> 9 <i>s.</i> 4 <i>d.</i> Br. part of 406,383 <i>l.</i> 7 <i>s.</i> 3 <i>d.</i> Br.)	50,892 5 1½	40,315 13 4½	10,576 11 8½
Pensions to widows of officers of the land forces, and expences attending the same (6,000 <i>l.</i> 0 <i>s.</i> 0 <i>d.</i> Br. part of 43,258 <i>l.</i> 7 <i>s.</i> 6 <i>d.</i> Br.)	6,500 0 0	4,698 15 5½	1,871 4 6½
General hospital expences of his majesty's forces in Ireland, including medicals, for general and regimental hospitals, and the charge of the royal military infirmary, Dublin, for sick and wounded soldiers (18,461 <i>l.</i> 10 <i>s.</i> 10 <i>d.</i> Br.)	20,000 0 0	13,062 5 8½	6,937 14 3
Retired and officiating chaplains of his majesty's force (3,208 <i>l.</i> 15 <i>s.</i> 11 <i>d.</i> Br. part of 18,208 <i>l.</i> 15 <i>s.</i> 11 <i>d.</i> Br.)	3,476 3 11	2,063 6 11½	1,442 16 11½
Barrack department in Ireland (469,450 <i>l.</i> 12 <i>s.</i> 6 <i>d.</i> Br.)	508,571 10 2½	371,134 0 3	137,437 9 11½
Extraordinary services of the army in Ireland (600,000 <i>l.</i> 0 <i>s.</i> 0 <i>d.</i> Br.)	650,000 0 0	463,524 5 2½	186,475 14 9½
ORDNANCE:			
Office of ordnance in Ireland, for the year 1807 (479,246 <i>l.</i> 19 <i>s.</i> 7 <i>d.</i> Br.)	519,184 4 6½	519,184 4 6½	
PUBLIC OFFICERS for several SERVICES:			
S. Moore, esq. acc. gen. for			

	Sums Granted.	Sums Paid.	Remains.
	£. s. d.	£. s. d.	£. s. d.
his extraordinary trouble and expence in preparing and stating the public accounts of Ireland, laid before parliament, in 1807	340 0 0	340 0 0	
Smart, esq. dep. acc. gen. for his extraordinary trouble in preparing the public accounts of Ireland, for the year ending 5th Jan. 1807	240 0 0	240 0 0	
Le Bas, esq. examiner of corn bounties, for his trouble in keeping the accounts of said office	200 0 0	200 0 0	
Marshall, esq. inspector gen. of imports and exports, for his expence and trouble in preparing the accounts of the imports and exports of Ireland, for parliament, for one year ending 5th Jan. 1807	250 0 0	250 0 0	
ugh B. Hauteville, esq. first clerk in the office of the inspector general of imports and exports in Ireland, for his extraordinary trouble in preparing accounts for parliament	200 0 0	200 0 0	
eo. Hatton, esq. examiner of excise, for his extraordinary trouble and expence in preparing accounts for parliament	200 0 0	200 0 0	
am. Hood, esq. assistant examiner of excise, for his extraordinary trouble in preparing accounts for parliament	150 0 0	150 0 0	
ho. Haffield, esq. clerk in the office of the auditor of the exchequer, for his extraordinary trouble in preparing accounts for parliament	200 0 0	200 0 0	
MISCELLANEOUS SERVICES, from 5th Jan. 1807 to 5th Jan. 1808.			
Expence of civil buildings	25,000 0 0	25,000 0 0	
Expence of printing and binding 250 copies of the acts of the 47th of his present majesty	1,200 0 0	1,058 16 11½	141 3 0½
Expence of publishing procla-			

	Sums Granted.			Sums Paid.			Remains.		
	L.	s.	d.	L.	s.	d.	L.	s.	d.
Advertisements and advertisements in the Dublin gazette, and other newspapers	10,500	0	0	10,500	0	0			
Charge of printing, stationery, and other disbursements of the chief and under secretaries offices and apartments, and other public offices, in Dublin castle, &c. and for the riding charges and other expences of the deputy pursuivants and extra messengers attending said offices	21,208	0	0	21,208	0	0			
Expence of criminal prosecutions, and other law expences of government	25,000	0	0	25,000	0	0			
Expence of apprehending public offenders in Ireland	2,500	0	0	1,925	17	5½	574	2	6½
Support of the non-conforming ministers in Ireland	9,429	18	0	9,429	18	0			
Expence of pratique, in the port of Dublin	1,047	10	2	1,047	10	2			
Expenditure at his Majesty's gold mine at Croaghan, in the county of Wicklow	600	0	0	600	0	0			
Charge of incidents of the treasury in Ireland	6,000	0	0	6,000	0	0			
Charge for clothing his majesty's heralds, pursuivants at arms, and state trumpeters, for three years, from the 17th March 1807	1,086	0	0	1,086	0	0			
Charge of clothing the battle-axe guards, for eighteen months, commencing 1st June 1807	740	0	0	740	0	0			
To enable his majesty to make some allowance to the commissioners appointed to enquire into the fees, gratuities, perquisites, and emoluments received in certain public offices in Ireland (22,500 British)	24,375	0	0	24,375	0	0			
Expence attending the several commissions for taking and receiving evidence in petitions against returns to parliament, in the year 1807	3,408	0	0	3,408	0	0			
Salaries of the commissioners for granting lottery licences, their secretary and clerks, and the comptrol-									

	Sums Granted.			Sums Paid.			Remains.		
	L.	s.	d.	L.	s.	d.	L.	s.	d.
ler and inspector of lottery offices in Ireland, for two years to 24 June 1807, and for paying the salaries of the commissioners for certifying outstanding lottery prizes, for 22 months ending 24 June 1807	6,330	0	0	6,292	4	1	37	15	11
Erection and completion of a pier in Dundrum bay on the coast of the county of Down	7,771	16	0	7,771	16	0			
PUBLIC BOARDS, from 5th Jan. 1807, to 5th Jan. 1808.									
The trustees of the linen and hempen manufactures, for one year to the 5th January 1807	21,400	0	0	21,600	0	0			
The board of first fruits; for building new churches, and re-building old churches, in such parishes as no public service has been performed in for 20 years past, and for the encouragement of building glebe houses	5,000	0	0	5,000	0	0			
The Dublin society, for promoting husbandry and other useful arts in Ireland, 2000 <i>l.</i> whereof to be applied in aid of the funds of the institution at Cork, for the application of science to the common purposes of life, and the remaining 10,000 <i>l.</i> for completing additional buildings, supporting the botanic gardens, promoting husbandry and useful arts, and the other objects of said society	12,000	0	0	12,000	0	0			
Expence of the farming society of Ireland	5,000	0	0	5,000	0	0			
Paving, cleansing, and lighting the streets of Dublin	10,000	0	0	10,000	0	0			
Commissioners for making wide and convenient streets in Dublin	4,500	0	0	4,500	0	0			
PUBLIC HOSPITALS & SCHOOLS, from 5th Jan. 1807 to 5th Jan. 1808.									
Charge of the incorporated society in Dublin, for pro-									

	Sums Granted.			Sums Paid.			Remains.		
	L.	s.	d.	L.	s.	d.	L.	s.	d.
moting English Protestant schools in Ireland . . .	23,270	0	0	23,270	0	0			
Expence of the foundling hospital in Dublin . . .	22,500	0	0	22,500	0	0			
Charge of the Hibernian marine society in Dublin . . .	1,609	0	0	1,609	0	0			
Expence of the Hibernian school for soldiers' children . . .	11,626	0	0	11,626	0	0			
Charge of the female orphan house, near Dublin . . .	1,306	0	0	1,306	0	0			
Expences incurred by the association for discountenancing vice, and promoting the knowledge and practice of the Christian religion . . .	1,262	0	0	1,262	0	0			
Towards supporting the Westmoreland Lock-hospital in Dublin . . .	7,957	0	0	7,957	0	0			
Towards the charge of supporting the house of industry and penitentiary in Dublin . . .	25,997	0	0	25,997	0	0			
Expence of maintaining 80 patients in the house of recovery and fever hospital in Cork Street, Dublin . . .	3,092	0	0	3,092	0	0			
Charge of the lying-in hospital, Dublin . . .	2,533	0	0	2,533	0	0			
Charge of the office of the commissioners of charitable donations and bequests . . .	400	0	0	400	0	0			
Charge of the Roman Catholic seminary in Ireland . . .	13,000	0	0	13,000	0	0			
Towards defraying the expence of Dr. Stevens's hospital . . .	503	0	0	503	0	0			
Expence of building the intended hall for the royal college of surgeons in Ireland . . .	9,517	0	0	9,517	0	0			
For finishing sir Patrick Dunn's hospital, and defraying the expence of a temporary establishment and maintenance of patients . . .	6,204	0	0	6,204	0	0			
To the commissioners for paving the streets of Dublin . . .	137,000	0	0	137,000	0	0			
£.	5,885,833	0	11	4,402,978	1	10	1,482,854	19	1

First Report from the Select Committee on the Affairs of the East-India Company.—Ordered to be printed 25th May, 1808.

The select committee appointed to enquire into the present state of the affairs of the East-India company, and to report the same, as it shall appear to them, to the house, with their observations thereupon, and also to report their proceedings from time to time to the house; and to whom several accounts and other papers presented to the house, respecting the revenues and charges, and the commercial concerns of the East-India company; and also the petition of the united company of merchants of England, trading to the East Indies, were severally referred:—Have, pursuant to the orders of the house, examined the matters to them referred, and have agreed upon the following report.

THE utmost diligence which your committee have been enabled to bestow upon a subject of such extensive detail, as an enquiry into "the present state of the affairs of the East-India company," would not have been sufficient for its full investigation within the period which has elapsed since their appointment, even if many of the most necessary documents, as to the state of the company's affairs in India, had not been received so recently as to preclude the possibility of their being examined with that degree of accuracy, care, and attention, which the complicated nature, not less than the importance of the subject, indispensably requires: your com-

mittee are still engaged in the consideration of the various matters comprehended in the general object of their enquiry, and will from time to time submit their observations thereupon to the house; but in consequence of the petition which the company have presented to the house, and which has been referred to your committee, they have deemed it advisable, in the first instance, to advert to the allegations of that petition, including not only those which refer exclusively to the balance claimed by the company as owing to them by the public, but also such as relate to the general state of their affairs, and to report upon the same, as far as the progress which your committee have been enabled to make in their enquiry, has, in their apprehension, justified the observations which they now offer to the consideration of the house.—Your committee, finding it stated in the petition from the company, as one of the causes from which the present embarrassment in their pecuniary concerns had arisen, that a large balance of debt remained due to them from the public, on account of various expences incurred for expeditions to the French, Dutch, and Spanish settlements in the Indian seas, and to Egypt, have proceeded, in the first instance, on the investigation of the account between the public and the company. Your committee find, that in the report made by a former committee upon this subject, on the 26th day of June 1805, and now referred to your committee, the several heads of charge upon which the claims preferred on behalf of the company were founded, are arranged in the following manner, in three classes, according to

to the nature of the circumstances and transactions out of which they have respectively arisen. The first class composed of such heads of charge as should fall, in the opinion of the committee framing that report, exclusively on the public; the second, of such as should be borne exclusively by the company; and the third, consisting of charges to be divided equally between both parties.—*First class*, chargeable to the public.—“An account of expences incurred by the East-India company in India and England, for the intended expedition to the French islands, and for the expedition against and supplies to the Cape of Good Hope. An account of expences incurred by the East-India company, for the intended expedition against Manilla. An account of the expences incurred by the East-India company, for the purchase of vessels for his majesty's navy, repairs to king's ships, &c. &c. An account of the expences incurred by the East-India company, by the capture of the Danish settlements in India, in 1801. An account of the extraordinary expences incurred by the East-India company, by the expedition to Egypt, over and above the charge of the troops in India. Ceylon balance of property, December 1801, and remittances from India subsequent to that date; also the expence of the capture of the said island.” *Second class*, chargeable to the company.—“An account of the expences incurred by the East-India company, in consequence of various captures made from the French and Dutch, on the peninsula of India, including subsistence of prisoners. An ac-

count of the king's troops in India, beyond the number authorized by acts of parliament.” *Third class*, to be equally divided.—“An account of the expence incurred by the capture and maintenance of Malacca and the Moluccas, and for the maintenance of Ceylon, deducting the profit on spices.”—The said report further states the determination of that committee, concerning the rates of interest to be allowed upon the several sums appearing on the different sides of the account, as follows: “Your committee have thought it reasonable, that the company's claims, so far as they arise from an expenditure carried on in India by loans raised there, should be made up with the rate of interest paid by the company abroad for the loan of the year in which the expence was actually incurred; and that the paymaster-general's account should bear interest according to the rate paid by the public for money in Europe, in the several years in which the demands have accrued; credit is given on the other side of the account on all payments hitherto made by the public in discharge of these demands, at the same rate of Indian interest as that debited by the company.”—The report then states the opinion of the said committee, that, as far as they can judge, a balance of about 2,300,000*l.* would be owing by the public to the company, according to the mode of stating and making up the account therein prescribed, and that the sum of 1,000,000*l.* might safely be voted by the house on account. But it was observed in the said report, that the accounts on which the opinion of the said committee (in re-

gard to the amount of what might prove due to the company had been founded) would require revision ; and it was recommended, that an accountant should be nominated on the part of the treasury, and another on the part of the company, to examine and make up the accounts according to the principles therein specified, previous to the final balance being discharged ; and it was also recommended, that frequent and early adjustments of accounts should take place between the public and the company.—Your committee find, that the sum of 1,000,000*l.* was accordingly voted in that session of parliament, and paid to the company, and that in conformity to the recommendation contained in the said report, accountants were named on the part of the public and the company respectively, for the purpose therein mentioned, who appear to have entered without delay upon the duties assigned to them.—Your committee find that, in the session of 1806, another sum of 1,000,000*l.* was voted and paid to the company on account ; it appearing by a letter from Mr. Wittwer, the accountant named by the lords commissioners of the treasury on the part of the public, to George Harrison, esquire, dated on the 25th of June 1806, (which letter is referred to your committee) that although, for reasons therein particularly detailed, no final adjustment of accounts could at that time be made between the public and the company, the ultimate balance due to the latter would be found to exceed that sum.—Your committee find, that additional claims and demands have arisen between the pub-

lic and the company, subsequent to the report of 1805, above alluded to, some of which have accrued from a continuation to a later period of accounts and heads of charge then existing, and others from different circumstances and transactions which have since occurred.—Your committee have applied to those of the former description, the principles which they found laid down in the report of 1805. The following charges, which have grown out of new matter since that report, they have agreed, after due consideration, to include in the first class, as payable by the public : Expences incurred in India on account of the Chinese settlers at Trinidad.—Expences incurred on account of the expedition to the Cape of Good Hope in 1805. Supplies for the expedition against Buenos Ayres.—Your committee are also of opinion, that the charge of prisoners of war taken at sea by his majesty's ships, which does not appear to have been particularly noticed by the committee of 1805, ought to be defrayed by the public, especially as the principle on which this claim is founded, seems to be recognized and admitted in the act of 1793, chap. 52. sect. 127.—Your committee find that a new demand has also been brought forward on the part of the public against the company for victualling stores furnished for the company's service by the commissioners of victualling, or their agents.—Your committee find, that the gross demand of the company on the public, drawn up in conformity to what has been stated, with interest computed to the first of March 1808, amounts, according to

to the best judgment which your committee can now form, (several of the items of such demand being stated upon estimate) to the sum of 8,461,331*l.* and that the counter demand on the part of the public, for advances of cash upon account (including the two sums of 1,000,000*l.* and 1,000,000*l.* mentioned in the former part of this report) for disbursements by the pay-office, and for supplies furnished by the victualling office, with interest computed to the same period, amounts to 6,960,912*l.* leaving a balance due to the company from the public of 1,500,419*l.*—In the above sum of 6,960,912*l.* is included the sum of 3,082,755*l.* which is the amount of the claim of the paymaster-general on the company, including interest to the 1st March 1808, deducting therefrom the sum of 443,767*l.* hereinafter mentioned.—Your committee cannot adduce a stronger instance of the necessity of attending to the recommendation of the committee of 1805, as to the frequent adjustment of accounts between the public and the company, than the mere statement of a claim to so large an amount, and which has moreover been only brought forward at a period so recent, that it has been, and for a considerable time must be, impossible for the accountants to examine in detail, and form an opinion on the accuracy of all the charges. There is every reason to believe, that the objections which have already been urged on the part of the company to the pay-office demands, are in general well founded, especially as their validity has been strongly confirmed by a return which was laid before

your committee, from the office of the adjutant-general, of the periods during which the different regiments were chargeable to the company; and it is very possible, that, on further and more minute examination, by the accountants, other objections will be discovered. On these considerations, your committee have thought it reasonable to suspend for further examination, such part of the pay-office demand as has been specifically objected to on the part of the company, which amounts to the sum of 443,767*l.* In concluding this part of the subject, your committee have no hesitation in suggesting the expediency of repealing the clause in the act of 1793 (cap. 52. sect. 128.) which enacts, that the company shall be chargeable with all the recruiting and other expences incurred in England, for regiments in India (which in practice has been found so difficult to adjust,) and substituting other provisions which might simplify the mode of stating the account, and consequently facilitate its frequent and early adjustment, and at the same time secure for the public an equitable compensation for that portion of its military expenditure.—Your committee have annexed to this report, a copy of the account between the public and the company, containing a detailed statement of the particular items of which the two sums of 8,461,331*l.* and 6,960,912*l.* are composed.—Your committee cannot, in justice to the company, conclude this part of their report, without calling the attention of the house to the remonstrances made against the mode adopted by the committee appoint-

ed in 1805 to take into consideration the account between the public and the East-India company, as far as relates to the expences incurred by the capture and maintenance of Malacca and the Moluccas, and the maintenance of Ceylon; a mode of decision by which claims on the part of the company, to no less an amount than 1,972,984*l.* have been set aside.—Your committee, under the order of reference made to them, have not thought themselves authorized to make any observations upon the principles on which the committee of 1805 arranged the claims of the company.—Your committee have, however, thought it their duty, under all the circumstances of the case, to state the amount of what the company maintain to be their just and unsatisfied demand.

Independently of the claim which the company have preferred against the public, for expences incurred in carrying into execution the orders which at different times have been transmitted to India, for expeditions against the settlements of such European powers as have been engaged in war with this country, and also to Egypt, your committee observe, that in the above mentioned petition various circumstances (all of which are connected with that state of war in Europe and in India) are represented as the causes which have produced the present embarrassments in the company's affairs, and the grounds on which they pray for such relief as parliament may think fit to grant.—It will be evident from the examination of their several accounts (which exhibit a view of the company's pecuniary concerns in England

during the last ten years,) when compared with the estimate for 1808-9, that the deficiencies of the last and present year have proceeded from causes which have been progressive in their operation, and that the state of affairs which those accounts now exhibit, is to be traced to a combination of various circumstances connected with the wars in which the company have been engaged in India, as well as with the general state of warfare in which a large portion of Europe has for a long period been involved. Your committee have selected from the annual accounts of the company's affairs at home, which have been presented to parliament during the last ten years, a comparative statement of receipts and payments in such articles as have experienced or admit of any considerable variation in their amount. It will appear from that account, that the present deficiency may be ascribed principally to the following causes:—1st. To the diminished sale of the company's goods; the sum estimated to be received from such sales for the year 1808-9 being 1,394,589*l.* less than the average of the ten preceding years; 2,200,996*l.* less than the average of the first five years of that period; and 588,183*l.* less than the average of the last five years.—It would lead your committee much beyond the limits within which they propose to confine this report, if they were to enter upon the discussion of all the causes to which the gradual decrease in the amount of the company's sales, during the last ten years, may possibly be ascribed. It will appear, however, from the
account

account of sales during that period, that in the article of tea, which forms a large proportion of their whole trade, no diminution has taken place, but that it has chiefly occurred in the imports from India, and particularly in the different descriptions of piece goods. The increased consumption of cotton stuffs manufactured in Britain, and the advantages derived to neutral nations from the expence at which the trade to India must necessarily be carried on during war, as well as the obstructions inseparable from that state of war which has existed with little intermission since the renewal of the company's charter in 1793, are the causes to which, in the opinion of your committee, the diminished sale of Indian imports may principally be attributed.—2dly. To the increased expence of freight and demorage of the company's shipping; the estimated amount of the same for the year 1808-9, being 276,251*l.* more than the average of the ten preceding years; 276,712*l.* more than the average of the first five years of that period; and 275,790*l.* more than the average of the last five years.—Whether the system now pursued by the company, in the description of vessels which they have been accustomed to employ, is the most economical to them or the most beneficial to the country, or whether it is calculated to withstand the competition of foreign nations, are points on which your committee are not yet prepared to pronounce an opinion; but which they consider to be of the highest importance, as they affect not only the commercial prosperity of the company, but the

permanent interest of the British empire, in the preservation and exclusive enjoyment of a valuable portion of its trade. In estimating this charge, to which the commerce of the company is exposed, from the rate of freight, it must be recollected that the means of defence and consequent security which the size and structure of their ships afford to their valuable cargoes, and to the transport of troops and military stores, must necessarily be included in any comparison between the present and any other system which may be suggested.—3dly. To the increased amount of bills of exchange drawn on the company in England from India and China; the estimated amount of which for the year 1808-9 being 725,408*l.* more than the average of the ten preceding years; 521,970*l.* more than the average of the first five years of that period; and 925,845*l.* more than the average of the last five years.—It is unquestionably to those heavy drafts from India and China on the company's treasury at home, that the largest portion of the deficiency in their funds during the last and present year must be ascribed. Your committee have been informed, that in consequence of arrangements which the court of directors have adopted, and of orders which they have transmitted to China, the amount of bills from thence is not likely to increase, and that in all probability it will fall considerably below the average of former years. Your committee have not been enabled to form any such expectation with regard to the amount of bills from India. Any interruption in the tranquillity of the company's territories.

tories would create increased demands on their treasury at home, which can only be effectually avoided by a surplus revenue in India. The attainment of that object, either by a reduction of expenditure or by additional revenue, or by the operation of both those causes, is indispensable to the maintenance of the company's credit and power in India; and to this important subject your committee will, without delay, direct its most serious attention.—Your committee have confined themselves in this report to a statement of the principal causes which have produced the present deficiency. There are others, however, of inferior amount, which have contributed to augment it. The charge of payments to military and marine officers retired from the service has been gradually increasing for several years, and amounts now to a sum much beyond the calculation which was formed of it, when the system was first established.—The addition to the company's bonded debt has also contributed to swell the deficit, by the increased charge for interest.—With the view of enquiring into the practicability of retrenchment in the expenditure, your committee have called for the detail of the articles comprehended under the head of "charges general," which, in the aggregate, amounts annually to a very considerable sum.—As far as your committee have yet investigated this account, they have found no reason to believe that it is capable of any material reduction, but they propose to go into a more detailed examination of the particular articles of which it consists. And, entertaining this intention,

they forbear at present laying before the house any thing more than an abstract of the account, and of its principal subdivisions for the last three years, as it has been prepared by the court of directors.—The company having stated in their petition, that they did "not presume to request the interposition of the house to aid them in their present emergency, without at the same time shewing their unquestionable ability to discharge all their debts in England, and to repay whatever the house may in its wisdom think fit to assist them with;" and having submitted to the house a statement in that petition, by which it appeared that a considerable balance would remain to them, after making provision for the payment of all their debts in England, but exclusive of their Indian debt; your committee felt it their duty carefully to investigate that part of the subject, and they have no difficulty in stating an opinion, that there will remain assets in this country to an amount considerably beyond what the present exigency of the company's affairs appears to demand, in security for any advance to that extent which parliament may think fit to grant. Your committee have prepared an account of the probable assets of the company on the 1st of March 1809, in which the amount of debt due to them by the public, as the balance of their account, is taken only at 1,500,419*l.* instead of 2,460,000*l.* which the company claims, and in which nothing is allowed for their property afloat, and which will arrive in England subsequently to that period, though a large portion of the charges affecting

fecting that property will be incurred and paid during the current year. Estimating the amount in that most unfavourable mode, there will remain a balance of 2,819,587*l.* in favour of the company. If credit however is given for the value of that property, and the sum due by the public is stated at the amount claimed by the company, the estimated balance in their favour will be 9,050,587*l.*—It will be apparent to the house, from the examination of those accounts, that the most accurate estimates which can be formed of such articles of receipt and expenditure as are comprehended in them, must be liable to uncertainty: but your committee have no reason to doubt, that every practicable degree of caution has been used in preparing them.—Your committee have already stated, that they are proceeding upon the detailed investigation of the various matters comprehended in the general object of their enquiry, and which embrace the whole of the financial and commercial as well as political concerns of the company. An examination into the civil and military establishments in India, will form a material branch of that enquiry; and your committee are already impressed with the necessity of carrying into effect reductions in the amount of those establishments to a very considerable extent. Your committee are happy to add, that this important subject has also engaged the serious attention of the court of directors, and of their governments abroad.

Third Report from the Committee,

appointed to examine and consider what Regulations and Checks have been established, in order to controul the several Branches of the PUBLIC EXPENDITURE in Great Britain and Ireland; and how far the same have been effectual; and what further Measures can be adopted for reducing any part of the said Expenditure, or diminishing the Amount of Salaries and Emoluments, without detriment to the Public Service. —Ordered to be printed 29th June 1808.

THE house having, by an instruction of the 7th of July 1807, directed the attention of your committee to all pensions, sinecures, and reversionary grants paid out of the public revenue, or out of any funds applicable to the public service; it has been judged proper to lay separately before the house, the result of their enquiries upon subjects of such importance.—Allowances paid out of public money to persons not actually performing service, have at various times attracted the notice of parliament.—Towards the close of the American war, when the burden of expense pressed with extraordinary weight upon the resources of the country, and when application was made to parliament to discharge the debts of the civil list, a more vigorous and decided step was taken than had characterized any former interposition of parliament; and in the attempt to ‘regulate the civil list, and to prevent the same from being in arrear for the future,’ by 22 Geo. 3. c. 82. this growing branch of expenditure was not overlooked.—It was endeavoured

voured to obviate the excess of such grants by limiting their amount, and their abuse, by giving publicity to them: it was accordingly enacted, 'That no pension, exceeding the sum of 300*l.* a year, should be granted for the use of any one person, and that the whole amount of the pensions granted in any one year should not exceed 600*l.*; a list of which, together with the names of the persons to whom the same were granted, should be laid before parliament in twenty days after the beginning of each session, until the whole pension-list should be reduced to 90,000*l.* which sum it should not be lawful to exceed by more than 5,000*l.* in the whole of all the grants; nor should any pension to be granted after the said reduction, to or for the use of any one person, exceed the sum of 1,200*l.* yearly, except to his majesty's royal family, or on an address of either house of parliament.'—The efficiency of this measure did not entirely correspond with the expectations which were entertained of it, and it was found necessary to bring the subject again before parliament some years afterwards, when the annual provision for the civil list became insufficient for the charges to which it was liable.—The regulations which the civil list act contained, were not ill calculated to effectuate their object; it was highly expedient to bring all pensions under one head; to have them paid at the same office, and to prohibit the diffusing of them over various departments, where they might be more likely to escape notice, than if they were distinctly

classed with allowances of their own denomination.

PENSIONS.

The pensions considered by the board of treasury as coming under the operation of the 17th clause of the civil list act, are contained in Appendix No. 1.; and your committee have the satisfaction of remarking, that their total amount, being 89,067*l.* (which includes 7,085*l.* of contingent or floating grants, and not at this time in a course of payment) is within the sum allowed. In 1804 the total amount of pensions, having reference to this clause, was 82,237*l.* as appears by the list printed at length in the Journals, vol. 59, and recapitulated p. 717.

A list of all other pensions paid at the Exchequer out of the civil list, or any other funds, is given in No. 2.

The pensions payable by treasury warrants out of the 4½ per cent. duty, which are included in No. 2, stand upon a different footing from the others; because that part of the hereditary revenue not having been given up to the public at the commencement of his majesty's reign, (Finance Rep. 23. pp. 11. 43), has been considered as continuing in the absolute disposal of the crown; but as this fund augments the general stock, which is applicable to royal bounty under the direction of government, it is fit, in that point of view, not to be omitted. The amount is 15,331*l.* including two contingent pensions of 1,500*l.* and 3,000*l.* not now in a course of payment.

No. 3 and 4 give lists of other pensions paid out of the 4½ per cent.

cent. duty, by the husband, amounting, in the year 1807, to 20,896*l.* besides which it is charged with two contingent pensions of 615*l.* each, not now in a course of payment.—In the 59th vol. of Journals, p. 766, 767, are accounts of the produce, for three years, of this duty, to 1st Jan. 1804, and the charges thereon, together with the sums paid into the Exchequer.

No. 5, shows the pensions granted in the war-office, chiefly by his majesty's authority, through the secretary at war; the whole amount of which is 5,640*l.*, and they are all granted to those who have been formerly employed in the business of that office. This sum is now covered in the annual vote of the establishment of the war-office; but it deserves consideration, whether, in future, the salaries and pensions paid in this department ought not to be distinguished in the annual estimates from the current expences.

The Compassionate-list, and other allowances paid at the war-office, are contained in No. 6; the annual amount is.....*£*.5,163.

No. 7. Pensions to officers' widows, including paymaster's poundage.....*£*.36,672.

No. 8. Pensions paid out of the revenues of the Isle of Man, amounting to.....*£*.560.

No. 9, out of the revenues of Gibraltar.....*£*.692.

Out of the revenues of Ceylon, 480*l.* paid to the widow of an officer, and to a retired civil officer of the Dutch East-India Company.

Out of the revenues of Lower Canada (according to the journals of the house of assembly of that

province, printed at Quebec 1807).—pensions for services performed, or to widows, &c. pursuant to orders from the secretary of state, or lords of the treasury.....*£*.2,537.

No. 10, contains a list of allowances granted by treasury minutes, and payable out of the civil list and other funds, but not included in either of the former returns: The amount is.....*£*.3,150.

It appears by Journal, vol. 59, p. 677, that allowances to retired officers of the treasury, which are now charged on the Fee fund, were formerly made in the shape of pensions out of the civil list.

No. 11 & 12, exhibit allowances paid out of the Fee fund of the secretary of state, foreign department; the subsisting charge upon which, in case no parts of the payments were suspended, is *£*.2,515.

No. 13, belongs to the same department, containing the minute of council, granting a pension of 1,000*l.* charged upon the establishment, and included in No. 11.

No. 14, gives the same account for the colonial department, amounting to 1,625*l.*; including one floating pension, not now in a course of payment, of 600*l.*

One pension of 550*l.* included also in the above sum, is granted out of a fund, styled extra-contingent, which is annually voted, to prevent overburthening the civil list; for which service, in the last year (1807) 15,000*l.* was allotted, besides 12,000*l.* for extra messengers.

No. 15, exhibits the same for the home department.—It is to be observed, that more of these pensions appear to have the direct sanction of the board of treasury

than those in the other two departments. The annual amount is.....£2,172.

No. 16, contains an account of pensions payable on the ordinary estimate of the navy, or granted by his majesty's sign manual out of the sale of old naval stores. A considerable proportion of these, being fixed allowances to sea officers, or persons connected with the naval service, according to a regular order of superannuation, your committee wish to distinguish from others which appear in the same list; noting only, for the sake of the general view of the whole subject, their total amount, which is.....£62,884; viz.

To 25 rear-admirals, superannuated, &c. according to a fixed rule.....£10,265

27 Captains.....do.....5,913

50 Eldest lieutenants do. 5,475

2 Physicians and one principal surgeon.....798

89 Masters, 68 surgeons, 26 pursers, 90 boatswains, 100 gunners, 105 carpenters, 32 cooks.....21,405

To officers who have received wounds in the service; viz.

2 Admirals, 17 captains, 38 lieutenants, 2 masters, 3 surgeons, 2 pilots, 22 officers of royal marines....10,696

Mothers, widows, and children.....1,465

Do. determinable on some contingency.....4,515

Widows of lieutenants..500

Do. of officers of marines, and of subalterns in the navy.....1,852

£62,884

Pensions in the nature of super-

annuations, to persons employed in the civil line of this department, such as clerks to secretaries of the admiralty, clerks of the navy, victualling and sick and hurt offices, and clerks in the several yards.....£5,906

The same to master attendants, master shipwrights, sail-makers, mastmakers, caulkers, boatbuilders, and a variety of artificers, storekeepers, and messengers employed in the yards.....£6,306

Pensions to persons retiring from office, on the ordinary estimate,

£4,150

Contingent pensions on do.1,000

Pensions to some of the same persons on the produce of old stores, 1,817l.—Total of pensions on old stores, including the above 1,817l.....£5,456

Contingent pensions on do.3,851

£9,307

Your committee conceive that it may tend to encourage abuse, if such allowances as some of these should continue to be covered under the ordinary estimate of the navy; and that the mode of giving allowances out of the fund produced by the sale of old stores, in some cases to the very same persons who receive pensions on the ordinary estimate, requires, if not correction, at least constant attention and superintendence.

No. 17, shows the application of 85,115l. received in the year ending December 1806, from the sale of old stores and ships in his majesty's several dock-yards.

List of bills assigned on the treasury of the navy...£43,432 18 4

Payments by sign manual, in aid of the salaries of the offices

of

of first lord of the admiralty, treasurer of the navy, and paymaster of widows' pensions..... £.8,820 0 0

Pensions to officers of the navy, their widows, and near relatives..... 7,059 0 0

Miscellaneous allowances to officers on whom honours have been conferred, to pay the fees thereon, to others to defray the table or other charges of military or diplomatic persons whom they have conveyed to or from the several stations of their public service. 13,802 16 0

Balance in hand,
31 Dec. 1806..... 12,599 13 4

£.85,115 17 2

Your committee cannot view without jealousy the fund arising from the sale of old stores, which, in the year ending 31 Dec. 1806, amounted to 85,115*l.*; and they suggest, that it would be more advantageous to the public, if those pensions, which have been usually granted out of this fund, should be assigned only on the ordinary of the navy, and that the treasurer of the navy should be made debtor for the produce of old stores, under the head of voluntary account; by which means he would become accountable for the arrears to the exchequer, according to the practice which prevails with regard to old stores in the ordnance.

No. 18. Tax-office:—To superannuated officers.....£.1,900

No. 19. Office of master of the

horse:—The highest of these pensions is 30*l.*.....£.902

No. 20. Lord steward's office:—
Annual bounty.....£.1,661
Quarterly do..... 1,781

£.3,442

No. 21. Transport office:—A pension for relinquishing an office in 1778, paid at the treasury out of the civil list, but not included in No. 12. £.100

No. 22. Excise:—A pension in the nature of a compensation for an office in the salt duties - £.148

Another on the same account, 428

3 others on ditto; together 1,019

£.1,595

The pensions granted out of the hereditary revenues of excise, by Charles 2, and William 3, are omitted.

No. 23 & 24. Muster-master-general's office.—Pensions granted, by virtue of letters from the secretary at war, to commissaries, &c. suppressed, in the nature of compensations£.1,966

No. 25. A pension of 100*l.* in lieu of a place in the salt-office; which does not appear in the excise list, nor in that of the stamp-office, returned to the committee.

No. 26. Pay-office:—Four pensions to widows of accountants, &c. granted by treasury letters; together.....£.1,100

No. 27. Post-office:—Pension to a late surveyor of the customs, abolished.....£.511

Another pension, on relinquishing the office of postmaster of Portsmouth..... 80

£.590
No.

No. 28. Stamps:—Pension as a compensation to the clerk of wine licences.....£.50

The following are paid and included in the bill of incidents, in obedience to treasury warrants: To superannuated officers and persons employed in the perfumery duty, and other duties which have been repealed, or transferred to other management. 3,080

£.3,130

The amount of pensions payable out of the land revenue of England, and comprised under the denomination of "perpetual pensions," is contained in the 12th report of the commissioners of the woods, forests, and land revenues of the crown, p. 66 to 69; and those out of the revenue of North and South Wales, are in the same report, p. 151 and 153. They are ancient charges upon those revenues, and have been subject to no alterations since the date of that report, except by the governments of Conway and Ludlow Castles being now vacant (to the former of which a salary of 23*l.* and to the latter a salary of 30*l.* was attached), and by the stewardship of Cantermallenith, held by the earl of Oxford, having been granted, without the salary of 100*l.* since 1795, when the late earl of Oxford died.

The salary of 400*l.* payable annually to the auditor for Wales, was transferred from the civil list to the land revenue, by treasury warrant, in 1804 or 1805; and other annual sums, to the amount of 10,168*l.* have also been transferred, under the same authority, from the civil list to the land revenue; the particulars of which are

contained in No. 29; and it appears that these payments properly belong to the forests, parks, or land revenue of the crown.

ORDNANCE ESTABLISHMENT.

Gratuities for length of service to sundry officers on the above establishment, estimated and voted this year, 8,565*l.*: the particulars of which are placed opposite to the names in the return of the establishment, endorsed No. 751, among the papers of your committee.

No. 30. The pay of superannuated and disabled men, half-pay of reduced officers for good services, pursuant to his majesty's warrants, according to the estimate of this year (1808), voted by the house, amounts to - - - £60,895

PENSIONS.—SCOTLAND.

Nos. 31, 32, and 33, contain an account of the total amount of pensions paid out of the civil establishment of Scotland, in the year 1807, being - - - £38,588

—together with a list of such of the above pensions as were granted in the same year, amounting to - - - £2,834

Also, a list of pensions paid in 1806, amounting to - - - £36,880

—together with a list of contingent pensions, amounting to - - - £2,600

Also, an account of the total amount of pensions in 1805, exclusive of contingent pensions, being - - - £36,086

Of the same in 1804, being - - - £34,679

It appears from an account ordered to be printed 18 June 1801, that the amount of pensions was, in 1801 - - - £24,864

And from 30th Report Committee of Finance, appendix (A. 22.) In

In 1797 - £.23,862

And in 1761 - 5,940.

The revenues out of which these payments are made, and the authority as well as the general circumstances under which they are granted, require some observation.

The Civil List acts passed at the commencement of the last and present reign 1 Geo. 2. c. 1, 1 Geo. 3. c. 1, by which the hereditary revenues were surrendered in consideration of a fixed annuity, expressly reserved to his majesty the several duties and revenues which had been antecedently payable to the crown in Scotland, "in the same manner only and subject to the like charges as the same were subject to" in the immediately preceding reigns.—These revenues constituted, antecedently to the Union, a fund applicable to the payment of the general charges of the civil establishment of Scotland; but laws were passed immediately after (7 Anne, c. 11. s. 10. and 10 Anne, c. 26. s. 108.) providing that the revenues of customs and excise should be specially charged with the support of the courts of session, justiciary, and exchequer; on the professed ground, that, "since the Union, the expense of keeping up the said courts could be no otherwise provided for."

The customs and excise are also charged with the expences of the privy seal, and of the great seal, although they are not mentioned in the acts referred to. The 20th Geo. 2, c. 43. s. 29. which abolished heretable jurisdictions, gave authority to grant competent salaries to the sheriffs, but without specifying the fund out of which they should be defrayed.—(No. 38.)—These salaries have also been

charged upon the customs and excise, though they seem more properly to belong to the reserved revenues, since the offices to which they are annexed make a part of the general civil establishment. By 26 Geo. 3, c. 47. the salaries of the chief officers of the court of admiralty, and of the commissary court, whose emoluments before the passing of that act depended on fees of office, then abolished, were directed to be paid out of the same fund; 30th Report Finance Committee, Appendix (A. 5.)

No. 34. These reserved revenues consist of new subsidy of customs, which of course increases with the progress of commerce; of the hereditary and temporary revenues of excise, which depend on the quantity of beer and ale brewed in Scotland; of the seizures of customs; the fines and forfeitures of excise; and of the crown rents and casualties, all of which are subject to fluctuation. Their total net amount in three years, ending 10 Oct. 1807, was 209,371;—being on an average yearly £.69,790.

Nos. 35 & 36. Their total gross amount in the same three years was £.259,319.

No. 37. The difference between the gross and net amount of these revenues arose from bounties, drawbacks, and other legal managements, as well as charges of re-payment.

No. 38. Their total gross amount for the three years 1761, 1762, and 1763, was 119,504*l*.

Average £.39,834.

No. 39. The charges to which they were liable in the year ending 10 Oct. 1807, were—1st. That of the pension list, being then

£.36,506.
2nd.

2nd. Certain payments
for the civil establishment of
Scotland, unconnected with
the courts of justice - 8,762

And, thirdly, payments
for miscellaneous services 8,575

£53,843.

No. 40. In the year ending 10 Oct. 1806, the sum of 30,000*l.* being a surplus of this revenue, was transferred to his majesty's civil government in England (No. 41), by a warrant for that purpose, and was applied (with the exception of 1000*l.*) to various purposes of the civil list.

Your committee perceiving that so large and increasing a proportion of these reserved revenues has been applied to pensions, and that under the present system there is no security against their further extension, have thought it their duty to direct their particular attention to this subject; which had likewise attracted the notice of the committee of finance in 1798, (30th Report, p. 15.) who adverting to the great increase of pensions on the civil establishment of Scotland, even at that time, 'and to the 'comparatively small duties per- 'formed by many of the persons 'holding some of the offices,' thought it 'an object well deserving consi- 'deration, whether, instead of their 'being granted, as in some instances 'they appeared to have been, the 'emoluments thereof should not, as 'future occasions and as instances 'might offer, be applied in favour of 'persons who might have distin- 'guished themselves by great public 'service, or in case of the funds ap- 'plied to the pension list, if the ex- 'isting estab- 'examin- 'tion, on a due 'be found ne-

'cessary.'—The amount of pen- sions, which is already equal to more than two-fifths of the allowed pension list of England, ought clearly to be considered, in con- nexion with the emoluments of sinecure places and offices per- formed by deputy in Scotland, which amount to near 30,000*l.*; a subject which will come under more immediate consideration in a further part of this report.—By the articles of union, it was stipu- lated that certain branches of the ancient establishment of Scotland should remain; but although the duties of some of these offices have ceased, and those of others have been diminished, the ancient sala- ries and emoluments continue to be annexed, and in one instance (that of the privy seal) an addition of 1,500*l.* per annum was made in 1804, which is, however, profes- sedly in the nature of an annuity, and to continue only so long as the present possessor shall continue to hold the office of keeper of the privy seal; being in substance an augmentation of the pension list, to which it has been added in the foregoing account. It is payable out of a part of the reserved reve- nues called land rents and casual- ties; and the warrant has been al- ready printed by order of the house, 5th March 1805.—As it appears from the foregoing state- ments, that the pensions granted by the crown in this part of the united kingdom, as well as the reserved re- venues out of which they are paid, have been considerably increased, your committee are of opinion, that they should not have acquitted themselves of the duty imposed upon them, if they had not pointed out these subjects as matters which will

will well deserve the consideration of parliament, whenever the expensiture of the civil list shall again become the subject of investigation; and if not precluded by the terms of the civil list act, from interfering in any manner at present with the application of the reserved revenues, your committee would suggest, that it might become the advisers of the crown to refrain from recommending any further increase of the pensions charged upon those revenues until occasion shall have been given for such investigation.—The number of persons receiving pensions in 1761 was 19; in 1797 it had increased to 185; and it now amounts to 331, exclusive of 24 contingent pensions. The present pensions, however, are for the most part small, and about two-thirds are granted to females.—The committee of finance in 1798, remark on the delicacy with which a fund should be touched, which concerns the munificence of the sovereign, as applied either to the encouragement of learning and religion, to the remuneration of national services in the rewarding of public merit, or in the support of those branches of noble and respectable families, which the policy and principles of the British constitution cannot suffer to fall into indigence.' 30. p. 12.—Your committee by no means wish to repress the munificence of the crown as applied to the three first of those objects, nor even to exclude the last-mentioned consideration; but the undefined state of the reserved revenues appears to have encouraged a growing facility in granting pensions, which it may be, on a future occasion, important to

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restrain. It is obvious that a too general application of them 'to the support of the' (remoter) 'branches of noble and respectable families,' even though the individuals who receive them should not be affluent, may serve to spare the funds of the opulent at the expence of the public, and may create an undue dependence upon those, in whose hands the distribution of royal munificence is vested.

No. 42, presents a return of the convention of royal burghs in Scotland to an order, for an account of public money placed at the disposal of the convention, in pursuance of the civil list act, sec. 16. together with a statement of the application of the same.—The lords of trade and police in Scotland being abolished by that statute, it was enacted, 'that all sums under their management should be placed at the disposal of the convention of royal burghs;' it appears however that no such sums have been received, that considerable difficulty and delay occurred in procuring information, nearly five years having elapsed before the balance in the hands of the cashier to the late board (amounting in July 1783 to 858*l.*) was ascertained, that a demand to deliver up the records of the board, and to pay this balance, was resisted, on the ground that the act gave no power to receive such papers, nor to call on the cashier to account for his intrusions with the sums received by him during the existence of the board; that the board of police also represented that the same act authorised the commissioners of the treasury to grant annuities equal to the legal emoluments of the persons whose offices should be suppressed;

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(the expression of the act is, 'who have diligently and faithfully executed the offices;') and that the cashier having been used to derive emoluments from the money in his hands, he could not continue to enjoy a compensation equal to his accustomed and legal emoluments, if the balance in his hands should be taken from him during his life; that the convention commenced an action against the cashier in 1789 for his said balance, but relinquished it in 1791, from an unwillingness to incur expence in prosecuting a claim which might not be established.—The return further states, that 600*l.* per annum, formerly granted by the commissioners of the treasury to the board of police, which the convention claimed, conceiving it to have been the only fund at their disposal, have, since the passing of the act, been granted to officers of the board, in compensation for the emoluments of the offices suppressed, of which 250*l.* only continue to be paid to four persons, of whom this cashier is one. (No. 43.) This payment having been for purposes purely local, seems to be a charge originally belonging more properly to the hereditary Scotch revenue than to the civil list.—Your committee submit, that so very unsatisfactory a return may require the attention of the commissioners of his majesty's treasury; and that the balance due from the cashier ought to be paid forthwith, or if it should be irrecoverable, that the annual payment to him of 100*l.* ought immediately to cease.

PENSIONERS.—Ireland.

The total of pensions on the civil list of Ireland were, in the year ended 5th Jan. 1808, according to

the annual printed finance account page 91.....*£*.89,639.

They were for the year ended 5th Jan. 1807*£*.93,250.

An account was laid before the house, made up to June 1801 (and printed 16th June), with the names of the pensioners; the amount of which was*£*.112,166.

There were also two additional accounts printed 22nd Feb. 1805, of*£*.1,200 and 6th Feb. 1807, of...*£*1,650.

In the 59th vol. of the Journals, p. 718, is a list of all pensions granted on the establishment of Ireland, up to the 1st Jan. 1804, specifying the date and continuance of each grant; to which your committee are obliged to refer for particulars, not having received a return to their repeated orders, of the present state of the pension list. The amount on 1st Jan. 1804, according to that list, was 104,258*l.* exclusive of 104*l.* under the head of charity, and 3,832*l.* in military pensions.—The civil list act, 33 Geo. 3. c. 34, directed the gradual reduction of the pension list to 80,000*l.*; but as it allowed an annual grant of pensions to the extent of 1,200*l.* in every year, there still continues an excess above the limited sum. In 1793, when the act passed, the total was

£.124,000*l.*

No. 44, contains a list of all additions and diminutions in the pensions on the civil establishment of Ireland, since 6th June 1801, of which the former amount to 8,400*l.* and the latter to 32,353*l.* making upon the whole a diminution of 23,953*l.* to be subtracted from the total given in the printed account for 1801; which would leave, as the total of the present pension list, 88,163*l.*

88,163*l*. but by the finance papers above referred to, the total was, on 5th Jan. 1808£.89,639.

No. 46. Out of the customs for the year ended 5th Jan. 1807,£.17,705.

The greater number of these are in sums not exceeding 20*l*.

In the printed finance papers for the year ended 5th Jan. 1808, p. 13, the salaries, pensions, and gratuities in the customs, exclusive of salaries on the establishment, are stated at£.41,662.

No. 48. Out of the excise for the year ended 5th Jan. 1807,£.5,993.

These pensions have been increased by 300*l*. or rather more, in each of the three last years.—They are in general in sums under 52*l*. and are all granted by the board, with the approbation of the lord lieutenant and lords of the treasury.—In the printed finance papers for this year, ended 5th Jan. 1808, p. 14, the salaries, pensions, and gratuities, payable out of the excise (exclusive of salaries on the establishment) amounted to

.....£.15,277.

No. 49. Pensions out of the Post-office£.1,334.

No. 50. Ditto, out of the stamp duties£.1,496.

No. 51. Under acts passed in 1799 and 1800, pensions were granted to persons instrumental in suppressing the rebellion, to be named by the lord lieutenant; which amount at this time, subject to diminution by the extinction of lives, to£.2,700.

645. Pension contingent to Thomas lord Manners, now lord chancellor of Ireland£.4,000

Pension to John lord Redesdale, late ditto£.4,000

Pension to right hon. Geo. Ponsonby, ditto£.4,000.

The description of pensions contained in Nos. 11. 14. 15. and in 13, are of an objectionable nature, inasmuch as they are neither paid nor entered at the exchequer under the head of pensions; and in case of any deficiency in the fee fund, they fall directly upon the civil list. These allowances are in some cases conferred by the head of an office upon persons in that office itself, without any other apparent control; and even where they have been granted by his majesty in council, although the instrument becomes more formal, all objection is not removed. They tend to confound two things, which ought always to be kept perfectly distinct, the necessary expence incurred for transacting the business of the executive government, and gratuities paid where no duty is annexed; they become indirectly a burden upon the civil list, and by escaping notice, under the general title of establishment, may tend to divert a fund, which was wisely formed under the sanction of parliament, out of the fees of office, for the purposes of economy, into a source of patronage.—This fund was constituted in the year 1795, out of the fees and gratuities received in the offices of the three secretaries of state; and it has relieved the civil list from the burden of the fixed establishment of those offices, which was previously charged upon it (with the exception of such deficiencies as are now occasionally made up by the civil list); in consequence of which arrangement, a material saving has been obtained for the public, and the salaries in those offices, which

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were before liable to great fluctuations, have been fixed at a precise sum, considerably below the average of their former amount.—In No. 28, it has been observed, that pensions to certain persons formerly employed in the stamp office, are paid and included in the bill of incidents, in pursuance of warrants from the board of treasury. Your committee conceive that annual allowances ought not to be granted generally, and without special reasons, to persons retiring from official situations either by their own choice, or upon any new arrangement in the mode of conducting business; and that such grants become more particularly objectionable, if the practice should be allowed to continue of charging any allowances, beyond such as are superannuations in the strictest sense, among the salaries or incidents of any department, instead of classing and entering them as pensions, so that they may be kept entirely distinct from the salaries paid for transacting the current business of the office.—Even when a meritorious officer has served for a number of years, he ought not to receive remuneration as a mere matter of course upon retiring, without taking into consideration the emoluments of the office, and the fortune which he may have had the means of acquiring in that service, as well as the particular circumstances of his case: but with regard to such as may be inefficient or useless (otherwise than in consequence of age or infirmity) special circumstances alone can justify the propriety of rewarding them, when it becomes convenient for the public service, that their situations should be filled by per-

sons better qualified to discharge the duties.—Your committee cannot but discountenance the principle of granting compensation for offices suppressed or abolished, the possessors of which have not either had an interest in them for life, or by the custom of such offices have been justly considered as having such a tenure in them.—With regard to the allowances made to those who were formerly employed in the collection of duties either repealed, or transferred to other management; it is impossible not to animadvert upon suffering persons to remain a permanent burden upon the public, if there has been any opportunity of placing them in other offices, where their qualifications and habits of business might render them useful, and deserving of salary. The warrants for most of these grants were in fact very properly drawn only ‘during the pleasure of the commissioners of the treasury, or until the parties are respectively otherwise provided for.’ The scale of all offices has necessarily been so much extended since the repeal or transfer of those duties, that little difficulty seems likely to have occurred in giving employment to all those individuals; and their situation would probably have been more frequently presented to the notice of the executive government, if the allowances had appeared in the shape of pension, instead of being included among the incidents of the establishment.—Since offices ought to be regarded as created solely for public utility, and not the benefit of the individuals who happen to hold them, there must exist a perfect right in those who administer the affairs of the public,

to regulate, alter, and control their functions; it becomes a duty to abolish such as appear superfluous, and to abridge the emoluments of all which can be conducted to the same advantage, but at a cheaper rate. Without the constant superintendence and vigilance of the house, irregularities in the granting of compensations and superannuations may from time to time creep in; but your committee conceive that it may be some check against this sort of expenditure, if all such grants, besides being brought as it were into one focus, where they may be viewed collectively, and distinctly, should also pass, without exception, under the review of the commissioners of the treasury, who being constitutionally responsible for all matters of expenditure, should be intrusted with a general control over every article of it, and armed with powers to prevent in every department any improper accumulation of charge.—The committee on finance (22.); having observed, that it may materially conduce to the ends of public economy, if parliament should think fit to require annual accounts of every increase and diminution which may have taken place in the course of each preceding year in the salaries, emoluments, and expenses of all public offices, your committee recommend that it should be made an order of the house, that such an account shall be produced within twenty days after the commencement of every session, and also an account of all additional pensions and allowances paid for services not performed.

COMPENSATIONS.

Compensations for the loss of

offices, which it has been judged expedient to abolish or regulate, afford another class of allowances paid for service not now executed; they exhibit a sum continually decreasing, as the lives of those entitled to them gradually fall in.—The compensations printed in the report upon the civil list, were, for the year 1803, 11,663*l.*; but there were included in that sum the annual and quarterly bounty in the lord steward's office, and small pensions in the office of master of the horse, which are here classed with the pensions; and among the pensions and allowances enumerated in this report, many will be found which might perhaps be classed, with equal propriety, under the title of compensations.—The list of compensations granted in Ireland on account of the union, with the particular periods during which the several offices were held by the persons receiving compensations, is printed in the 59th vol. of the Journals, p. 773.

The accounts of compensation are from No. 53 to No. 62, in the Appendix.

In examining the several lists, the observation of the house will naturally be attracted, in the first place, to the magnitude of the sum derived through various channels to the use of persons not actually performing any species of public service. It is true, that considerable portions of these payments are to be regarded in the nature of remuneration for services which have been rendered to the public, either by the persons themselves, or their near relatives; and to such as strictly belong to this class, where the duty has been diligently and faithfully done, and for an adequate period

period of time, and where the persons are so circumstanced as to have strong claims upon the public, no impediment is intended to be objected. But though instances may occur of persons whose claims upon the public are not equally apparent, or easy to be traced, your committee do not conceive that it is their province to descend into the invidious task of examining particular cases, being desirous of carrying their retrospect no further than may be sufficient to lay a foundation for future reform and regulation.—The words with which this part of the statute, sec. 19, is prefaced, that ‘it is no disparagement for any persons to be relieved by the royal bounty in their distress, but on the contrary, it is honourable on just cause to be thought worthy of reward,’ point out the grounds upon which the objects of bounty should be selected, and show that it was not intended to allot so large a sum to be distributed through favour, without regard to just cause and desert. But the practice which has been animadverted upon, of granting and charging pensions under the general expenses of separate departments, tends to elude the limitation which was meant to be imposed, and by rewarding in this manner a considerable proportion of the claims of official merit and long service, to leave a larger amount than was intended for gratuitous disposal.—It must not be overlooked, that in cases of distinguished merit, parliament has ever been ready to exempt the civil list from any additional burden; and as instances of this honourable description have, fortunately for the country, never occurred more

frequently than within these latter years, so the liberality of the nation has been called forth to a larger extent than in any former period.—A further consideration is, that although most of the grants are nominally during pleasure, they are generally regarded as equivalent to an interest for life; and that examples rarely occur where a change in the circumstances of the grantees has occasioned those who have the legitimate controul to abolish, or induced those by whom they are held, voluntarily to surrender them. The footsteps towards royal bounty are visible in all directions, but few traces of return are discoverable.—Under all these circumstances, your committee do not hesitate in submitting to the house, that all allowances in the nature of pensions, which are not strictly superannuations, should be classed under their proper head, and paid at the exchequer; preserving at the same time entries of such pensions, together with the circumstances under which they have been granted, on the establishment of the offices in which the services have been performed.—It may be also expedient to limit the sums in which allowances may be applied to cases of superannuation, so as not to exceed a certain proportion of the former salary.—The regulations under which superannuations are granted in the customs, No. 67, deserve the attention of the house, as uniting a due consideration towards long and meritorious service, with a just attention to economy.—By a resolution of the house of commons of Ireland, 7th April 1784, no yearly allowance was permitted to be placed on incidents in cases of superannuation,

annuation, except for officers who shall have served forty years without censure; or officers who shall have received a wound or hurt in the service, amounting to a total disability; or for widows of officers who shall have lost their lives in the service of the revenue: but by a subsequent revision of that resolution, 26th July 1793, twenty-five years were substituted instead of the term of forty years, as being sufficient to answer the purposes of the said resolution, respecting the placing on incidents any yearly allowance for superannuated officers of the revenue, who have already served, or shall have served the said term of twenty-five years without censure.—These general unqualified expressions have been perhaps liable to misconstruction, as if they were calculated to convey a sort of right of superannuation after twenty-five years of service; whereas, it is to be presumed that it never could have been the intention of the house of commons to countenance a new claim on the part of the officers, but, on the contrary, to impose a restraint upon the executive government, from granting any such allowances even to superannuated officers, unless where they had served meritoriously the prescribed number of years, or had otherwise been incapacitated in the public service, as described in the resolution.—The 18th section of the civil list act makes an exception in favour of persons who have served the crown in foreign courts, and continues to his majesty the power of granting at his pleasure such proportion of their former appointments as may seem expedient, after the expiration of their service.

The names of all those who now receive allowances upon this account, are contained in No. 63, and the nature and extent of their several services are particularized in No. 64.—The circumstances attending the present war make this list unusually large, at a period when so little of friendly intercourse subsists between this country and the continental powers; the charge therefore amounts to 51,589*l.*; besides which, an additional list is contained in No. 65, of recommendations from the secretary of state for further allowances, to the amount of 6,000*l.*—Your committee conceive, that the true principles which ought to regulate this species of remuneration, can be no other than duration of service, and the importance of the mission, except in very special cases.—It is desirable unquestionably, both for the purposes of economy, and for the better execution of the duties of foreign ministers, that a selection should generally be made from among those already upon the list; but it is not intended absolutely to recommend any invariable rule; those who have gone before, may be unwilling to undertake, or ill qualified to execute missions of particular delicacy and importance; and circumstances may arise where appointments of individuals, to whom such business is entirely novel, ought not to be ascribed to motives of mere patronage or private emolument. Your committee observe, with satisfaction, that according to the last return, all allowances have been withdrawn in cases of appointments to foreign courts, where service was not, or could not be performed. No. 66.—With regard to the salary and

empliments of each separate department, the public ought unquestionably to be served as cheaply as is consistent with being served with integrity and ability: but it must be recollected, that what makes office desirable, in the higher departments, is not the salary alone, but the consequence and consideration attached to it, the power of obliging friends, and of creating dependants; and, in the lower degrees, the chance of gaining advancement by industry and talent. The principle of gradually increasing salaries after certain periods of service, and at fixed intervals, if they are not made too short, is highly to be approved, as holding out a due encouragement to diligence and fidelity. In all cases of superannuation, duration of service should be an essential requisite: and even then, regard should be had to the condition of each individual, as to his ability of continuing the official labours, and to his situation in life from other causes.—In many instances, where allowances have been granted as compensation for the loss of office, or upon the plea of superannuation, the persons who have obtained them have, at subsequent periods, been appointed to other offices: in both which cases, it is obvious, that the allowances ought to have ceased. The true principle applicable to all offices is, that public money should not be granted without reference to duty; and all receptions whatever ought to be justified upon the special circumstances attending such particular case.

SINECURES, AND OFFICES EXECUTED WHOLLY OR CHIEFLY BY DEPUTY.

Next in order to pensions, comes an ambiguous and middle class, partaking of the nature of pensions, inasmuch as no service is performed, but still ranking under the head of offices, from the name of official business having been continued after the functions are become extinct or obsolete. Of these there still remain specimens in various departments, although the labours of parliament have been not fruitlessly employed in suppressing many of them, particularly by the 38 Geo. 3. c. 86. and 47 Geo. 3. c. 12. relating to the customs, by the former of which 196 places, of the annual value of 42,655*l.*, were suppressed in England, and by the latter 38 places of a similar description in Ireland; and also by an act of the present session for abolishing the office of surveyor of subsidies and petty customs in the port of London.—It being difficult to ascertain, without a long and minute examination of evidence, the exact nature of several offices to which active and efficient duties are not annexed, or to draw the limit between such as are sinecures and such as are wholly or chiefly executed by deputy, your committee have thrown together all which they consider as belonging to either of those classes in the annexed list, submitting it as giving a general view of the several offices therein enumerated; although they cannot answer but that some inaccuracies may be discovered in it, being aware that some of the offices do not distinctly range under either description, while they very much

much partake of the nature of both. No. 48 to 76, Appx.—The committee on finance, in the remarks upon this subject, with which their 22nd report concludes, observe, 'That sinecure offices of high rank in some of the ancient establishments of the state, may be usefully employed in particular instances, as either to accompany a peerage given for the reward of personal services, or to secure an honourable retreat to persons who are entitled to marks of public favour, by the long and meritorious discharge of the duties of high office, or who have sacrificed lucrative professional situations on engaging in the public service, by vesting such office in the persons themselves, or in their immediate descendants.'—Since the date of that report, his majesty has been empowered by the statute 39 Geo. 3. c. 10. to make provision for life for those who have sacrificed lucrative professional situations, so far as relates to chancellors and judges, on retiring from office; which must be remarked, in passing, as extending the power of granting pensions, and as fairly to be set off against some of the retrenchments proposed. In the peerages subsequently created, your committee cannot discover that any such application of the sinecures, as was suggested in that respect, has taken place, but that the annexing of pensions by authority of parliament has been not unfrequent.—The view which your committee take of this subject corresponds in principle, and differs only in degree from that of the former committee; but it is their anxious wish to guard against suffering the subject to escape notice,

without being acted upon, while the information is fully brought under observation. If the opinion should prevail, that a legislative measure ought to be no longer deferred with regard to offices of this description, your committee submit that, leaving untouched all places of honour and distinction connected with the personal service of his majesty and of his royal family, it may be expedient considerably to reduce the emoluments of some, and to abolish others. At the same time, regarding it as a fundamental part of the constitution of this country, and of the reason of state in every country, that there must be means of rewarding public service, and that those means will be incomplete, and indeed wholly insufficient for that purpose, if there should be no further reward for that service than the daily wages it receives during the pleasure of the crown, your committee are of opinion that such sinecures as the house in its wisdom may think fit to retain, should always in future be applied to recompense the faithful discharge of the duties of efficient office; or in the event of the house preferring to abolish generally all such offices, they conceive that it will become proper to substitute some other mode, by which the crown may be enabled to reward public servants in a manner proportioned to the nature and length of the duties performed.

OFFICES EXECUTED BY DEPUTY.

Offices executed wholly or chiefly by deputy, should be arranged with as much regard to economy as the public service will admit; and any offices that have not duty annexed in proportion to the salary

should be reformed, and the salary suited to the responsibility and labour of the office.—The list of such offices is extracted from the returns in as complete a state as the examination of them can render it; but it may probably be still defective, for the same causes as have been mentioned under the former head. In applying the principle of retrenchment to this class, your committee desire to be understood, as recommending it with the same exceptions with which they have accompanied their recommendation in the case of sinecures. Some of the great offices in the exchequer (which are indeed, as far as regards the principals, purely sinecures) being probably among the fittest to be retained, ‘for the reward of personal services, or to secure an honourable retreat to persons who are entitled to marks of public favour, by the long and meritorious discharge of the duties of high office, or who have sacrificed lucrative professional situations on engaging in the public service.’ Finance Rep. xxi. 19.—It should also be considered, that some of the lucrative offices in our courts of justice, which are in the disposal of the chiefs of the courts, constitute a considerable part of the valuable appendages to those situations, which it concerns the essential interests of the state, still more than its dignity, to have filled by persons who are the most eminent and best qualified in their professions.

REVERSIONS.

The last general head is that of places granted in reversion; a power which appears to have been exercised by the crown with regard

to particular departments, for a very long period, without any fixed rule or principle which is discoverable, as guiding its discretion in the original selection: the right, therefore, rests upon usage, and the extent is limited by no written law.—But although no reason can be assigned for a practice which, perhaps, must be referred only to accident or temporary accommodation, it becomes obvious that it can never have obtained with regard to efficient offices, without considerable risk of ultimately producing the effect of converting them, so far as respects the principals, into sinecures, or into offices to be executed wholly by deputy.—The chief objections to this method of conveying contingent interests are, that in the first instance of every such grant, a diminution must take place in the permanent prerogative, equal to the difference in value between expectancy and possession; that the appointment of fit and sufficient persons to hold offices, is less likely to be regarded when it is to take effect at a distant and uncertain period, than when a certain notoriety attaches upon the manner in which each vacancy is filled; and it can hardly be disputed that incapacity from age, sex, or natural disability, may be disregarded, in the former case, which could not be tolerated in the latter. It may be further urged, that anticipations of this sort tend to perpetuate inefficient places, and to render any alterations and regulations less effectual, and more distant, which the wisdom of parliament may think fit to adopt with regard to them. On the other hand, reversionary grants may be defended as a cheap

a cheap and economical mode of conferring favours, of paying services by expectation, rather than by actual office or pension; and of enabling the crown to draw distinguished talents and eminent characters into the public employ, who, without some prospect of permanent provision for their families, might be unwilling to give up their time and labour, and above all their professional emoluments, upon the hazard of the short and uncertain duration of two things, so precarious in their nature, as office and life.—It must be admitted, that the prerogative will be abridged during the suspension of the power of making such grants, so far as relates to the value of the reversionary right in these particular offices; and no farther.—It is also contended, that grants of this sort have neither been carried to excess, nor become chargeable with actual abuse.—With the view of fairly stating this part of the case, your committee proceed to lay before the house the extent and amount of all subsisting reversions, some of which will be found to come distinctly within the class of those offices which they recommend to be regulated or suppressed; and with regard to the remainder, they see no cause to depart from their opinion, which was reported to, and adopted unanimously by the house, on the 24th March 1807, thinking it safer to invigorate and restore to an entire state this branch of the prerogative, than to allow that it should continue encumbered by any such anticipations. The right of the crown over its own demesne lands was formerly as complete as its power of conferring offices; and

yet the use which was made of that part of its prerogative, occasioned parliament frequently to interpose; and particularly after the crown had been greatly impoverished, an act passed, whereby all future grants, for any longer term than 31 years, were declared void.—The misfortune is, as Mr. Justice Blackstone remarks, that the act was made too late, after every valuable possession of the crown had been granted away for ever, or else upon very long leases.—It must not be passed altogether without notice, that reversionary grants have, in some instances, been applied to pensions on the civil list; and it is easy to see to what an extent such a practice might be carried, and how entirely it might exhaust the future means of bestowing the royal bounty, even upon the most deserving objects. Appendix, Nos 77 to 79.

Upon the more general question relating to the prerogative of the crown, as connected with, and affected by, the proposed arrangements, your committee proceed to submit their sentiments to the judgment of the house, trusting that the same disposition which has so often been manifested by parliament, will never be wanting to correct the growth of such abuses as the lapse of time, or alterations in the mode of transacting business, may have imperceptibly introduced into any of the departments of executive government.—The civil list in 1782, the acts for abolishing certain offices in the years 1798, and 1807, that already referred to of the present session, and many others, afford abundant examples of temperate and judicious retrenchment; nor could

could the beneficial objects, proposed by the institution of the committee of finance in 1797, have been attained, nor can those for which your present committee was appointed, be expected, without interfering, in some degree, with the patronage and influence of the crown.—The subjects which are detailed in this report, have been specifically brought under consideration by the direction of the house; in obedience to which, your committee now present them, in the full persuasion that the reforms, which they venture to recommend, may be made without detriment to the public service, and with advantage to the public revenue.—No offices of any description were originally created for the mere purpose of giving lucrative appointments into the disposal of the crown; the fact is, that duties were formerly attached to many places, which a different manner of transacting business, or accidental alterations, have long rendered sinecure; and therefore the patronage of the crown has, in some cases, been unintentionally increased, by transferring to new offices the business of the old ones, without abolishing the latter, or the salaries attached to them.

Under the words directing 'the names and descriptions of the persons, to be reported, by whom, and in trust for whom, all offices, pensions, and emoluments, payable out of funds applicable to the public service, are held,' your committee conceive that the house may be desirous to see at one view, which of these are possessed by their own members; and the subjoined list gives the names of all those who appear so described,

upon a careful inspection of the returns. (See below.)—A more complete catalogue is also given of every office from which returns have been required, than it was possible to make out before the close of the last session, distinguishing those from which none have been yet received: the present report, therefore, is intended to be substituted for that which was presented in August 1807, and intitled 'The third.' Nos. 81, 82, 83.—Your committee, having selected such parts of the papers before them as are immediately connected with the subject of this report, have only to lay before the house the remaining mass of information which has been collected in consequence of their precepts, consisting chiefly of all the civil and judicial establishments of the united kingdom; many of which have been already printed in the reports from the committee of finance, without having received any material alterations since that period, which have not been noticed in the returns of increase and diminution of offices, presented from time to time to the house.

EXTRACT FROM THE APPENDIX.
(No. 80.)

List of Members of the House of Commons holding Offices, &c. with the Annual Value of such Offices.

Admiralty:—Lords commissioners,—vice-adm. sir R. Bickerton, £1,000; captain W. J. Hope, £1,000; Robt. Ward, £1,000; viscount Palmerston, £1,000; James Buller, £1,000; hon. W. W. Pole,

W. Pole, secretary, £4,000, subject to a deduction of $\frac{1}{4}$ during peace.—Also secretary to the commissioners of charity for poor widows, £160.

Alienation office:—receiver-general,—right hon. Geo. Canning, £482. (*Vide infra*.)

Auditor of the land-revenue for Wales,—Tho. Jones; lord lieutenant of Cardiganshire, and steward of several manors and lordships belonging to the crown in that county, £1,505.

Lord chamberlain's office:—secretary,—J. Calvert; appointed by the lord chamberlain, £1,389.

Clerk of the parliaments,—Reversion vested in Geo. Henry Rose, £3,278. (*Vide infra*.)

Exchequer, teller of,—hon. W. F. E. Eden, £2,700.

Governor of the isle of Wight,—viscount Fitzharris, for life, £1,379.

Groom of the bedchamber to his majesty,—hon. Edw. Finch.

India board, officers of the; receiving salary from the East-India company only: right hon. Robert Dundas. (*Vide infra*.) Lord Lovaine; right hon. Tho. Wallace; Geo. Johnstone is also a commissioner, but receives no salary. Secretary,—Geo. Holford; paid by the East-India company.

King's printer,—Andrew Strahan; by patent, for 30 years, from 21st Jan. 1800. No salary annexed to this office; which is paid for the work done as printer.

Master of the horse:—office of first equerry,—Robert Manners, £2,736.

Mint:—clerk of the irons and meltings,—right hon. Spencer Percival, £114. (*Vide infra*.)

Navy office:—comptroller,—sir

Tho. B. Thompson, £2,000.—And a pension of £500. on account of wounds in service.

Navy pay-office:—right hon. G. Rose,—treasurer of the navy, £4,324; clerk of the parliaments, £3,278; and keeper of the records in the receipt of the exchequer, £400.

Ordnance:—clerk,—hon. C. Ashley Cooper, £1,958; store-keeper,—M. Singleton, £1,799; treasurer,—Jo. Hunt, £625; and a pension paid out of the sale of old naval stores, £500. Clerk of the deliveries,—Tho. Thoroton, £1,243.

Pay-office:—joint-paymasters, right hon. C. Long, £2,000; and a pension of £1,500, suspended on holding any office exceeding £2,000.—Right hon. lord C. Henry Somerset, £2,000.—Joint-deputy paymaster,—lord R. Edw. H. Somerset, £500.

Privy-seal:—principal clerk,—James Macdonald, £358; appointed by the lord privy seal, for life.

Popham, sir Home Riggs, pension, and after his death to wife, £500.

Secretary of state, foreign department,—right hon. G. Canning, £6,000. (*Vide supra*.)

Ditto, war department,—lord visc. Castlereagh, £6,000.

Under secretary of state,—brigadier-general hon. C. Stewart, £2,000.

Ditto, home department,—hon. Cecil Cope Jenkinson, £2,052.

Lord steward's office:—treasurer of the household,—visc. Stopford, £11,200. Comptroller of the household,—lord Geo. Thynne, £1,200.

Treasury:—right hon. Spencer

Perceval, £.1,600. (*Vide supra et infra.*) And chancellor of the duchy of Lancaster, £.4,525.—Hon. W. Brodrick, £.1,600, and pension of £.1,200, of which £.600 is suspended.—Honourable W. Elliot, £.1,600.—W. Sturges Bourne, £.1,600.

Secretaries, — W. Huskisson, £.4,000, and colonial agent for Ceylon, £.700, pension of £.1,200 for life suspended.—Hon. H. Wellesley, £.4,000.

Vice-chamberlain to his majesty, —right hon. lord John Thynne.—Ditto to her majesty,—Edw. Disbrowe.

War-office:—secretary at war, —right hon. sir James Pulteney, bart. £.2,480.

Clerk of the supreme court, Jamaica, —right hon. sir Evan Nepean, bart.

Secretary and clerk of the enrolments, Jamaica, —hon. Charles W. Wyndham.

Provost-marshal, Barbadoes,—Thomas Carter.

Members of the House holding Offices in Courts of Justice.

Attorney-general,—sir V. Gibbs. No return of annual value.

Clerk of the declarations, king's bench, £.187.—Held in trust for W. Lee Antonie, by grant from W. Lee, formerly chief clerk.

Chancellor of the court of exchequer,—right hon. Spencer Perceval, £.2,605. (*Vide supra.*)

Clerk of the juries, common pleas,—sir Thomas Turton, bart. £.96.

Master of the rolls,—right hon. sir W. Grant, £.4,603.

Master in chancery, J. Simeon,

appointed by lord chancellor, for life, £.2,149.—Ditto Edward Morris, £.2,083.

Lord treasurer's remembrancer, —Snowdon Barne, £.340.

Surveyor of green wax,—visc. Mahon, £.260. And keeper of records in Birmingham tower. (*Vide infra.*)

Judge of the consistory court, —right hon. sir W. Scott, £.170.—vicar-general, and master of the faculties; also commissary and official of Canterbury.—And, judge of the high court of admiralty, £.6,524.

Judge-advocate general,—right hon. R. Ryder, £.2,500.—And joint registrar of the consistory court, £.180.

Chief-justice in eyre S. of Trent, —right hon. T. Grenville, £.2,316. Ditto N. of Trent,—right hon. J. C. Villers, £.2,250.

Judge of great sessions, Denbigh and Montgomery,—Fra. Burton, £.850.

King's advocate-general,—sir John Nicholl. No return of annual value.—Salary, £.20.

King's professor of civil law, Oxford, for life,—Dr. French Lawrence, £.147.

Prerogative court, Charles Moore, joint register, £.3,670.—And principal registrar of the faculty office, £.440; appointed by the archbishop of Canterbury.

Judge of great sessions, Merioneth, Caernarvon, and Anglesey,—Hugh Loycester, £.770.

Solicitor-general,—sir Thomas Plumer.—And justice of great sessions for Merioneth, Caernarvon, and Anglesey, £.780.—And king's serjeant, duchy of Lancaster.

Members

Members of the House holding Offices in Scotland.

Keeper of the signet,—right hon. Rob. Dundas, £2,069.

King's remembrancer, court of exchequer,—sir P. Murray, bart. £500.

Presenter of signatures, court of exchequer,—sir James Montgomery, £789.

Lord advocate,—Archibald Colquhoun, £1,500.

Solicitor-general,—David Boyle, £500.

Members of the House holding Offices, &c. in Ireland.

Treasury:—right honourable J. Foster, £3,101.—Annuity for life, by Irish act, 40 Geo. III. £5,038.—Sir G. F. Hill, £1,200.—Annuity, by said act, of £2,265; and recorder of Londonderry, £60.—J. Barry, £1,200.—C. Vereker, £1,200.—Hon. T. H. Foster, £1,200.—Secretary to chancellor,—J. Leslie Foster, £433.

Chief secretary,—right hon. sir Arthur Wellesley, K.B. £6,566.

Master-master-general, jointly with marquis of Drogheda,—W. Bagwell; salary £4,107, fees suspended, £641.

Vicar-general, Armagh, appointed by primate, for life,—Patr. Duigan, LL.D. £108; and judge of the prerogative court.

Consistory court, Dublin:—official chancellor, &c.—Patr. Duigan, LL.D. £349. Appointed by archbishop of Dublin, for life.

Keeper of records in Birmingham tower, by patent, for life,—visc. Mahon, £431; and surveyor of green wax. (*Vide supra.*)

Prothonotary's office:—lord Robert Seymour,—joint-keeper of the writs, &c. for life, by patent, £12,511.

Crown-office:—lord Rob. Seymour,—Ditto, jointly with lord H. Seymour, £427.

Filazer's office:—lord Rob. Seymour,—Ditto; £1,105.

Keeper of the signet,—right hon. C. Abbot, speaker, £1,500.

Quarter-master general,—brig.-gen. W. H. Clinton, £2,507.

Chief remembrancer, court of exchequer,—hon. W. W. Pole, jointly with marquis Wellesley, £4,201; and sec. to the admiralty. (*Vide supra.*)

Teller of the exchequer,—R. Neville, £2,195.

Right hon. Geo. Ponsonby, as late lord high-chancellor, pension of, £4,000.

One of the joint solicitors in Great Britain,—W. Fremantle, £391.

New Annuity Plan.

THE following are the resolutions moved by the chancellor of the exchequer on the 12th of May, when he opened his plan for granting annuities:—1. That it would tend to a more speedy and efficient reduction of the national debt, and would at the same time be of material accommodation and convenience to the public, if every proprietor of three per cent. consolidated or reduced bank annuities were at liberty to exchange, with the commissioners for the reduction of the national debt, such bank annuities for a life annuity during the continuance of a single life, to be named by such proprietor; or for a life annuity during the continu-

ance of the lives of two persons to be named by such proprietor, and of the life of the longer liver of such two nominees.—2. That, in order to give effect to the foregoing resolution, every proprietor of three per cent. consolidated or reduced bank annuities, who shall be desirous of exchanging any such bank annuities for a life annuity on the continuance of a single life, shall, on transferring to the commissioners for the reduction of the national debt any such bank annuities, be entitled, during the continuance of his or her life, or of the life of some other person to be named by him or her, to receive (under such regulations as parliament may deem it expedient to adopt) for every 100*l.* of such bank annuities, and so in proportion for any greater sum than 100*l.* of such annuities, transferred to the said commissioners, a life annuity of such annual amount, according to the age of the nominee, and the average price of such bank annuities on the nearest open day preceding the day of the transfer thereof.—3. That, in order to give further effect to the foregoing resolution, every proprietor of 3*l.* per cent. consolidated or reduced bank annuities, who shall be desirous of exchanging any such bank annuities for a life annuity in the continuance of the lives of two persons, to be named by such proprietor (of whom such proprietor may be one) and the life of the longer liver of them, shall, on transferring to the commissioners for the reduction of the national debt any such bank annuities, be entitled, during the continuance of such two lives, and of the life of the longer liver of them, to receive (under such regulations as parliament may deem it

expedient to adopt) for every 100*l.* of such bank annuities, and so in proportion for any greater sum than 100*l.* of such annuities, transferred to the said commissioners, a life annuity of such annual amount, according to the respective ages of such two nominees, and the average price of such bank annuities on the nearest open day preceding the day of the transfer thereof.—4. That no person shall be admitted to be a nominee, either for the grant of an annuity for the continuance of a single life, or for the grant of an annuity for the continuance of two lives and of the longer liver of them, who shall be under the age of thirty-five years.—5. That the dividends payable in respect of the bank annuities, which shall be transferred to the commissioners for the reduction of the national debt, in exchange for life annuities, shall be received by the said commissioners, and shall constitute a part of the funds applicable to the reduction of the national debt; and that out of the said funds applicable to the reduction of the national debt, the said commissioners shall pay the respective life annuities granted in exchange for such bank annuities during the continuance of the respective lives for which the same shall be payable; and that the said respective life annuities shall be payable half-yearly at the bank of England, on the same days on which the dividends on the stock transferred for the purchase thereof, may be payable in every year; and the first payment of every annuity shall commence on the same day on which the first dividend on the bank annuities so transferred shall be payable to the said commissioners; and that upon the death of any single nominee,

nominee, or of the survivor of any two joint nominees, a sum equal to one-fourth part of the annuity dependent upon his or her life shall be paid to the persons entitled to such annuity, or his or her executors or administrators, as the case may be, provided the same shall be claimed within two years after the death of such single or surviving nominee; and that the annual sum payable for every such life annuity so ceasing as aforesaid, shall thenceforth revert to, and constitute part of, the funds applicable to the reduction of the national debt.—6. That for the purpose of ascertaining the effect of the measure proposed in the foregoing resolutions, with reference to the redemption of the public debt, a separate account shall be kept half-yearly, by the commissioners for the reduction of the national debt, of all bank annuities which shall have been transferred to them for the purchase of any life annuities, and of the dividends receivable by them in respect thereof, up to the period of such account; distinguishing therein so much of the said bank annuities as shall have been transferred in the course of the next immediately preceding half-year.—Also, a half-yearly account of the amount of all the life annuities granted by them up to the period of such account, distinguishing therein the amount of the life annuities which shall have been granted in the course of the next immediately preceding half-year; and also of the amount of all the annual sums which, up to the period of the said account, shall by reason of the deaths of nominees have reverted to the funds applicable to the reduction of the na-

tional debt, distinguishing therein the amount of such annual sums as shall have so reverted in the course of the next immediately preceding half-year, together with an account of the amount of life annuities then payable; and that in every such account shall be specified the excess in the whole amount of all the life annuities then before granted above the amount of the dividends receivable in respect of all the bank annuities then before transferred for the purchase of life annuities; and also the excess (if any) in the amount of the life annuities then payable above the amount of such dividends.—And that a separate account shall also be kept half-yearly of the capital stock, which, up to the period of such account, shall have been redeemed by the application of the annual sums which shall from time to time have so reverted to the said funds by reason of the death of nominees, and by the application of the accumulated dividends of the capital stock redeemed thereby.—Also, an account of the whole amount of 3/4 per cent. capital stock, which, up to the period of such account, would have been redeemed by the excesses in the amount of the life annuities from time to time payable by the said commissioners above the amount of the dividends from time to time receivable by them, in respect to the bank annuities transferred for the purchase of such life annuities, in case such excesses had been intermediately applied in the redemption of 3/4 per cent. stock in the manner prescribed by the laws now in force for the reduction of the national debt.

Revolution in Spain.

To the Supreme Junta of the Government.

HAVING judged it expedient to give the same direction to all the forces of our kingdom, in order to maintain security of property and public tranquillity against enemies, as well exterior as interior, we have thought it fit to nominate our cousin, the grand duke of Berg, lieutenant-general of the kingdom, who, at the same time, commands the troops of our ally, the emperor of the French. We command the council of Castile, and the captains-general and governors of our provinces, to obey his orders. In the same quality he shall preside over the junta of the government.—Given at Bayonne, at the imperial palace, styled the Palace of the Government, May 4, 1808.

(Signed) I, THE KING.

The Supreme Junta to the Inhabitants of Madrid.—Inhabitants of Madrid, your tranquillity will be from henceforth unalterable. You will owe it to the loyalty of your own character; but it will be still more assured to you by the confidence, which is inspired by the laws, and by the prudence of zealous magistrates, to whom their execution is committed. It is in this conviction that the supreme junta of government proclaims, that in obedience to the dictates of humanity, the allied army has suppressed the military commission, established only for one day, as a necessary, though severe measure, which would not have been established, but for the perverseness of some individuals; that from henceforth every inhabi-

tant, whatsoever may be his rank, who shall have given cause for being seized by the French troops, provided he has not borne arms against them, shall be immediately given over to his proper judges, and tried by them. And even in the only excepted case, viz. that of having borne arms against the French troops, a judge nominated by the competent tribunal of the nation shall always assist in regulating the whole of the process against the accused, till the sentence is pronounced. No countryman domiciliated in the town, or stranger shall be molested on account of the peculiarity of his dress; and still less the ecclesiastics. The carriers employed in bringing provisions to the town, shall henceforward be subject to no vexation, or detention of their carriages or mules. Every individual who shall have just complaints to make, on addressing himself to the judge of police, may rest assured, that he will, on the same day, obtain full justice and reparation, for whatever damage he may have sustained. As to the muleteers, who are likewise employed in bringing provisions to town, and who generally stay there a few days, only one half of their cattle shall in future be put in requisition, even under the most urgent necessity, and in no case shall they be detained longer than three or four days, for which they shall be paid at the prices already given out. Orders shall be given at those gates of the town, where carriers have suffered arbitrary detentions, in order to be searched and stripped of their arms, that this abuse be in future prevented. But it is also necessary to repeat the order against introducing

introducing fire-arms, or other prohibited weapons into the city ; they ought always to be deposited at the gate.

Given at the palace, by order of the supreme junta of government, May 5, 1808.

The Compte CASSA VALENCIA,
Secretary.

the cordiality and friendship of your majesty, praying that God may have you in his holy keeping.

Sir, my brother,
Your royal and imperial majesty's affectionate brother
and friend,

CARLOS.

Aranjuez, March 25.

Letter from King Carlos IV. to the Emperor Napoleon.

SIR, my brother—Your majesty will assuredly hear with pain of the events which have taken place at Aranjuez, and their consequences; you will not, without sympathy, see a king who has been compelled to resign his throne, throw himself into the arms of a great monarch, his ally, placing every thing in his protection, who alone can fix his happiness, and that of his whole family, and his trusty and beloved subjects. Under the pressure of the moment, and amid the clashing of weapons, and the cries of a rebellious guard, I found that I had to choose between my life and death, and that my death would be followed by that of the queen: I was compelled to abdicate the throne: but to-day peace is restored, and, full of confidence in the generosity and genius of the great man, who has at all times declared himself my friend, I have taken my resolution to resign myself into his hands, and await what he shall resolve on my fate, and that of the queen, and the Prince de la Paz.

I address myself to your majesty, and protest against the events which took place at Aranjuez, and against my dethronement. I rely with confidence, and altogether, upon

I protest and declare, that my decree of the 19th of March, in which I renounce my crown in favour of my son, is a deed to which I was compelled, in order to prevent greater calamities, and spare the blood of my beloved subjects. It is therefore to be considered as of no authority.

(Signed) I, THE KING.

Letter of his Majesty the Emperor to the Prince of Asturias.

MY Brother!—I have received the letter of your royal highness: in the papers which you have received from the king, your royal highness's father, you must have found a proof of the interest which I have always felt for you. You will permit me, under the present circumstances, to speak to you with truth, and I wished, by my journey to Madrid, to draw over my illustrious friend to some necessary ameliorations of his states, and also to give a certain satisfaction to the public feelings. The removal of the Prince of the Peace appeared to me to be necessary for the prosperity of his majesty, and that of his subjects. The affairs of the North had retarded my journey. The events at Aranjuez took place. I pass no decision on what had previously fallen out, nor upon the conduct

conduct of the Prince of the Peace ; but I know well that it is dangerous for kings to accustom their people to shed blood, or to seek to redress themselves. I pray God, that your royal highness may never feel this by your own experience. It is not the interest of Spain to injure a prince who has married a princess of the blood royal, and who for a long time directed the affairs of the kingdom. He no longer has any friends ; your royal highness will possess them no longer than while you shall be fortunate. The people willingly revenge themselves for that homage which they pay us. How also can the process be drawn up against the Prince of the Peace, without involving in it the queen and the king your father ? This process would give nourishment to hatred and factious passions, the issue of which would be fatal to your crown. Your royal highness has no other right thereto than that which you derive from your mother. If this process degrade her, your royal highness destroys your own right. He who has lent an ear to weak and disloyal counsels, has no right to pass sentence on the Prince of the Peace. His misdeeds, if he can be reproached with them, go to destroy the rights of the crown. I have frequently expressed a desire, that the Prince of the Peace should be removed from affairs ; the friendship of king Charles has often induced me to remain silent, and to turn away my eyes from the weakness of his conduct. Unhappy mortals that we are ! Weakness and error, these are our mottos ; but all may be arranged ; namely, that the Prince of the Peace should be banished from Spain, and I should invite him

to a place of retirement in France. As to the abdication of king Charles the Fourth, that has taken place at a moment when my troops were traversing Spain ; and in the eyes of Europe, and of posterity, I should seem to have sent so many troops solely for the purpose of pushing from his throne my ally, and friend. As a neighbour sovereign, it is fit that I should know this abdication, before I acknowledged it. I say it to your royal highness, to the Spaniards, and to the whole world, if the abdication of king Charles has proceeded from his own will, if he was not driven to it by the insurrection and uproar at Aranjuez, I make no scruple to accede to it, and to acknowledge your royal highness as king of Spain. The circumspection which I have observed for this month past, must be a security to you for the support which you shall find in me, should ever party differences disturb you, in your turn, upon the throne.

When king Charles made us acquainted with the events of last October, I was very much affected by them ; and I think that by my efforts the affair of the Escorial received a happy issue. Your royal highness was much to blame—I have no need of any other proof of this, than the letter which you wrote to me, and which I shall always desire to consider as not having come to me. Your royal highness must distrust all popular commotions and insurrections—A few of my soldiers may be murdered, but the subjugation of Spain shall be the consequence of it.

I see with pain, that some persons at Madrid have disseminated certain letters of the captain-general of Catalonia,

talonia, and have done every thing to excite disturbances among the people. Your royal highness perfectly comprehends my meaning. You perceive that I have touched slightly upon many points, which it would not be proper to enlarge upon.

You may be assured that I will conduct myself in every thing towards you, in the same way as to your royal father. You may rely upon my desire to arrange every thing, and of finding an opportunity of giving you proof of my perfect regard and esteem.

Herewith accept, &c.

Bayonne, April 16, 1808.

Instructions furnished to his Excellency Don Pedro Labrador.

MOST excellent signor—Your excellency is acquainted with the propositions made on the day of the king's arrival in this city, and of what passed at the conference in which I discussed them with the minister of foreign affairs. The propositions recently made by the latter, differing in some respect, but no less inadmissible, are of the following tenor:—That the emperor has irrevocably determined that the Bourbon dynasty shall no longer reign in Spain. 2. That the king shall cede his rights to the crown both in his own name and that of his sons, should he have any. 3. That should this point be agreed upon, the crown of Etruria shall be conferred upon him and his descendants, according to the terms of the salique law. 4. That the infant don Carlos shall make a similar renunciation of his rights, and that he shall have a right to the succession

to the crown of Etruria, in default of issue of the king. 5. That the kingdom of Spain shall henceforth be possessed by one of the brothers of the emperor. 6. That the emperor guarantees its complete integrity, and that of all its colonies, without suffering a single village belonging to it to be separated from it. 7. That in like manner he guarantees the preservation of religion, property, &c. &c. 8. That should his majesty refuse those propositions, he shall remain without compensation, and his imperial majesty will carry them into execution by consent or force. 9. That if his majesty agree and demand the niece of the emperor in marriage, this connection shall be immediately secured on the execution of the treaty.—These propositions were discussed in the junta where the king presided. I there stated my opinion, which was adopted by your excellency and the other members, and approved by his majesty who is desirous that instructions should be prepared for your excellency accordingly. Your excellency knows that promises the most flattering, and assurances the most positive, were made and given to the king by the grand duke of Berg, by the ambassador of France, and by general Savary, by direction of the emperor, who said that no obstruction would arise to his acknowledgement as sovereign of Spain; that nothing was desired hostile to the preservation of the integrity of the kingdom; and you are apprised that these representations drew him from Madrid to pay his compliments to his intimate ally, who, he supposed would return with him to the capital, from the statements of those three, and where splendid accom-

P 3

modations

modations were provided for the emperor. The journey of his imperial majesty was deferred; but the king, seduced by new promises, made by general Savary in the name of his imperial majesty, continued his progress to this city. Your excellency should ask M. Champagny if the king be at full liberty, and if he be so, he may return to his dominions, and give audience to the plenipotentiary, to whom the emperor may confide his powers. If not free, your excellency knows that every act is absolutely nugatory; and consequently whatever may be agreed will have no other effect than to stain the reputation of the emperor before the whole world, the eyes of which are fixed upon his conduct, and who knows what Spain has already done in favour of France.—I have shewn to your excellency the treaty of the 27th October last, by which the emperor has guaranteed the integrity of Spain in the person of the king, with title of emperor of the two Americas. Nothing has intervened to destroy this treaty; on the contrary, Spain has added new claims to the gratitude of France.—The king has resolved not to yield to the importunity of the emperor; neither his own honour, nor his duty to his vassals permit him to do so. These he cannot compel to accept the dynasty of Napoleon; much less can he deprive them of the right they have to elect another family to the throne when the reigning family shall be extinct. It is not less repugnant to the feelings of the king to receive, as a compensation, the crown of Etruria; for, besides that that country is under the authority of its legitimate sovereign, whom he would

not prejudice, his majesty is contented with the crown that Providence had given him, has no wish to separate himself from his subjects, whom he loves with paternal affection, and from whom he has received the most unequivocal proofs of respectful attachment. If on account of his refusal the emperor should think fit to resort to force, his majesty hopes that Divine justice, the dispenser of thrones, will protect his just cause, and that of his kingdom. As your excellency is deeply penetrated with these principles, and has already displayed them with that energy with which justice arms the man of probity, and the zealous friend to his king and country, it is needless for me to detail prolix instructions for your guide, you being a minister, in whose patriotism and affection to the royal interests his majesty reposes full confidence. God preserve your excellency many years.

PEDRO CEVALLOS.

Bayonne, April 27, 1808.

(For Don Pedro Gomez Labrador).

Official Dispatch from Don Pedro Cevallos to the Minister of State of the Emperor of France, of the 28th April, 1808.

MOST excellent Sir; Although the agitation of mind to which the whole Spanish nation would have been subject, has hitherto been restrained by what has been printed and published by the grand duke of Berg, and by all the French generals in that country, indicating the sentiments of peace and good understanding which the emperor of the French and king of Italy was desirous of maintaining with the

the king my master; and also on account of the assurances which the ambassador of his imperial majesty in Madrid, the grand duke of Berg, and general Savary, had given to his majesty of the approaching arrival of the emperor in the said city; on which account, the king determined to proceed to Burgos to meet him, to shew this public mark of his affection, and of the high esteem he had for his person—it has now become impossible longer to answer for the tranquillity of such a numerous people; especially as they are apprised that the king has been six days in Bayonne, and they have no assurance of his return to Spain. In such a state of affairs, his majesty must be anxious for the repose of his beloved subjects, and for this purpose to return to their bosoms to tranquillize their agitation, and attend to their heavy demands of public business, as his absence would expose his people to incalculable mischiefs, which would fill his heart with the most poignant grief. This speedy return, his majesty promised in the most solemn manner to his people, grounding his engagement on the assurances of the emperor, that he should shortly be restored to his country, and acknowledged to be her sovereign by his imperial majesty.—His majesty has, therefore, ordered me to com-

municate to you these observations, for the purpose of your submitting them to the consideration of his imperial majesty, whose approbation they will doubtless meet; and his majesty, my master, is ready to treat in his dominions with his imperial majesty on all convenient subjects, with such person as the emperor should be pleased to authorize for that purpose. *

Royal Decree addressed to the Supreme Council of Castile by Ferdinand VII.

SOON after the Prince of Peace was arrested, frequent and earnest entreaties were made by the grand duke of Berg, by the ambassador of France, and by general Savary, in the name of the emperor, my intimate ally, that he should be delivered up to the French troops, that he might be conveyed to France, where his imperial majesty would order him to be tried for the offences he had committed. These solicitations were generally accompanied with threats in case of a refusal, to carry him off by force. In Vittoria they were repeated with equal importunities; and I wishing to form the most prudent determination, consulted with the duke of Infantado and the infant Carlos, with

* This dispatch was not answered, and produced an effect precisely the contrary of what might have been expected in a regular course of things. The spies within, and the guards without the palace were doubled. The king for two nights endured the insult of an alguazil, who, stationed at the door, ordered his majesty and the infant don Carlos to retire to their apartments. The first time the insult was offered, the king complained in severe terms, on which the governor employed polite language, and manifested much disapprobation of such conduct; but this did not prevent the repetition, and probably this offensive circumstance would have been repeated, had not the king abstained from going out at night.

don Juan Escoiquiz, and with don Pedro Cevallos, my principal secretary of state. This minister, on that occasion, said; "Sire, if I were to yield to my own personal feelings, I should immediately recommend the surrender of the Prince of Peace. But such a sentiment ought to be stifled, and in truth I do stifle it when I contemplate the duty you owe to your own sacred person, and the obligations you are under to administer justice to your subjects injured by don Manuel Godoy. This obligation is essential to the sovereignty, and your majesty cannot disregard it without treading under foot whatever is most respectable among men. Under this view, I think you ought to answer the emperor, informing him, at the same time, that your majesty has offered to your august parents to save him from the penalty of death, should he be capitally convicted by the council. By your compliance with this proposal, your majesty will give to the world a proof of your magnanimity, to your beloved parents a proof of your affection, and the emperor will be gratified in observing with what wisdom you discharge the demands of justice, and conciliate the expectations of his imperial and royal majesty."—All approved of this salutary advice, and I did not hesitate a moment in adopting it, and proceeded to act upon it.—I communicated it to the council with the fit circumspection to serve for their information and direction; and also that they may take the most active measures to protect the houses and families of the four denounced persons.

I, THE KING.

Bayonne, April 26, 1808.

To the president of the council.

*Letter of the King to his Father,
Charles IV.*

MY honoured Father and Lord —Your majesty has admitted that I had not the smallest participation in the proceedings at Aranjuez, intended, as is notorious, and as your majesty knows, not to disgust you with your throne and government, but to maintain both, and not to abandon the vast multitude whose maintenance depends upon the throne itself. Your majesty also told me, that your abdication had been spontaneous, and that if any one should attempt to persuade me it was otherwise, I should not believe them, for it was the most pleasing act of your life. Your majesty now tells me, that though your abdication was certainly an act of your own free will, you nevertheless reserved in your mind a right to resume the reins of government when you should think proper. I have therefore inquired of your majesty, if you were disposed to resume your scepter, and your majesty has replied that you neither would return to the throne, or to Spain. Notwithstanding this, your majesty desires me to renounce in your favour a crown conferred upon me by the fundamental laws of the kingdom, on your free resignation of it. To a son who has always been distinguished for his love, respect, and obedience to his parents, nothing that can require the exercise of these qualities can be repugnant to his filial piety, especially when the discharge of my duty to your majesty, as a son, is not in contradiction to the relation I bear, as a king, to my beloved subjects. In order that both these, who demand my highest regard, may not be

be offended, and that your majesty may be pleased with my obedience, in the present circumstance, I am willing to resign my crown in favour of your majesty, under the following limitations:—1. That your majesty will return to Madrid, whither I shall accompany you and serve you as the most dutiful son. 2. That there a cortes should be assembled; or, if your majesty should object to so numerous a body, that all the tribunals and depotics of the kingdom should be convoked. 3. That in the presence of this council my renunciation should be executed in due form, and the motives stated which induced me to make it. These are, the love I bear to my subjects, and my wish to make a return for their affection towards me, by securing their tranquillity, and relieving them from the horrors of a civil war, by means of a renunciation, having for its object your majesty's resumption of the sceptre, and your return to govern subjects worthy of your love and affection. 4. That your majesty should not be accompanied by individuals who have justly excited the hatred of the whole nation. 5. That should your majesty, as I am informed, be neither disposed to reign in person, nor to return to Spain, in such case, that I should govern in your royal name as your lieutenant. There is no one who can have a claim to be preferred before me. I am summoned thereto by the laws, the wishes of my people, and the love of my subjects; and no one can take more zealous and bounden interest in their prosperity. My renunciation, confined within these limits, will appear in the eyes of the Spaniards a new proof of my pre-

ferring their preservation to the glory of governing them, and Europe will deem me worthy of governing a people to whose tranquillity I have shewn myself ready to sacrifice whatever is most flattering and alluring in human estimation. That God may preserve the important life of your majesty for many happy years, is the prayer of your loving and dutiful son, who prostrates himself at your royal feet. FERDINAND.

Bayonne, May 1, 1808.

Letter from Charles IV. to his Son Ferdinand.

MY Son—The perfidious counsels of the men who surround your person, have placed Spain in a critical situation. The emperor alone can save her. Ever since the peace of Basle, I have been firmly persuaded that the essential interests of my people were inseparably connected with the preservation of a good understanding with France. No sacrifice has been omitted by me in order to obtain this important object. Even when France was under the direction of ephemeral governments, I suppressed my private feelings and listened only to the dictates of policy, and the welfare of my subjects. When the emperor re-established order in France, great difficulties were removed, and I saw new motives to continue attentive to the former system of alliance. When England declared war against France, I happily endeavoured to continue neutral, and to preserve to my people the happiness of peace. England afterwards possessed herself of four of my frigates, and made war upon me,

me, even before it had been declared; and then I was under the necessity of opposing force to force; and the calamities of war, to my subjects, were the consequence. Spain, environed by coasts, and indebted for a great portion of her prosperity to her ultra-marine possessions, suffered by the war more than any other state. The interruption to her commerce, and all the destruction incident to such a situation, affected my subjects, and some of them had the injustice to attribute these events to my ministers. At last, I had the happiness to see my kingdom tranquil within, and free from inquietude, so far as respected the integrity of my dominions, I being the only one among the kings of Europe who sustained himself amid the storms of these later times. Spain yet enjoyed this tranquillity, not then obstructed by those councils which have misled you from the right path. You have too easily permitted yourself to be misled, by the aversion of your first wife towards France; and you have thoughtlessly participated in the injurious resentments indulged against my ministers, against your mother, and against myself. It was now necessary to recollect my own rights as a father and a king. With this view I caused you to be arrested, and I found among your papers the proof of your crime. But at the commencement of this career, I melted at seeing my son on the scaffold of destruction, and I admitted my sensibility to be excited by the tears of your mother. I forgave you, notwithstanding my subjects were agitated by the deceitful expedients of a faction, of which you have yourself been the

declared leader. From that instant I resigned all the tranquillity of my life, and was compelled to add to the distresses I felt for the calamities of my subjects, the afflictions occasioned by the dissensions in my own family. My ministers were calumniated to the emperor of the French, who believing that the Spaniards were disposed to renounce his alliance, and seeing the discord that prevailed even in the bosom of my own family, under various pretences, inundated my provinces with his troops.

While these occupied the right bank of the Ebro, and appeared to have for their object the maintaining the communication with Portugal, I entertained the hope that he would not abandon the sentiments of esteem and friendship which he had always manifested towards me. But when I perceived that his troops advanced towards my capital, I felt the urgency there was for collecting my army around my person, to present myself before my august ally in a manner worthy of the king of Spain. I should have removed all his doubts, and have secured my best interests. I gave orders to my troops to leave Portugal and Madrid, and I united them in various parts of my monarchy, not to abandon my subjects, but honourably to support the glory of my throne. Besides, my extensive experience convinced me that the emperor of the French might very well entertain wishes conformable to his particular interest, and to the policy of the vast system of the Continent, but which might be inconsistent with the interests of my house. What was, in such circumstances, your conduct? You introduced disorder into
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my palace, and infused a spirit of mutiny into my body-guard, against my person. Your father was your prisoner; my prime minister, whom I had appointed and adopted into my family, covered with blood, was driven from one danger to another. You dishonoured my grey hairs—you despoiled me of the crown, possessed with glory by my ancestors, which they had preserved without a stain. You seated yourself upon my throne, and placed yourself at the disposal of the people of Madrid, and of foreign troops, who were then entering the capital.—The conspiracy of the Escorial had already accomplished its purposes. The acts of my administration were brought into public contempt. Old, and oppressed by infirmity, I was not able to surmount this new misfortune. I resorted to the emperor of the French, not as a king at the head of my troops, surrounded by the pomp of royalty; but as an unhappy and abandoned prince. I have found refuge and protection in the midst of his camp. I owe to him my own life, that of the queen, and that of the prime minister. I have arrived at last at Bayonne, and you have so conducted this negotiation, that every thing depends upon the mediation and protection of this great prince.—The idea of resorting to popular agitation would tend to the ruin of Spain, and expose yourself, my kingdom, my subjects and my family, to the most horrible catastrophes. My heart has been fully unfolded to the emperor; he knows all the injuries I have received, and the violence that has been done to me; he has declared to me, that you shall never be acknowledged as king, and that the

enemy of his father can never acquire the confidence of foreign states. He has, in addition to this, shewn me letters written with your own hand, which clearly shew your aversion to France.—Things being thus situated, my rights are clear, and my duties are much more so. It is incumbent on me, to prevent the shedding of the blood of my subjects, to do nothing at the conclusion of my career, which shall carry fire and sword into every part of Spain, and reduce it to the most horrible misery. Certainly, if faithful to your primary obligations, and to the feelings of nature, you had rejected those perfidious counsels, and placed yourself constantly at my side, for the defence of your father, you had waited the regular course of nature, which would have elevated you in a few years to the rank of royalty. I should have been able to conciliate the policy and interests of Spain, with that of all. For six months, no doubt, matters have been in a critical situation; but notwithstanding such difficulties, I should have obtained the support of my subjects; I should have availed myself of the weak means which yet remained to me, of the moral aid which I should have acquired, meeting always my ally with suitable dignity, to whom I never gave cause of complaint; and an arrangement would have been made which would have accommodated the interests of my subjects to those of my family. But in tearing from my head the crown, you have not preserved it for yourself; you have taken from it all that is august and sacred in the eyes of mankind.—Your behaviour with respect to me, your intercepted let-

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ters, have put a brazen barrier between yourself and the throne of Spain, and it is neither your own interest nor that of the country that you should reign in it. Avoid lighting a fire which will unavoidably cause your complete ruin, and the degradation of Spain.—I am king by the right given me by my forefathers: my abdication was the result of force and violence; I have nothing to receive from you; nor can I consent to the convocation of the cortes, an additional absurdity, suggested by the inexperienced persons who attend you.—I have reigned for the happiness of my subjects, and I do not wish to bequeath them civil war, mutiny, popular juntas, and revolution. Every thing should be done for the people, and nothing by the people: to forget this maxim, were to become the accomplice of all the crimes that must follow its neglect. I have sacrificed the whole of my life to my people; and in the advanced age to which I have arrived, I shall do nothing in opposition to their religion, their tranquillity and their happiness. I have reigned for them; I will constantly occupy myself for their sakes; I will forget all my sacrifices; and when at last I shall be convinced that the religion of Spain, the integrity of her provinces, her independence, and her privileges are preserved, I shall descend to the tomb, forgiving those who have embittered the last years of my life.—Dated from the imperial palace of Bayonne, called the Government Palace, May 2, 1808.

Letter written by King Ferdinand VII. to his august Father, in answer to the preceding.

MY honoured father and Lord; I received the letter that your majesty condescended to write to me, dated yesterday, and I will endeavour to answer all the particulars with that moderation and respect which is due to your majesty.—Your majesty speaks, in the first place, with respect to the alteration in your political conduct towards France, after the peace of Basle; and, in truth, I believe there is no individual in Spain who has complained of it; rather all were unanimous in praising your majesty for your confidence in, and fidelity to the principles you had adopted. Mine, in particular, were entirely similar to your own; and I have given irrefragable proofs of it from the moment when your majesty abdicated the throne in my favour.—Had the affair of the Escorial, which your majesty states, originated in the hatred with which my wife inspired me against France, your ministers, my beloved mother, and your royal self, been examined with all the legal forms; it would have evidently proved the contrary. Notwithstanding I had not the least influence, and no liberty beyond the shew of it,—guarded, as I was, by domestics whom you put round me; yet the eleven counsellors chosen by your majesty were unanimously of opinion, that there was no ground for the accusation, and that the supposed criminals were innocent.—Your majesty talks of the distrust created by the entrance of so many foreign troops into Spain; and that if your majesty recalled from Portugal your troops, and united those that were in Madrid, at Aranjuez, and its neighbourhood, it was not to abandon your

your subjects, but to support the glory of the throne. Will your majesty permit me to call to your mind, that the troops of a friendly and allied power ought not to be a subject of alarm: that, on the contrary, they ought to inspire confidence? Orders had been issued for the departure of your majesty and the royal family for Seville, and the troops were intended for clearing the way. It was the universal persuasion that all these measures were taken with a view to the embarkation of the royal family for America. Your majesty published a manifestoe for quieting the public mind on this subject: but every preparation was made, and it was evident that the royal family would soon be seen on the coasts of Andalusia. Let the question be put to the emperor of the French; he will, no doubt, repeat what he wrote to me from Victoria; that the object he had in view was, to induce your majesty to make some reforms in the state, and to remove from his presence the Prince of the Peace, the author of all the grievances.

The universal enthusiasm excited by his imprisonment among all your subjects, proves the truth of the emperor's assertion. Your majesty knows better than any other person, that in the midst of the whole commotion at Aranjuez, there was not a single word so much as whispered against your majesty, or any of the royal family: that, on the contrary, your majesty was received with every demonstration of the liveliest joy, and protestation of the liveliest fidelity to your august person: a circumstance which naturally excited wonder in all the world, and in none more than myself, when

your majesty abdicated your crown in my favour. For your abdication had neither been expected nor solicited. It was your majesty yourself who communicated your abdication to all your ministers, enjoining them at the same time, to acknowledge me as their lord, and natural sovereign. Your majesty communicated it verbally to the *corps diplomatique*, declaring that your determination was spontaneous, and that it had been long fixed: you yourself made it known to your beloved brother, the infant don Antonio; observing at the same time, that the signing of that deed of abdication was the most pleasing act of your life. In fine, your majesty, three days afterwards, said to me, that I ought not to give the smallest credit to any assertion tending to persuade me that your abdication was not spontaneous.

My supposed hatred of France has never yet, in any way, been evinced by my conduct; my actions, of which I shall now give a very brief account, prove quite the contrary.

Your majesty had no sooner abdicated the throne in my favour, than I wrote from Aranjuez, several letters to the emperor of the French, which are so many proofs that my principles on the subject of the relations of friendship and close alliance which happily subsist between the two states, are the same that I was inspired with by your majesty, and which your majesty has invariably followed. My going to Madrid proves the unbounded confidence I placed in his imperial and royal majesty; for prince Murat, with a great part of his army having entered Madrid the day before,

fore, and there placed a French garrison, this was in a manner putting myself into his hands. During the two days I resided in my capital, I was informed of the particular correspondence which your majesty kept up with the emperor of the French, and learnt that you had demanded for me as a consort a princess of the imperial family; in order thereby to strengthen and secure the intimate alliance and union that ought to subsist between the two states. In unreserved and perfect conformity with your majesty's principles and wishes, I wrote to the emperor, demanding that princess in marriage.

I sent a deputation to Bayonne, to pay compliments in my name to his imperial and royal majesty: and in a short time thereafter, I engaged my dear brother, the infant don Carlos, to proceed, in order to present his respects to the emperor on his arrival at the frontier. Nor was this all; I left Madrid on the assurances of the imperial ambassador, the grand duke of Berg, and general Savary, who had just come from Paris, and who solicited an audience for the purpose of declaring to me, on the part of the emperor, that his imperial majesty had nothing to desire of me, other than to know, whether I was to adopt the same system with regard to France, that had been followed by your majesty. That in this case he would recognise me as king of Spain, and that every thing else should be forgotten. Full of confidence in these promises, and persuaded that I should meet his imperial majesty on the way, I arrived in this city; and on the very day of my arrival, propositions

were made to some individuals of my suite, wholly different from those that had been so recently communicated to me, and which neither my honour, nor conscience, nor duty, permitted me to accept from the moment the cortes swore allegiance to me as their lord and their sovereign; and which, besides, were inconsistent with the oath I took when I accepted the crown which your majesty abdicated in my favour. I cannot conceive how any letters of mine could fall into the hands of the emperor, that could evince my hatred against France, when I have given so many proofs of my friendship for her, and that I have never written any thing that could indicate such a disposition.

I have been lately shewn a copy of a protest addressed by your majesty to the emperor, intended to establish the nullity of your abdication. And yet, since your arrival in this city, when I questioned your majesty on this subject, you told me positively that your abdication was indeed voluntary, though you had not a mind to persist in it. It was impossible to know your majesty's intention to resume the reins of government; you expressly told me, on the contrary, that you would neither reign, nor return to Spain. In the letter which I have the honour to transmit to your majesty, in support of this, I signified my readiness to resign the crown to your majesty on the assembling of the cortes; and if they should not be assembled on the meeting of the deputies and council of the kingdom, not that I deemed this necessary to the validity of the renunciation, but because I thought it of utility,

utility, for the prevention of those dangerous innovations which often breed divisions and complaints, and in order that every thing might be done in a manner suitable to your majesty's dignity, my own honour, and the tranquillity of the kingdom.

If your majesty does not think it eligible to reign in person, I will conduct the government, either in your majesty's name, or in my own; for your majesty cannot be represented by any other person than myself, who possess, in my favour, the decision of the laws, and the voice of the people. Farther still, no one has so great an interest as myself in the prosperity of Spain.

I again declare to your majesty, that in the present circumstances, and on these conditions, I am ready to accompany your majesty to Spain, and there to make my abdication in the form I have just pointed out. With regard to what your majesty has said about not returning to Spain, I conjure you, with tears in my eyes, in the name of all that is sacred in heaven or on earth, that in case you should not chuse to re-ascend the throne, you will, nevertheless, not abandon a country in which you have for so many years resided, in which you may chuse whatever situation may be thought most suitable to your impaired health, and where you will find greater tranquillity of mind, and more enjoyment than in any other.

In fine, I implore your majesty, with the most tender affection, to consider seriously the situation in which you now stand, and to reflect, that the question now to be decided is nothing less than whether our dynasty shall be excluded from the throne of Spain, and that of the

imperial family of France substituted in its stead. Such a step your majesty cannot take without the formal consent of all the individuals who either have, or may have, rights of succession to the crown; still less without the consent equally formal of the Spanish nation assembled in the cortez, in a place where the public voice may be freely raised, and distinctly heard. Besides this, as we are now in a strange land, it would be impossible to persuade any one, that our conduct was free from constraint. This consideration would alone suffice to annul every deed of ours, and to produce the most fatal consequences.

Before concluding this letter, your majesty will permit me to say, that the counsellors you call perfidious, never induced or influenced me to abate of that love, respect, and fidelity, which I have always shewn for your majesty's person, whom I pray God to bless, and to preserve to the most advanced age. I throw myself at your majesty's feet, and am your majesty's devoted son,

FERDINAND.

Bayonne, May 4, 1808.

Letter from the King Ferdinand, to his Father Charles.

Venerable Father and Lord,

ON the first of this month I deposited in your majesty's royal hands my renunciation of the crown in your majesty's favour. I have considered myself obliged to modify it in such a manner as best to accord with the respect I owe to your majesty, the tranquillity of my states, and the conservation of my own honour and reputation. I have contemplated with great astonishment

ment the indignation excited in your majesty's breast by modifications which were dictated by prudence, and suggested by the affection which I owe to my subjects. Without any other subject of complaint, your majesty thought proper to insult me in the presence of my venerable mother and of the emperor, by appellations the most humiliating; and, not content with this, you require my renunciation without any conditions or restrictions, under pain that I and those who composed my council, should be treated as conspirators. In such a situation of things, I make the renunciation your majesty commands, that you may return to the government of Spain in the same state in which you was on the 19th of March, when you made that spontaneous abdication of the crown in my favour. May God preserve your majesty's valuable life for many years: which is the prayer of your dutiful son, prostrate at your royal feet.

Bayonne, 6th May, 1808.

Note in the Hand-writing of the Queen Louisa, transmitted to the Grand Duke of Berg by the Queen Maria Louisa. [Extracted from the Moniteur of the 31st of Jan. 1810.]

NEITHER the king nor myself would be troublesome to the grand duke who has so much to do; but we have no other friend, no other support than him and the emperor; in whom all four of us, the king, our intimate friend, who is also a friend of the grand duke, the poor prince of the peace, my daughter Louisa, and myself, place our hopes. The letter I received from

Louisa last evening, containing an account of what the grand duke had said to her, has penetrated and filled us all with the liveliest feelings of gratitude and consolation, and hopes of every thing from these two sacred and incomparable persons, the grand duke and the emperor. But we would not that the duke should remain ignorant of any thing we know; although no one says any thing to us, and although no answer be given to our demands of necessities. But nothing of this kind gives us any concern. The only thing in which we are interested, is the welfare of our sole and innocent friend, the prince of the peace, who, in his person, amidst the most barbarous treatment, even before this conspiracy took place, always called, with the greatest emotion, the grand duke, his friend. If I were so happy as to have him here, and the grand duke were near, we should have nothing to fear. He wished for the grand duke's arrival, pleasing himself with the hope, that his highness would accept his house to lodge in. He had some trinkets to present to him. In short, he thought of nothing else than of that happy moment when he should appear in the presence of the grand duke and the emperor. We are under perpetual apprehensions lest they should kill or poison him; if they should suspect a design to save him. Is it not possible to take some measures for preventing this? The grand duke might march his troops without saying for what purpose, enter the place where the poor prince of the peace is confined, and without leaving a moment's time for any one to fire a pistol, or do any thing else to him, remove his guards (who would

would think it glorious, and have a pleasure in taking his life) and substitute his own troops, who should be under his own immediate orders, in their place. For, if he be suffered to remain in the hands of those base traitors, and under the orders of my son, the grand duke may be assured that he will be killed. Yes, so long as he is in those sanguinary hands, the head body-guards of my son, we cannot but tremble for his life. For though both the grand duke and the emperor are desirous to save him, they will not give them time. For heaven's sake, we implore of the grand duke to take measures for the accomplishment of what we request ; for if any time be lost, his life is in danger. He would be safer in the paws of blood-thirsty lions and tigers. My son was yesterday after dinner closeted with Infantado Es-cocquitz, that wicked priest, and St. Charles, the most malignant of the whole. They remained shut up together from half an hour after one to half an hour after three o'clock. The gentleman who goes with my son Charles, is a cousin of St. Charles's ; he is a man of parts, and not ill informed : but he is a vile American ; and like the same St. Charles extremely hostile to us : though they all profess friendship for the king my husband, and claim the patronage of the prince of the peace, to whom they say they are related. All the others that go (to Bayonne) with my son Charles, are of the same faction, extremely well qualified to do all possible mischief, and to set forth the most horrible falsehoods in the light of truth. I entreat the grand duke to pardon my wretched composition ; for I am very apt to forget some French

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words and idioms, having been accustomed to speak nothing but Spanish for 42 years. I came here to be married when I was only thirteen years and a half old ; and although I speak French, it is not with fluency. But the grand duke will comprehend my meaning, and know how to correct the defects of my style. [The date of this letter is not marked, but it must have been the close of April, 1808.]

There are five other notes sent to the grand duke of Berg, written in the hand of queen Louisa, in which the queen of Spain expresses the same anxious concern for the prince of the peace, and speaks with as much freedom of the prince of Asturias. There are two letters on the same subject, the deplorable situation of the prince of the peace, addressed to the grand duke of Berg by Charles IV., and the queen of Etruria. "He (the prince of the peace) is, says the queen, covered with wounds and contusions ; languishes in prison, and incessantly invokes the awful moment of death. The only one he calls to his recollection is the grand duke of Berg. In him alone, he says, he has any hope of safety."

Extracts from the Official Papers respecting Russia. Presented by his Majesty's command to both Houses of Parliament, Feb. 1, 1808.

Extract of a Dispatch from Mr. Secretary Canning to the Right Hon. Lord Granville Leveson Gower ; dated Sept. 27, 1807.

Foreign Office, Sept. 27, 1807.

SIR Robert Wilson arrived here on Saturday the 19th, with your excellency's dispatches of the 2d instant,

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instant, which I have laid before the king.

Whatever may have been the motives or the causes of the change which your excellency represents to have taken place in the tone of the Russian councils, or whatever may be the probability of the continuance of the system now apparently adopted; his majesty hails with the most sincere satisfaction the return of those sentiments of friendship and confidence on the part of his august ally, from which his majesty on his part has never deviated, and the cultivation of which is more than ever necessary for their common interests.

Your excellency will lose no opportunity of expressing these sentiments to his imperial majesty and his minister.

The forbearance and moderation which your excellency has been all along instructed to employ in all your remonstrances with respect to transactions in which the personal character of his imperial majesty was so immediately concerned; and the reliance which you have not failed to express on the returning sense of what was due to his majesty's long-experienced friendship and fidelity, accord perfectly with the language which you are now instructed to use, and make the whole of his majesty's conduct towards his imperial majesty uniform and consistent. And your excellency cannot too constantly impress upon the Russian minister the topic which you have so judiciously employed in your late conferences, that in the present state of the world, retrospect and retribution are worse than useless; and that the establishment of future good understanding, and the concert

of measures to be taken with a view to future exertion, are alone the proper subjects of discussion between the two governments.

The points upon which the question of our acceptance of the mediation turns, are—

1st, The frank communication of the articles of the treaty of Tilsit, secret as well as avowed.

2dly, A distinct explanation of the basis upon which France proposes to treat, and which appeared to his imperial majesty at Tilsit so just and honourable.

These are the conditions directly stipulated in my note to M. Alopeus, and without which, acceptance of any mediation by his majesty could be nothing else than a complete surrender of his honour and his interest into the hands of the mediator, if not of the enemy.

But to these are reasonably to be added, if not as conditions without which it would be impossible to consent to treat under the auspices of Russia, at least as those which his majesty has a right to require from a friendly power, before he commits himself to its guidance in a question affecting the immediate safety and the future welfare of his dominions:

1st, A disclosure of the general views of policy of the emperor of Russia; and of any engagements into which he may have entered with respect to the different powers in whose fortunes his majesty takes an interest; and

2dly, Some plain and decisive proof of the good understanding subsisting between his majesty and his august ally; such as shall satisfy, not his majesty only, but Europe and the world, of the impartiality with which his imperial majesty has undertaken,

undertaken, and proposes to administer, the duties of his office as mediator.

With respect to the first of the two points which I have stated as absolutely indispensable, general Budberg appears as yet to have gone no farther than to give a verbal assurance that there is not any article, among the secret articles of the treaty of Tilsit, stipulating for the shutting of the Russian ports against Great-Britain.

But it will immediately have occurred to your excellency, that a distinction might probably be taken in M. de Budberg's mind between a stipulation for the immediate and unconditional execution of a purpose, and the agreement to resort to it eventually, under circumstances which might not yet have occurred; and that, supposing the former only to be the sense of M. de Budberg's assurance, that assurance might be literally true, without in fact conveying any thing essentially satisfactory.

The inference to be drawn from this circumstance, is, that the Russian minister should be called upon by your excellency in an official note, not for a simple disavowal only of any single article, but for the communication of the secret articles themselves; or at least of any agreement, actual or eventual, in which the interests of this country or its allies are in any degree concerned.

In the same formal manner, a communication should be required of the basis of peace proposed by France; upon which the Russian minister does not appear to have offered any explanation.

The other two points are not so

strictly connected with the question of mediation. But it is nevertheless perfectly reasonable that his majesty should require some ostensible proof of the good-will of his august ally, to counteract the general impression which must have been created by late events, of a difference and disunion between them; before his majesty can with a good grace accept those offices at the emperor of Russia's hands, of which impartiality should be the essential character. No proof could be selected, at once so easy for his imperial majesty to give, so grateful to his majesty to receive, so natural in the eyes of the world, and so little liable to exception on the part of France, as the renewal of the treaty of commerce.

With respect to the remaining point, which your excellency is instructed to urge,—a communication on the part of the Russian government of its general views and policy for the future,—you will observe, that his imperial majesty himself annexed to his conditional acceptance of the mediation of the emperor of Austria, a similar demand of the communication of the general views of the court of Vienna respecting the future state of Europe.

In the treaty of Barenstein, concluded between his imperial majesty and the king of Prussia, and offered by them to the acceptance of other powers as the basis of a co-operation for the purpose of producing a general pacific arrangement, a distinct and detailed exposition was entered into with respect not only to the powers intended to be comprehended as parties to the treaty, but to all the other powers

of Europe, in whose fate any one of the principal powers could be supposed to be interested.

These examples of what his imperial majesty has done, and what he has required, would sufficiently authorise his majesty's solicitude to obtain a similar explanation on the present occasion.

But there are other grounds for it in the very state and circumstances of Europe, as arising out of the treaty of Tilsit, and the stipulations annexed to it; some of which stipulations are already carrying into execution in a way to excite his majesty's apprehensions, if not for his own interests, for those of his allies.

Is it impossible that his majesty should not think it essential to be informed whether the public articles of the treaty of Tilsit, which recognises the French king of Naples *only* as king of Naples, is, in effect, contradicted by a secret article, which adds to this title that of the Two Sicilies?

The movements in the Mediterranean, and the surrender of Corfu, naturally give rise to a variety of apprehensions, which it would be for the interest of both countries to quiet, or at least to reduce within the bounds of truth.

Has not his majesty the right to require some explanation of the intentions of Russia with respect to Turkey; a power with whom his majesty finds himself at war, and left alone in the war, for no other than Russian interests, and from a quarrel espoused by his majesty for the sake of his ally?

These topics your excellency will urge in your conferences with M. de Budberg, with all the earnestness which their importance requires,

but at the same time carefully avoiding a strain of reproach; and even when you are obliged to confess the suspicion of engagements having been entered into, such as his majesty cannot but disapprove, conducting your enquiry in such a manner as shall lead M. de Budberg to believe that his majesty is anxious rather to find the means of preventing or remedying the evil, than to discover the grounds of complaint against Russia.

Upon the whole, your excellency will collect from these instructions, that his majesty is as much desirous as ever to cultivate the friendship and alliance of the emperor of Russia; that he conceives the only chance of safety for what remains of Europe to depend upon the renewal of a good understanding between them; that his majesty has never, even under appearances the most unfavourable, altogether despaired of such a recurrence, on the part of the emperor, to the counsels which are best calculated for his own glory, and for the security of his own dominions, as it is now hoped has taken place; and that his majesty, upon such a change, is eager to forget all that has passed of a nature contradictory to those counsels, or inconsistent with them.

Extract of a Dispatch from the Right Hon. Lord Granville Leveson Gower to Mr. Secretary Canning; dated St. Petersburg, 8th Nov. 1807.—Received Dec. 2d.

I had the honour of apprising you by the last messenger, of the difficulty I had experienced in obtaining a conference with count Romanzow. I yesterday wrote a letter to him, of which the inclosed is a copy,

copy, and I this morning received the inclosed note. The contents of this paper are so extremely important, that I will not detain sir Robert Wilson, by making any observations upon the unfounded assertions and misrepresentations with which it abounds.

This violent measure has been produced by a peremptory demand (brought by the last messenger from Paris) of the immediate execution of all the secret articles of Tilsit: and the French mission have boasted, that, after some difficulties, they have gained a complete triumph, and have carried not only this act of hostility against England, but also every other point essential to the success of Buonaparte's views.

I intend asking for passports tomorrow, and shall set out in the course of a few days.

P. S. I inclose a copy of the printed declaration, which has been sent by the Russian government to all the foreign ministers residing at this court.

First Inclosure.

The ambassador of his Britannic majesty has repeatedly signified for more than a week his desire to converse with his excellency the count Romanzow: his solicitations have been hitherto fruitless, but the ambassador deems it his duty to renew once more his application, previous to announcing to his court the apparent determination of his excellency to avoid the customary communication.

26th Oct. (7th Nov.) 1807.

Second Inclosure.

The emperor, who, in the course of the war which he has just terminated, had to complain of the

conduct of England towards him, suppressed his just resentment in the conoling hope, that the peace he had so lately concluded would lead to a general peace.

He had constituted himself mediator, he had subsequently offered his mediation in acquainting his Britannic majesty that his desire was to obtain for him an honourable peace—England rejected his offices.

It seemed as if her views were not to suffer the flames of war to be extinguished, but to kindle them anew in the North by an event sudden and novel.

The fleets and armies of his Britannic majesty came to perpetrate against Denmark an act, of which history furnishes no example. The emperor, who, to the knowledge of England, was a guarantee of the tranquillity of the Baltic, which is a close sea; the emperor, who had been forewarned of nothing, did not conceal his resentment; and, in a second note delivered to lord Gower, informed England, that he did not intend to remain a quiet spectator of what had befallen a king, his relation, and his friend.

The emperor confesses he did not foresee, that, after this declaration, England would make him the proposal of undertaking to convince Denmark, that it was her interest to submit to what had recently befallen her, and to render Russia guarantee, that Great Britain should possess in perfect security that which she had so lately wrested from Denmark.

The prince royal of Denmark had not ratified the convention of Copenhagen. As to the second proposals which were made to him, he has again represented to his imperial majesty how greatly he was

irritated by this new procedure of the British ministry towards him.

The emperor, penetrated with the confidence which the prince royal reposed in his friendship, having inclosed his own wrongs against England, having maturely examined his engagements with the powers of the North, engagements entered into by the empress Catharine and his majesty the late emperor, both of glorious memory, has resolved to fulfil them.

His majesty has therefore ordered the undersigned to declare to his excellency, lord G. L. Gower, his Britannic majesty's ambassador, that his imperial majesty breaks off all communication with England. His imperial majesty recalls the whole of his mission in that country, and will not allow that of his Britannic majesty to remain at his court. There shall henceforward be no relations between the two countries.

The emperor declares that he annuls for ever every act heretofore concluded between Great-Britain and Russia, and especially the convention of 5th (17th) June 1801. He proclaims anew the principles of the armed neutrality, that monument of the wisdom of the empress Catharine, and pre-engages never to depart from that system.

He demands from England complete satisfaction for his subjects on all his just claims for ships and merchandise seized or detained against the express tenor of the treaties concluded during his own reign.

The emperor declares that no arrangements shall take place between Russia and England, until the latter shall have given satisfaction to Denmark.

The emperor expects, that his

Britannic majesty, instead of permitting his ministers, as has lately been the case, to scatter anew the seeds of war, listening only to the dictates of his own feelings, would lend his assistance to the conclusion of a peace with his majesty the emperor of the French, which would extend the incalculable blessings of peace over the whole world.

When the emperor shall be satisfied upon all the preceding points, and especially as to the peace between France and England, without which no part of Europe can promise itself real tranquillity, his imperial majesty will then readily renew with Great Britain the relations of friendship, which, considering the dissatisfaction which the emperor so justly feels, he has perhaps already preserved too long.

The undersigned, having thus fulfilled the orders of the emperor his master, requests his excellency the ambassador to lay the contents of this note, without delay, before the king his sovereign.

(Signed)

The Count NICOLAS ROMANZOW.
St. Petersburg (17th Oct.) 9th Nov.
1807.

Report to his Imperial Highness, the Grand Duke of Berg, Lieutenant of the Emperor, Commander of his Forces in Spain.

“ Monseigneur !

“ **A** GREEABLY to the commands of our imperial highness, I repaired with the letter of your highness to the queen of Etruria at Aranjuez. It was eight o'clock in the morning ; the queen was still in bed : she rose immediately, and bade me enter. I delivered your letter to her. She begged

begged me to wait a little, and said she would go read it with the king and queen. Half an hour afterwards, I saw the queen of Etruria enter with the king and queen of Spain.

"His majesty said, that he thanked your imperial highness for the share you had taken in his affliction, which was the greater as his own son was the author of it. The king said, that the revolution had been effected by forgery and corruption, and that the principal actors were his son and M. Cabelero, minister of justice; that he had been compelled to abdicate the throne, in order to save the lives of himself and his queen; that he knows that but for this, they would have been murdered in the course of the night; that the conduct of the prince of Asturias was more shocking, seeing that himself (the king) having perceived his desire to reign, and being himself near 60 years of age, had agreed to surrender the crown to him, on his marriage taking place with a French princess, which the king ardently desired.

"The king added to this, that the prince of the Asturias was desirous that he and the queen should repair to Badajoz, on the frontiers of Portugal; that he had found means to inform him that the climate of that country did not suit him; that he begged him to permit his choosing another place; that he sought to obtain permission of the emperor to purchase an estate in France, where he might end his days. The queen told me she had begged of her son to postpone their journey to Badajoz; that she had not procured this, and that the

journey was to take place on the ensuing Monday.

"At the moment I was departing from their majesties, the king said to me, 'I have written to the emperor, in whose hand I repose my fate.'

"I wished to send my letter by a courier, but I know no surer mode of sending it than by your's. The king left me then in order to repair to his cabinet. He soon returned with the following letters (Nos. 1 and 2) in his hand, which he gave me, and added these words — 'My situation is most deplorable; they have seized the Prince de la Paz, and will put him to death; he has committed no other crime than that he has at all times been attached to me.—He added, there were no efforts which he would not have attempted to save the life of his unhappy friend, but that he had found the whole world deaf to his entreaties, and bent on vengeance; that the death of the Prince de la Paz would draw after it his own, and that he should not survive him.

"*Aranjuez, March 23, 1808.*

"B. DE MOUTHON."

No. I. — *Letter from King Carlos IV. to the Emperor Napoleon.*

"Sir, my Brother,

"Your majesty will assuredly hear with pain of the events which have taken place at Aranjuez, and their consequences: you will not, without sympathy, see a king who has been compelled to resign his throne, throw himself into the arms of a great monarch his ally, placing every thing in his protection, who alone can fix his happiness, and that of his whole family, and his trusty

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and

and beloved subjects. Under the pressure of the moment, and amid the clashing of weapons, and the cries of a rebellious guard, I found that I had to choose between my life and death, and that my death would be followed by that of the queen; I was compelled to abdicate the throne; but to-day peace is restored, and full of confidence in the generosity and genius of the great man, who has at all times declared himself my friend, I have taken my resolution to resign myself into his hands, and await what he shall resolve on my fate, that of the queen, and of the Prince de la Paz.

"I address myself to your majesty, and protest against the events which took place at Aranjuez, and against my dethronement. I rely with confidence, and altogether upon the cordiality and friendship of your majesty, praying that God may have you in his holy keeping.

"Aranjuez, March 25, 1808.

"CARLOS."

No. II.—"I protest and declare, that my decree of the 19th March, in which I renounce my crown in favour of my son, is a deed to which I was compelled, in order to prevent greater calamities, and spare the blood of my beloved subjects. It is therefore to be considered as of no authority.

(Signed) "I, THE KING."

Specimens of Spanish Eloquence, inspired by Sentiments of Justice and Liberty, and Indignation against the basest Villainy and most atrocious Crimes. [Extracted from the Proclamations of the Juntas and other Leaders of the

Patriots in several of the Provinces and Principalities of Spain.]

Address to the Galicians.

SPANIARDS!—You have no other alternative! You must either clank your chains in infamous slavery, or fight bravely for your liberty. The monster of France has determined to tyrannize over our independence, by expedients more detestable than any yet disclosed in the history of mankind. His infamy is discovered, his treachery is exposed, and our suspicions are confirmed by the plunder of the sacred person of our sovereign. Ah! complicated misery! the butcher will bathe his hands in the blood of our king, if Ferdinand be not rescued by our valour! Shall we permit this public robber to execute his base purposes upon our prince? Shall we allow his banditti, unresisted, to rob our houses, outrage our families, and bear off the holy vessels of our religion; crimes which have been already perpetrated in Portugal?—Spaniards! this is the cause of the Omnipotent God. It must be supported, or your names must be transmitted with infamy to all future generations. Under the hal-
lowed standard of religion, our ancestors gave freedom to the soil, opposed by the multitudinous hosts of Mahomet; and shall we fear to meet a confused crowd of detested atheists, led by the avowed protector of the infidel Jew? If we abandon the field of battle and of glory, our venerable fathers, those heroes who shed their blood for the extirpation of Ishmael, will lift up their heads from the sepulchre,

first to throw off the yoke imposed by this vile rabble. You are the honoured depositories of the sacred remains of the apostle St. James, the patron of Spain. You are decorated with the awful trophies of the most holy sacrament, which adorn our standards: you will discharge your duty: you will not fear the hostile bands which lay waste our country to the utmost boundary of a Pyrenean frontier. Fly, then, to arms; let the other provinces unite under the blessed auspices of your fidelity, and of your canonized patron. Raise high your invincible standards, and, confident of success, hasten to the field of battle and of victory, for by such means alone, you can secure your liberty, and protect yourselves from dishonourable chains.

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Extracted from the Proclamation of Don Ignacio Florez, President of the Supreme Junta of Asturias, to the Poles, Italians, and Portuguese, bearing arms in the ranks of the French; dated at Oviedo, 12th July.

Brave soldiers! whom a cruel destiny has placed in the midst of our enemies, who compel you to carry on an unjust war against the Spaniards, and to lend your aid to the tyrant for the promotion of his design to subject us to his intolerable yoke, we conjure you to stop. Surrounded as you are by powerful armies, while Europe sleeps in chains, and is insensible to your misfortunes, you consider yourselves, no doubt, as destitute of all consolation under your heavy load of complicated affliction.—But, dear comrades, you are not un-

first to throw off the yoke imposed by this vile rabble. You are the honoured depositories of the sacred remains of the apostle St. James, the patron of Spain. You are decorated with the awful trophies of the most holy sacrament, which adorn our standards: you will discharge your duty: you will not fear the hostile bands which lay waste our country to the utmost boundary of a Pyrenean frontier. Fly, then, to arms; let the other provinces unite under the blessed auspices of your fidelity, and of your canonized patron. Raise high your invincible standards, and, confident of success, hasten to the field of battle and of victory, for by such means alone, you can secure your liberty, and protect yourselves from dishonourable chains.

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acquainted with the theory and the immense resources of true liberty, supported by honour and religion.

Come amongst us, and see what is passing amidst the mountains of the small province of Asturias.—Generous Friends! We Asturians, accustomed to contemplate our mother—so we call our country, bounded on the north by the vast ocean, and on the south by the protecting barrier of high mountains, are led to conceive that nature herself, in the caves and fissures of our rocks, has provided an asylum for freedom against the attempts of ambition and of criminal passions. The ideas inspired by the constant view of these magnificent objects from infancy, may well make a profound impression on the Asturians, and strengthen that universal instinct which in every thing thing that lives pants for liberty.—Come among us, illustrious Poles, Italians, and Portuguese, who fight now on the side of our oppressors. What? descendants of Cato, Brutus, Sobieski, and Vasco de Gama! shall you, in the sight of the universe, support the cause of those who have torn you from your mothers, your wives, and your children, and have led you like cattle to the armies of a Murat and a Grouchy, to destroy, in spite of yourselves, an innocent nation that loves you, and invites you to unite with them in defending the imprescriptible rights of reason, humanity and justice, and that burns with a desire to co-operate with you in revenging your own slavery?

General Palafox's Proclamation after

the Battle of Saragossa; June the 17th, 1808.

CONQUERORS of the haughty French!—Aragonese!—You have proved yourselves to be worthy of your name. That multitude of proud warriors, triumphant in every other part of Europe, ceased to retain the character of conquerors, when they came before you. You are inferior both in discipline and numbers; because one-twentieth part of our forces have not entered into action, having been incapable of uniting. But your zeal has overcome every difficulty. The musketry in which your enemies place so much confidence, are weak instruments of their power when you appear before them: you look at them with courage, and they fall at your feet.—Aragonese! the result of our first attempt has been to leave on the field of battle 18,000 enemies, composing a complete army, which had the audacity to provoke our resentment. We have had the good fortune to get possession of all the property and baggage, of which the people have been infamously plundered, in the countries through which this army passed. Our loss consists only from 1700 to 2000 killed, and an equal number wounded: a loss bearing no comparison to the triumph we have obtained. Their precious blood is shed in the field of glory, on their own territory; and these blessed martyrs demand new victims: let us prepare for the sacrifice.—Aragonese! be not impatient. The enemy against whom we fight is rash, and will afford frequent opportunities for you to exercise your skill and your courage. If, especially, the lawless bands which violate our city of Madrid, and their

their commander Murat, should venture to approach us, we should receive the intelligence with the highest satisfaction; we would anticipate their expectations, and meet them half way.—Aragonese! if the battle of Saragossa had been gained by these intruders, we should have heard their babbling of the victories of Marengo, Austerlitz, and Jena, acquired by the same valour. Although the conquest we have effected has been sanguinary, yet it has been glorious. Do you consider it as a trifling commencement of your future triumphs, under the powerful assistance of your illustrious leader and patron?

Proclamation, dated Oviedo, July the 17th.

SPANIARDS!—The tyrant of France temporised with you, to increase the number of his slaves. His ambition, his absurd confidence, increased by the intrigues of a vizier, and by those of a weak and perfidious court, led to the project of the arrest of our august monarch, that he might obtain possession of these dominions; and what tricks and abominations were not employed to deceive our young prince, and to force him into ignominious slavery! When he sought to promote the prosperity of his people, and the happiness of his beloved vassals, he met with opprobrium, sacrilegious treachery, the ruin of his subjects, a criminal compact written in characters of blood by parricides and traitors, a thousand enormities of which Nero was incapable, all which were deliberately concerted with a haughty Vandal, who meditated our de-

struction. Oh atrocious violation of the rights of society! Generous Charles! Thou who didst dedicate thy best days, those days which thou owedst to the well-being of thy people, in pursuing the wild beasts of thy forests, tell us, if amongst this savage race thou hast found any so ferocious as the horrid monster to whom thou hast thoughtlessly sacrificed an innocent family, and a faithful nation worthy the best affections of their sovereign?—By such infernal artifice, Napoleon already reckoned among his treasures the massive gold of Spain and of her Indies; as if it were as easy to vanquish a people, as to seduce kings and to corrupt courtiers. But he is deceived, and most effectually is he cheated by those who are conversant in the arts of deception. He has forgotten that we are both freemen and Spaniards, since the 19th of March, a day of as much exaltation to Spain, as it was of terror and alarm to the black eagles which presumed to fix their talons on the gates of our capital. Happy day which you have converted to the desolation of your enemies! Look, oh Spain! down the horrible precipice that perfidy has excavated, and remember the exalted happiness, and the immortal renown your enemies have prepared for you.—Yes, Spain, with the energies of liberty, has to contend with France debilitated by slavery. If she remain firm and constant, Spain will triumph. A whole people is more powerful than disciplined armies. Those who unite to maintain the independence of their country, must triumph over tyranny. Spain will inevitably conquer in a cause the most just that has ever raised the deadly

deadly weapon of war; for she fights not for the concerns of a day, but for the serenity and happiness of ages; not for an insulated privilege, but for all the rights of human nature; not for temporal blessings, but for eternal happiness; not for the benefit of one nation, but for all mankind, and even for France herself. Spaniards, elevate your natural courage by such sentiments! Let every tyrant of the earth perish, rather than that you should submit to despotism and to impiety. To impiety! Merciful God, let not your faithful people be exposed to such disgrace and infamy!—Spaniards! Let every honest man arise in defence of his country; let your iron and brass be converted into thunderbolts of war: let all Spain become a camp: let her population become an armed host; above all, let our youths fly to the defence of the state, for the son should fall before the father appear in the ranks of battle; and you, tender mothers, affectionate wives, fair maidens, do not retain within your embraces, the sweet objects of your love, until from victory returned, they deserve your affection. They withdraw from your arms not to fight for a tyrant, but for their God, for a monarch worthy the veneration of his people; and not only for these, but for yourselves and for your companions. Instead of regretting their departure, like the Spartan women, sing the song of jubilee; and when they return conquerors to your arms, then, and not till then, weave the laurel crown for their reception.—The love of religion, of independence, and of glory, those noble passions, the preservers of great empires, pe-

netrate into our inmost souls. Let us all swear, by the outrages suffered by our country, by the victims sacrificed on the 2d of May, by our own swords, bathed in the parricidal blood of the ferocious Napoleon, that we will inflict the punishment decreed by the God of vengeance.—And you, rich men, rendered selfish, not patriotic, by indulgence, do not continue in ignoble repose, but exert your means, that peace may be secured. If, debilitated by inactivity, you are incapable of enduring the fatigues of war, let your treasures supply the wants of the indigent, and the necessities of the defender of the country. And you, ye venerable orders of religion, do not ye withhold the sums necessary for the support of the common cause!—Which is most precious, the gold of the mine, or the blood of man? If your civic virtue should not command the sacrifice, your mercenary interest will extort it. Your incorporation, sanctified by authority, your political existence, the possession of your property, your individual security, all depend upon the success of this war. Our independence cannot be resigned until these illustrious seminaries of sanctity and wisdom are surrendered—until these solid columns of religion and of the state tumble to the earth—until the public right shall be annihilated and Spain itself subverted. Happy country! this day you receive from your favourite sons the most acceptable proofs of their tenderness and love, of their affection and gratitude, for the protection they have received from you through successive ages. To-day they return to you the riches they have received, for the splendour

conferred, for
 for your an-
 religion
 ancestors,
 uating in the
 of the Gospel,
 sacred vase is in-
 will be for ever in-
 the preservation of your
 and the power of your mo-
 thy.—Spaniards! we all defend
 common cause. We are all
 passengers on-board the ship Inde-
 pendence, which is already launched,
 and must either swim or sink, ac-
 cording as she is navigated by us.
 There is only one mean of salva-
 tion for us, and that is, that the
 whole nation, armed, hasten to ex-
 terminate the banditti by whom we
 are invaded, and to punish them
 for their atrocities. Warriors!
 present yourselves in the field of
 glory. I do not attempt to excite
 your valour; you are Spaniards,
 and therefore you are brave and
 honourable; but, in one respect, I
 may give you advice, although you
 are Spaniards. I recommend to
 you, in the name of your country,
 the most severe discipline, and the
 most implicit obedience to your
 commanders. Without discipline,
 you can neither have an army nor
 victory. Without discipline, va-
 lour is useless, and numbers impo-
 tent. Do you see how these fierce
 pretenders outrage, lay waste, and
 destroy; nothing can satiate their
 ferocity? But if, in your turn,
 you should become conquerors, let
 the martial spirit by which you are
 animated, be restrained within the
 limits of reason and justice. Let
 humanity, compassion, and benc-
 ficence, be the device of your ban-
 ners: above all, let not the name
 of Spaniard be stained by that ini-

quity and sacrilege which you de-
 test in your enemies; and then
 your grateful country will confer
 upon you her abundant benefits,
 and your names will be engraved
 on the sublime edifice of Spanish
 independence. I may address you
 as conquerors, although you have
 not already vanquished. One pro-
 vince only, the cradle of heroes, the
 moment war was declared, filled the
 enemy with terror. Yes, Spani-
 ards, from that happy instant the
 lion was attacked with a fever,
 from which he will never escape.
 —The victory you are about to ac-
 complish will establish an alliance
 between Spain and the most pow-
 erful, the most wise, and the most
 polished nation of the earth—with
 the only country which this second
 Machiavel could not seduce—Great
 Britain! The alliance that the infa-
 mous traitor broke for our misery
 and ruin; that assassin of our na-
 tion, that devouring monster, whose
 immense rapine provided an asy-
 lum for our enemy; that alliance,
 countrymen, has been generously
 restored by the only empire which
 has been able to maintain its ho-
 nour and independence, and to
 which is reserved the lofty distinc-
 tion of restoring enslaved Europe.
 Of what consequence then is the
 renowned power of Napoleon?
 The world itself depends upon the
 union of those two great nations.
 —F. P. G. D. C.

*Address to the Andalusians, after
 the Surrender of the French Army
 in the Defiles of the Sierra Mo-
 rena.*

BRAVE ANDALUSIANS! The spark
 of patriotism which was kindled in
 your breasts, has in a few days
 been fanned to a flame which has
 consumed

consumed the oppressors of your country.

You wished to be free, and in an instant you possessed a tutelary government, and an army eager for conflict and triumph.

Those legions of Vandals, who for a moment seized by surprise some of your cities, and delivered them over to pillage—who, intoxicated with victories gained over divided nations, marched, loaded with the spoils of Europe, to scatter over the fair fields of Betis the flame of desolation, have experienced the force of loyalty, and the love of country and religion.

Brave Andalusians! Yours is the glory of Marengo, of Austerlitz, and of Jena. The laurels which encircled the brows of those conquerors, lie at your feet.

Immortal glory to the hero who has renewed in the Sierra Morena the achievements of Fabius Maximus. Our sons will say, *Castanos triumphed over the French, and his glory did not fill with mourning the houses of our fathers!* The unfading laurel of victory to the brave combatants who have laid prostrate the oppressors of humanity! Hymns of benediction to the wise government which has defended your rights, and prepared the way for new triumphs!

I invoke you, not as Andalusians, but as Spaniards. Fly, sons of Betis! Fly to unite yourselves with your brethren of the Ebro, the Duero, and the Xucar; fly to break the chains of those who lie captive on the Tagus, the Manzanares, and the Llobregat.

Go and purify the soil of Spain from the footsteps of those traitors. Go and avenge in their blood the insults they offered you under the

shelter of a feeble and cowardly government. Do you not hear the cries of those who were murdered on the 2d of May? Do you not hearken to the groans of the oppressed? Are you not touched by the secret sighs of our Ferdinand, who deploras his separation from his Spaniards?

War and revenge! Let the tyrant of Europe tremble upon the throne whence he has given authority to every crime.

Brave Andalusians! You will deem no sacrifice costly with which you can purchase your king and your independence. Already you have a country—already you are a great nation; follow the paths of glory and virtue which the god of armies has pointed out to you in your first victory.

Passages selected from the Manifesto of the Spanish Nation to Europe.

Seville, January 1, 1809.

“NATIONS and communities of Europe, princes, good men of all classes and in all conditions, the Spanish people, and in their name the directing junta, to whom on account of the unjust and iniquitous imprisonment of their king, authority is confided, undertake to lay before you a history of the misfortunes and grievances they have endured, and, in presenting to you a faithful picture of their situation, a candid exposure of their designs, they assure themselves of your compassion for their calamities, and of your solicitude for their fate.

“All the world has witnessed the constant adherence of Spain to the cause of France, and the uninterrupted.

interrupted friendship she has preserved during an entire century. War against the one was hostility against the other—peace with the one was tranquillity with the other—their alliances and their connections were ever the same—but France, by her preponderance in Europe, by the superior influence of her sovereigns, was considered the principal branch of the family of the Bourbons, and as such regulated the enterprizes and directed the operations of both. Consequently, all the benefit of this union was her own, and Spain derived no other utility and no other glory from it, than as being the first and most powerful instrument of the aggrandizement of her ally.

“ This union subsisted until the revolution of France, when the expulsion of the family from the throne of their ancestors, abrogated for ever the compact. Other views, other relations, different external policy was necessary under these new circumstances to the Spanish monarchy, and Charles IV. appeared willing to adopt them, when, in 1793 he declared war against France, and joined his forces with those of the coalition of Europe. But the favourite (Manuel de Godoy, Prince of the Peace,) who possessed uncontested influence in our councils, wretchedly conducted our operations in the hour of conflict, and our arrangements in the interval of tranquillity. To an unsuccessful war succeeded a disgraceful peace, and to this disgraceful peace an unequal and ruinous alliance, and from that time to the present, Spain has been tied to the wheels of French

destiny, and has been lacerated in its rapid and devious course.

“ And what are the advantages that Spain has derived from this unnatural alliance? Two maritime wars equally fatal—our squadrons sacrificed to the cautious policy of our present allies—valuable colonies lost—an interruption given to our connection with America, the principal nerve of our national industry, Louisiana, exchanged with the French for Etruria, and immediately sold, contrary to the express terms of the alienation. Etruria, the price of this concession; and of immense sums besides, in the sequel violently forced from the prince who possessed it; a copious stream of silver and gold which flowed from Spain to France to appease the avarice of her governors—in fine, the wild administration of the favourite, protected and supported by her, is another of the bitter fruits of this misapplied friendship.

“ The devouring flame, that in its progress had swallowed up Italy and Holland, that had subverted the political system of Germany, and exterminated Prussia, was arrested in its progress by the peace of Tilsit, but returned with violence to spend its fury in the West.—The unjust possession of Portugal and reported expeditions to Africa, were the pretexts for the introduction of French troops into Spain, and the offer of a sovereignty in that kingdom to the favourite, was the temptation of the favourite to accede to these designs. To these arrangements was added, the scandalous transaction of the

Escurial;

Escurial; the unhappy divisions among the royal family, produced by French intrigue and perfidy; Spain and Europe heard with astonishment the charge of parricide adduced by Charles the IVth against his successor, and they listened with horror while a father commanded the sword of justice to fall upon his first-born. But Spain and Europe repelled the nefarious calumny, and not a stain remained on the character of an innocent and virtuous prince—persecuted, deprived of the affection and confidence of his parents, his respect and obedience to them never forsook him, and his only crime was, being feared and therefore detested by the favourite. The wretch did not venture to consummate his purpose, and alarmed at the vengeance prepared for him by Spanish loyalty, he abandoned his infamous design, and, by this unsuccessful effort advanced one step nearer to the precipice from which he fell.

“The French took advantage of this violent agitation, and their atrocious contrivances prepared the road for the memorable transactions of the 2d of May.—They now had recourse to the means of inspiring terror, and they thought, that by vanquishing the capital, they should conquer the whole nation. An opportunity soon offered, which might have been evaded by pacific expedients. Impatient of blood, inflated by tyranny, they mowed down an innocent people, and slaughter spread its wide havoc through the quiet streets of Madrid; the inhabitants rushed to arms, and hand to hand, and foot to foot, the battalions of the French were taught how to despise death

by their opponents, who manifested more courage than their vile assassins, protected by the closeness of a phalanx, and all the resources of military discipline. Human blood poured its warm current through the avenues, and although unequal in number, abandoned by their government, and deserted by their officers, who shamelessly confined themselves in their quarters, the conflict was sustained with obstinacy, and in many places with advantage, when the accents of peace were heard with reverence from the lips of their magistrates, and they obeyed the mandate.

“The combat ceased, and horror commenced its labours. Barbarous Frenchmen established their posts throughout the capital, and the people found with arms on their persons, or even with domestic utensils pretended to be such, were seized, and without preparation or trial, during the same night, and the following morning, were butchered within sight of their own doors. During that terrible interval, the silence was only interrupted by the acts of the executioner, and the groans of the dying, and brave Spaniards disarmed, were prevented from inflicting a just vengeance for the murder of their brethren.

“That melancholy day transferred into the hands of Frenchmen the highest authority of the state, and the resignations from Bayonne, which immediately appeared, acquainted the people that their future fate was to depend upon the will of Napoleon. The emperor then ceded to his brother Joseph the Spanish crown, and in order to sanction these acts, in the genuine style of French buffoonery, a junta of Spaniards was convoked at

at Bayonne ; some of the members were sold, others were imbeciles, but most of them were mere cyphers, and these puppets of the grand master of the show, without credentials, without any appeal to the public to obtain authority, signified their approbation of, and subscribed their names to, the miserable farrago which Napoleon and his secretaries distinguished by the pompous title of the Spanish constitution.

Proclamation of Alicante.

FAITHFUL and honourable people, lovers of your holy religion, and of your illustrious king Ferdinand the VIIth. Beloved people, the Antichrist of mankind, the horrid Napoleon Bonaparte, great in rapine, in artifice, in ambition, in robbery, and in perfidy, has lately robbed us of the most precious treasure of our hearts, and of the most beloved pledge of our hopes, Ferdinand the VIIth. Sophistry and villainy; all the infamous proceedings of which the most abandoned robber is capable, compose the Napoleon code, which has authorized this horrible sacrilege. Is there any one among you, my beloved Alicantes, who can look with an indifferent and dry eye on this enormous crime? Can any one be so selfish, so idolent, as to abandon his country, and withdraw his hand from public vengeance? No, it is not possible, it can never enter the heart of an honest man. Such conduct can only find a skulking place in the hearts of those who were born to become the opprobrium of the human race. In a heart that is vile, ambitious, and avaricious, such sentiments can

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only be cherished, and not in the hearts of my beloved citizens. Renounce for a few days your customary avocations; enlist yourselves, noble Alicantes, take up arms, from the hisping infant to the tremulous aged; break off all correspondence with the French government; look upon it like a venomous animal: extirpate this ruthless and revolutionary race from the face of the earth. Let distant nations be filled with admiration and terror, by your valour, your fidelity, and your love for Ferdinand. Never allow your birth to be stained by an ignominious cowardice. The noble and amiable matrons, the delicate maidens, even the austere religious recluse nuns, must take a part in this holy cause; or let them send up their prayers to Heaven for the success of our undertaking, and succour in their domestic economy the necessities of their warlike sons. Husbands, brothers, relatives, friends, and countrymen, valiant Alicantes, never fear. Fly, hasten, defend your country; obey punctually the orders of the magistracy, sure of the victory which must crown your laudable efforts.

Let Spain be the grave of Napoleon; let his mad ambition find here an ignominious close. Let the burial-place of the mules and asses at Madrid receive in its bosom the putrefied bones of the worthless Murat.

Moorish Proclamation.—*Courage to the Christian, and to shew that we know all.*

UNFORTUNATE CHRISTIAN!—Ala shews his approbation to you
R in

in several ways. You were first oppressed by a tyrant, avaricious of money, who robbed my cousin Charles of his treasures, and you of your blood. He fell, and you acted very wrong not to treat him with Zarra Zarra, which is as much as to say, not to cut off his head. Why did you not do so? Because you were asleep. Since that time you have met with another tyrant, ambitious of kingdoms, and he deprived my cousin Charles of his throne, including in the privation all his race, in order to keep the possession to himself, and to come before much lapse of time to deprive me also of my throne. Arouse, Christians! Ah, French dog, why did you give opium to the Christians, to get possession of the principal persons, and to effect your entry without exciting apprehension? Why did you not enter sword in hand, that your objects may be seen, and the Christians may treat you with Zarra Zarra? Christians, you have lost time! desert this tyrant, as you regard yourselves. Let Seville be loyal, brave, and firm in doing justice! Christians! attack these dogs, and defend the kingdom for the son of my cousin; and let that curish nation be abhorred for ever. Courage, brave Christians! attack them, and let Ala the great assist you. I entreat you to defend your kingdom for my cousin, and for the Englishmen likewise. Let all nations see this, in order that they may know who the French dog is, and that they may rise against him. Sleep no more, Christians! Noble Janta of Seville, do strict and severe justice on every traitor towards the son of my cousin, and

may Ala reward you.—*ALI MANOMET.—Tetuan, June 10, 1808.*

LONDON GAZETTE EXTRAORDINARY.

Downing-street, September 2.

DISPATCHES, of which the following are copies and extracts, were last night received from lieutenant-general sir Harry Burrard, and lieutenant-general sir Arthur Wellesley, dated from head-quarters at Lourinha, addressed to viscount Castlereagh, one of his majesty's principal secretaries of state, and brought by captain Campbell, aid-de-camp to sir Arthur Wellesley.

Extract of a Letter from Lieutenant-general Sir Arthur Wellesley, dated Head-quarters at Caldas, August 16,

I marched from Lyria on the 13th, and arrived at Ahobaca on the 19th, which place the enemy had abandoned in the preceding night, and I arrived here yesterday. The enemy, about four thousand in number, were posted about ten miles from hence, at Borica, and they occupied Brilos, about three miles from hence, with their advanced posts. As the possession of this last village was important to our future operations, I determined to occupy it; and as soon as the British infantry arrived upon the ground, I directed that it might be occupied by a detachment, consisting of four companies of riflemen of the 60th and 95th regiments. The enemy, consisting of a small piquet of infantry and a few cavalry, made a trifling resistance, and retired; but they were followed

Followed by a detachment of our riflemen to the distance of three miles from Brilos. The riflemen were then attacked by a superior body of the enemy, who attempted to cut them off from the main body of the detachment to which they belonged, which had now advanced to their support; larger bodies of the enemy appeared on both the flanks of the detachment, and it was with difficulty that major-general Spencer, who had gone out to Cebidos when he had heard that the riflemen had advanced in pursuit of the enemy, was enabled to effect their retreat to that village. They have since remained in possession of it, and the enemy have retired entirely from the neighbourhood.

In this little affair of the advanced posts, which was occasioned solely by the eagerness of the troops in pursuit of the enemy, I am concerned to add, that lieut. Bunbury, of the 2d battalion of the 95th, was killed, and the hon. capt. Pakenham wounded, but slightly; and we have lost some men, of whose number I have not received the returns.

*Head-quarters, at Villa Verde,
August 17, 1808.*

MY LORD,

The French general Laborde having continued in his position at Roleia since my arrival at Caldas on the 15th instant, I determined to attack him in it this morning. Roleia is situated on an eminence, having a plain in its front, at the end of a valley, which commences at Caldas, and is closed to the southward by mountains, which join the hills, forming the valley on the left, looking from Caldas.

In the centre of the valley, and about eight miles from Roleia, is the town and old Moorish fort of Cebidos, from whence the enemy's piquets had been driven on the 15th; and from that time he had posts in the hills on both sides of the valley, as well as in the plain in front of his army, which was posted on the heights in the front of Roleia, its right resting upon the hills, its left upon an eminence, on which was a windmill, and the whole covering four or five passes into the mountains in his rear.

I have reason to believe that his force consisted of at least 6000 men, of which about 500 were cavalry, with five pieces of cannon; and there was some reason to believe that general Loison, who was at Rio Major yesterday, would join general Laborde by his right in the course of the night. The plan of attack was formed accordingly, and the army having broken up from Caldas this morning, was formed into three columns; the right consisting of 120 Portuguese infantry and 50 Portuguese cavalry, destined to turn the enemy's left, and penetrate into the mountains in his rear; the left consisting of major-gen. Ferguson's and brigadier-gen. Bowe's brigades of infantry, three companies of riflemen, a brigade of light artillery and 20 British and 20 Portuguese cavalry, was destined, under the command of major-gen. Ferguson, to ascend the hills at Cebidos, to turn all the enemy's posts on the left of the valley, as well as the right of the post at Roleia; this corps was also destined to watch the motions of gen. Loison, on the enemy's right, who I had heard had moved from Rio Major towards Alcoentre last night.

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night. The centre column, consisting of major-general Hill's, brigadier-general Nightingale's, brigadier-general Craufurd's, and brigadier-general Fane's brigades (with the exception of the riflemen detached with major-general Ferguson), and 400 Portuguese light infantry, the British and Portuguese cavalry, a brigade of nine-pounders, and a brigade of six-pounders, were destined to attack general Laborde's position in front. The columns being formed, the troops moved from Ebidos about seven o'clock in the morning. Brigadier-general Fane's riflemen were immediately detached into the hills on the left of the valley, to keep up the communication between the centre and left columns, and to protect the march of the former along the valley, and the enemy's posts were successively driven in. Major-general Hill's brigade, formed in three columns of battalions, moved on the right of the valley, supported by the cavalry, in order to attack the enemy's left; and brigadier-generals Nightingale and Craufurd moved with the artillery along the high road, until at length the former formed in the plain immediately in the enemy's front, supported by the light infantry companies, and the 45th regiment of brigadier-general Craufurd's brigade, while the two other regiments of this brigade (the 50th and 91st), and half of the nine-pounder brigade were kept as a reserve in the rear. Major-general Hill and brigadier-general Nightingale advanced upon the enemy's position; and, at the same moment, brigadier-general Fane's riflemen were in the hills on the right; the Portuguese infantry in a village upon his left; and ma-

jor-general Ferguson's column was descending from the heights into the plain. From this situation the enemy retired by the passes into the mountains with the utmost regularity and the greatest celerity; and notwithstanding the rapid advance of the British infantry, the want of a sufficient body of cavalry was the cause of his suffering but little loss in the plain.

It was then necessary to make a disposition to attack the formidable position which he had taken up. Brigadier-general Fane's riflemen were already in the mountains on his right, and no time was lost in attacking the different passes, as well to support the riflemen as to defeat the enemy completely.

The Portuguese infantry were ordered to move up a pass on the right of the whole; the light companies of major-general Hill's brigade and the 5th regiment moved up a pass next on the right; and the 29th regiment, supported by the 9th regiment, under brigadier-general Nightingale, a third pass; and the 45th and 82d regiments, passes on the left. These passes were all difficult of access, and some of them were well defended by the enemy, particularly that which was attacked by the 29th and 9th regiments. These regiments attacked with the greatest impetuosity, and reached the enemy before those whose attacks were to be made on their flanks; the defence of the enemy was desperate, and it was in this attack principally that we sustained the loss which we have to lament, particularly of that gallant officer the hon. lieutenant-colonel Lake, who distinguished himself upon this occasion. The enemy was, however driven

driven from all the positions he had taken in the passes of the mountains, and our troops were advanced in the plains on their tops. For a considerable length of time, the 29th and 9th regiments alone were advanced to this point, with brigadier-general Fane's riflemen at a distance on the left; and they were afterwards supported by the 5th regiment, and by the light companies of major-general Hill's brigade, which had come up on their right, and by the other troops ordered to ascend the mountains, who came up by degrees. The enemy here made three most gallant attacks upon the 29th and 9th regiments, supported, as I have above stated, with a view to cover the retreat of his defeated army; in all of which he was, however, repulsed; but he succeeded in effecting his retreat in good order, owing, principally, to my want of cavalry, and, secondly, to the difficulty of bringing up the passes of the mountains with celerity, a sufficient number of troops, and of cannon, to support those which had first ascended. The loss of the enemy has, however, been very great, and he left three pieces of cannon in our hands.

I cannot sufficiently applaud the conduct of the troops throughout this action. The enemy's positions were formidable, and he took them up with his usual ability and celerity, and defended them most gallantly. But I must observe, that although we had such a superiority of numbers employed in the operations of this day, the troops actually engaged in the heat of the action were, from unavoidable circumstances, only the 5th, 9th,

29th, the riflemen of the 95th and 60th, and the flank companies of major-general Hill's brigade, being a number by no means equal to that of the enemy; their conduct, therefore, deserves the highest commendation. I cannot avoid to take this opportunity of expressing my acknowledgments for the aid and support I received from all the general and other officers of this army. I am particularly indebted to major-general Spencer for the advice and assistance I received from him; to major-general Ferguson for the manner in which he led the left column, and to major-general Hill, and brigadier-generals Nightingale and Fane, for the manner in which they conducted the different attacks which they led. I derived most material assistance also from lieutenant-colonel Tucker and lieutenant-colonel Bathurst in the offices of deputy-adjutant and deputy quarter-master general, and from the officers of the staff employed under them. I must also mention that I had every reason to be satisfied with the artillery under lieutenant-colonel Robe. I have the honour to be, &c.

(Signed) ARTHUR WELLESLEY,

*Head-quarters at Lourinha,
August 18.*

MY LORD,

Since I wrote to you last night, I have heard from brigadier-general Anstruther, that he is on the coast of Piniche, with the fleet of victualers and store-ships, in charge of captain Bligh of the *Alfred*, with a part of the force detached from England under brigadier-general Ackland, in consequence of the receipt of orders which I had left

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at

at Mondego bay for general Ackland, which he had opened. I have ordered brigadier-general Anstruther to land immediately, and I have moved to this place, in order to protect his landing, and facilitate his junction. General Loison joined general Laborde in the course of last night, at Torres Vedras; and I understand that both began their march towards Lisbon this morning: I also hear that general Junot has arrived this day at Torres Vedras, with a small corps from Lisbon; and I conclude that the whole French army will be assembled between Torres Vedras and the capital, in the course of a few days.

I have the honour to be, &c.

To the Right Hon. Lord Castlereagh, &c. &c. &c.

Head-quarters, Maceira, August 21.

MY LORD,

The report which I have the honour to inclose to your lordship, made at my request by lieutenant-general sir Arthur Wellesley, conveys information which cannot but prove highly gratifying to his majesty. On my lauding this morning, I found that the enemy's attack had already commenced, and I was fortunate enough to reach the field of action in time to witness and approve of every disposition that had been, and was afterwards made by sir Arthur Wellesley, his comprehensive mind furnishing a ready resource in every emergency, and rendering it quite unnecessary to direct any alteration. I am happy on this occasion to bear testimony to the great spirit and good conduct displayed by all the troops composing this gal-

lant army in this well contested action. I send this dispatch by capt. Campbell, aide-de-camp to sir Arthur Wellesley, no person being better qualified to give your lordship information.

I have the honour to be, &c.

(Signed) HARRY BURRARD,
Lieut.-Gen.

To the Right Hon. Lord Castlereagh, &c. &c. &c.

SIR, *Vimiera, August 21.*

I have the honour to report to you, that the enemy attacked us in our position at Vimiera this morning. The village of Vimiera stands in a valley, through which runs the river Maceira; at the back, and to the westward and northward of this village, is a mountain, the western point of which touches the sea, and the eastern is separated by a deep ravine from the heights, over which passes the road which leads from Lourinha and the northward to Vimiera. The greater part of the infantry, the 1st, 2d, 3d, 4th, 5th, and 8th brigades, were posted on this mountain, with eight pieces of artillery; major-general Hill's brigade being on the right, major-general Ferguson's on the left, having one battalion on the heights, separated from the mountain. On the eastern and southern side of the town is a hill which is entirely commanded, particularly on its right, by the mountain to the westward of the town, and commanding all the ground in the neighbourhood to the southward and eastward, on which brigadier-general Fane was posted with his riflemen and the 50th regiment, and brigadier-general Anstruther with his brigade, with half a bri-

gade.

gade of six-pounders and half a brigade of nine-pounders, which had been ordered to the position in the course of last night. The ground over which passes the road from Lourinha commanded the left of this height, and it had not been occupied, excepting by a picquet, as the camp had been taken up only for one night; and there was no water in the neighbourhood of this height. The cavalry and the reserve of artillery were in the valley, between the hills on which the Infantry stood, both flanking and supporting brigadier-general Fane's advanced guard.

The enemy first appeared at eight o'clock in the morning, in large bodies of cavalry on our left, upon the heights of the road to Lourinha; and it was soon obvious that the attack would be made upon our advanced guard, and the left of our position; and major-general Ferguson's brigade was immediately moved across the ravine to the heights, on the road to Lourinha, with three pieces of cannon: he was followed successively by brigadier-general Nightingale with his brigade, and three pieces of cannon; brigadier-general Ackland with his brigade, and brigadier-general Bowes with his brigade. These troops were formed (major-general Ferguson's brigade in the first line; brigadier-general Nightingale's in the second; and brigadier-general Bowe's and Ackland's, in columns in the rear) on those heights, with their right upon the valley which leads into Vimiera, and their left upon the other ravine, which separates these heights from the range which terminates at the landing place at Maccira. On

these last mentioned heights, the Portuguese troops which had been in the bottom near Vimiera, were posted in the first instance, and they were supported by brigadier-general Craufurd's brigade.

The troops of the advanced guard on the height to the southward and eastward of the town were deemed sufficient for its defence, and major-general Hill was moved to the centre of the mountain on which the great body of infantry had been posted, as a support to these troops, and as a reserve to the whole army. In addition to this support, these troops had that of the cavalry in the rear of their right.

The enemy's attack began in several columns upon the whole of the troops on this height; on the left they advanced, notwithstanding the fire of the riflemen, close to the 50th regiment, and were checked and driven back only by the bayonets of the corps. The 2d battalion, 43d regiment, was likewise closely engaged with them in the road which leads into Vimiera; a part of that corps having been ordered into the church-yard to prevent them from penetrating into the town. On the right of the position, they were repulsed by the bayonets of the 97th regiment, which corps was successively supported by the 2d battalion 52d regiment, which, by an advance in column, took the enemy in flank.

Besides this opposition given to the attack of the enemy on our advanced guard by their own exertions, they were attacked in flank by brigadier-general Ackland's brigade, in its advance to its position on the heights on the left, and a

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cannonade.

cannonade was kept up on the flank of the enemy's columns by the artillery on those heights.

At length, after a most desperate contest, the enemy was driven back in confusion from this attack with the loss of seven pieces of cannon, many prisoners, and a great number of officers and soldiers, killed and wounded. He was pursued by the detachment of the 20th light dragoons; but the enemy's cavalry were so much superior in numbers, that this detachment has suffered much, and lieutenant-colonel Taylor was unfortunately killed.

Nearly at the same time the enemy's attack commenced upon the heights, on the road to Lourinha. This attack was supported by a large body of cavalry, and was made with the usual impetuosity of French troops. It was received with steadiness by major-general Ferguson's brigade, consisting of the 36th, 40th, 71st regiments; and these corps charged as soon as the enemy approached them, who gave way, and they continued to advance upon him supported by the 82d, one of the corps of brigadier-general Nightingale's brigade, which, as the ground extended, afterwards formed a part of the first line; by the 29th regiment, and by brigadier-general Bowes's and Ackland's brigades, while brigadier-general Craufurd's brigade, and the Portuguese troops, in two lines, advanced along the height on the left. In the advance of major-general Ferguson's brigade, six pieces of cannon were taken from the enemy, with many prisoners, and vast numbers were killed and wounded.

The enemy afterwards made an attempt to recover a part of his ar-

tillery by attacking the 71st and 82d regiments, which were halted in a valley in which it had been taken. These regiments retired from the low grounds in the valley to the heights, where they halted, faced about, fired, and advanced upon the enemy, who had by that time arrived in the low ground, and they thus obliged him to retire with great loss.

In this action, in which the whole of the French force in Portugal was employed, under the command of the duke D'Abrantes in person, in which the enemy was certainly superior in cavalry and artillery, and in which not more than half of the British army was actually engaged, he has sustained a signal defeat, and has lost thirteen pieces of cannon, twenty-three ammunition waggons, with powder, shells, stores of all description, and 20,000 rounds of musket ammunition. One general officer (Beniere) has been wounded and taken prisoner, and a great many officers and soldiers have been killed, wounded, and taken.

The valour and discipline of his majesty's troops have been conspicuous upon this occasion, as you, who witnessed the greatest part of the action, must have observed; but it is a justice to the following corps to draw your notice to them in a particular manner, viz. the royal artillery, commanded by lieutenant-colonel Robe; the 20th dragoons, which had been commanded by lieutenant-colonel Taylor; the 50th regiment, commanded by colonel Walker; the 2d battalion 95th foot, commanded by major Travers; the 5th battalion, 60th regiment, commanded by major Davy; the 2d battalion 43d, commanded

commanded by major Hall; the 2d battalion 52d, commanded by lieutenant-colonel Ross; the 97th regiment, commanded by lieutenant-colonel Lyon; the 36th regiment, commanded by colonel Burne; the 40th, commanded by colonel Kemmis; the 71st, commanded by lieutenant-colonel Pack; and the 82d regiment, commanded by major Eyre.

In mentioning colonel Burne and the 36th regiment to you upon this occasion, I cannot avoid to add, that the regular and orderly conduct of this corps throughout this service, and their gallantry and discipline in action, has been conspicuous.

I must take this opportunity of acknowledging my obligations to the general and staff officers of the army. I was much indebted to major-general Spencer's judgment and experience, in the decision which I formed with respect to the number of troops allotted to each point of defence, and for his advice and assistance throughout the action. In the position taken up by major-general Ferguson's brigade, and in its advance upon the enemy, that officer shewed equal bravery and judgment; and much praise is due to brigadier-general Fane, and brigadier-general Anstruther, for their gallant defence of their position in front of Vimiera, and to brigadier-general Nightingale, for the manner in which he supported the attack upon the enemy, made by major-general Ferguson.

Lieutenant-colonel G. Tucker, and lieutenant-colonel Bathurst, and the officers in the departments of the adjutant and quartermaster-general, and lieutenant-co-

lonel Torrens, and the officers of my personal staff, rendered me the greatest assistance throughout the action.

I have the honour to be, &c.

(Signed) ARTHUR WELLESLEY.

N. B. Since writing the above, I have been informed that a French general officer, supposed to be general Thebault, the chief of the staff, has been found dead upon the field of battle. A. W.

CONVENTION OF CINTRA.

London Gazette Extraordinary.

Downing-street, Sept. 16.

THE following dispatch was received yesterday evening from lieutenant-gen. sir Hew Dalrymple, commanding his majesty's troops in Portugal, addressed to lord viscount Castlereagh.

Head-quarters, Cintra, Sept. 3.

My Lord—I have the honour to inform your lordship that I landed in Portugal, and took the command of the army on Monday the 22d of August, the next day after the battle of Vimiera, and where the enemy sustained a signal defeat, where the valour and discipline of British troops, and the talents of British officers, were eminently displayed. A few hours after my arrival, general Kellermann came in with a flag of truce from the French general-in-chief, in order to propose an agreement for a cessation of hostilities, for the purpose of concluding a convention for the evacuation of Portugal by the French troops. The enclosed contains the several articles at first agreed.

agreed upon, and signed by sir Arthur Wellesley and general Kellermann; but as this was done with a reference to the British admiral, who, when the agreement was communicated to him, objected to the 7th article, which had for its object the disposal of the Russian fleet in the Tagus, it was finally concluded, that lieutenant-colonel Murray, quarter-master-general to the British army, and general Kellermann, should proceed to the discussion of the remaining articles, and finally to conclude a convention for the evacuation of Portugal, subject to the ratification of the French general-in-chief, and the British commanders by sea and land.—After considerable discussion and repeated reference to me, which rendered it necessary for me to avail myself of the limited period latterly prescribed for the suspension of hostilities, in order to move the army forwards, and to place the several columns upon the routes by which they were to advance, the convention was signed, and the ratification exchanged the 80th of last month. That no time might be lost in obtaining anchorage for the transports and other shipping, which had for some days been exposed to great peril on this dangerous coast, and to insure the communication between the army and the victuallers, which was cut off by the badness of the weather, and the surf upon the shore; I sent orders to the buffs, and 42d regiments, which were on board of transports with sir C. Cotton's fleet, to land and take possession of the forts of the Tagus, whenever the admiral thought it proper to do so. This was accordingly carried into execution yesterday morning, when the forts of Cascais,

St. Julien and Bugio, were evacuated by the French troops, and taken possession of by ours. As I landed in Portugal, entirely unacquainted with the actual state of the French army, and many circumstances of a local and incidental nature, which doubtless had great weight in deciding the question; my own opinion in favour of the expediency of expelling the French army from Portugal, by means of the convention the late defeat had induced the French general-in-chief to solicit, instead of doing so by a continuation of hostilities, was principally founded on the great importance of time, which the season of the year rendered peculiarly valuable, and which the enemy could easily have consumed in the protracted defence of the strong places they occupied, had terms of convention been refused them.—When the suspension of arms was agreed upon, the army under the command of sir John Moore had not arrived; and doubts were even entertained, whether so large a body of men could be landed on an open and a dangerous beach; and, that being effected, whether the supply of so large an army with provisions from the ships could be provided for, under all the disadvantages to which the shipping were exposed. During the negotiation, the former difficulty was overcome by the activity, zeal, and intelligence, of captain Malcolm, of the Donegal, and the officers and men under his orders; but the possibility of the latter seems to have been at an end, nearly at the moment when it was no longer necessary. Captain Dalrymple, of the 18th dragoons, my military secretary, will have the honour of delivering to

to your lordship this dispatch. He is fully informed of whatever has been done under my orders, relative to the service on which I have been employed, and can give any explanation thereupon that may be required.

HEW DALRYMPLE,
Lieut.-general.

[A suspension of arms agreed upon between sir A. Wellesley and general Kellermann, on the 22d of August, was the basis of the following convention; the seventh article of that preliminary treaty (which was afterwards rejected by sir C. Cotton) stipulated that the Russian fleet should be allowed to remain in the Tagus, unmolested, as long as it thought proper, or to return home.]

Definitive Convention for the Evacuation of Portugal by the French Army.

The generals commanding in chief the British and French armies in Portugal, having determined to negotiate and conclude a treaty for the evacuation of Portugal by the French troops, on the basis of the agreement entered into on the 22d inst. for a suspension of hostilities, have appointed the undermentioned officers to negotiate the same in their names, viz. :—On the part of the general-in-chief of the British army, lieut.-colonel Murray, quarter-master-general, and on the part of the general-in-chief of the French army, M. Kellermann, general of division; to whom they have given authority to negotiate and conclude a convention to that effect, subject to their ratification respectively, and to that of the admiral commanding the British fleet at the entrance of the Tagus. Those two officers, after exchanging their full

powers, have agreed upon the articles which follow :—Art. I. All the places and forts in the kingdom of Portugal occupied by the French troops shall be delivered up to the British army in the state in which they are at the period of the signature of the present convention.—

Art. II. The French troops shall evacuate Portugal with their arms and baggage; they shall not be considered as prisoners of war, and on their arrival in France, they shall be at liberty to serve.—Art.

III. The English government shall furnish the means of conveyance for the French army, which shall be disembarked in any of the ports of France between Rochefort and L'Orient inclusively.—Art. IV.

The French army shall carry with it all its artillery of French calibre, with the horses belonging to it, and the tembrils supplied with sixty rounds per gun. All other artillery, arms, and ammunition, as also the military and naval arsenals, shall be given up to the British army and navy, in the state in which they may be at the period of the ratification of the convention.—

Art. V. The French army shall carry with it all its equipments, and all that is comprehended under the name of property of the army; that is to say, its military chest, and carriages attached to the field commissariat and field hospitals; or shall be allowed to dispose of such part of the same on its account as the commander-in-chief may judge it unnecessary to embark. In like manner, all individuals of the army shall be at liberty to dispose of their private property of every description, with full security hereafter for the purchasers.—Art. VI. The cavalry

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are to embark their horses; as also the generals and other officers of all ranks. It is, however, fully understood, that the means of conveyance for horses at the disposal of the British commanders are very limited; some additional conveyance may be procured in the port of Lisbon; the number of horses to be embarked by the troops shall not exceed six hundred; and the number embarked by the staff shall not exceed two hundred. At all events, every facility will be given to the French army to dispose of the horses belonging to it which cannot be embarked.—Art. VII. In order to facilitate the embarkation, it shall take place in three divisions, the last of which will be principally composed of the garrisons of the places, the cavalry, the artillery, the sick, and the equipment of the army. The first division shall embark within seven days of the date of the ratification, or sooner, if possible.—Art. VIII. The garrisons of Elvas, and its forts, and of Peniche and Palmela, will be embarked at Lisbon; that of Alameda at Oporto, or the nearest harbour. They will be accompanied on their march by British commissaries charged with providing for their subsistence and accommodation.—Art. IX. All the sick and wounded who cannot be embarked with the troops are intrusted to the British army. They are to be taken care of whilst they remain in this country, at the expence of the British government, under the condition of the same being reimbursed by France when the final evacuation is effected. The English government will provide for their return to France, which shall take place by detachments of about one

hundred and fifty or two hundred men at a time. A sufficient number of French medical officers shall be left behind to attend them.—

Art. X. As soon as the vessels employed to carry the army to France shall have disembarked in the harbours specified, or in any other of the ports of France to which stress of weather may force them, every facility shall be given them to return to England without delay, and security against capture until their arrival in a friendly port.—

Art. XI. The French army shall be concentrated in Lisbon, and within a distance of about two leagues from it. The English army will approach within three leagues of the capital, and be so placed as to leave about one league between the two armies.—Art. XII.

The forts of St. Julien, the Bugio, and Cascais, shall be occupied by the British troops on the ratification of the convention. Lisbon and its citadel, together with the forts and batteries, as far as the lazaretto or Trafalga on one side, and fort St. Joseph on the other, inclusively, shall be given upon the embarkation of the second division, as shall also the harbour, and all armed vessels in it of every description, with their rigging, sails, stores, and ammunition. The fortresses of Elvas, Alameda, Peniche, and Palmela, shall be given up as soon as the British troops can arrive to occupy them. In the mean time the general-in-chief of the British army will give notice of the present convention to the garrisons of those places, as also to the troops before them, in order to put a stop to all further hostilities.—Art. XIII. Commissaries shall be named on both sides, to regulate and accelerate

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rate the execution of the arrangements agreed upon.—Art. XIV. Should there arise doubts as to the meaning of any article, it will be explained favourably to the French army.—Art. XV. From the date of the ratification of the present convention, all arrears of contributions, requisitions, or claims whatever, of the French government, against subjects of Portugal, or any other individuals residing in this country, founded on the occupation of Portugal by the French troops in Dec. 1807, which may not have been paid up, are cancelled; and all sequestrations laid upon their property, moveable or immoveable, are removed, and the free disposal of the same is restored to the proper owners.—Art. XVI. All subjects of France, or of powers in friendship or alliance with France, domiciliated in Portugal, or accidentally in this country, shall be protected in their property of every kind, moveable and immoveable, shall be respected; and they shall be at liberty either to accompany the French army, or to remain in Portugal; in either case their property is guaranteed to them, with the liberty of retaining or of disposing of it, and passing the produce of the sale thereof into France, or any other country where they may fix their residence, the space of one year being allowed them for that purpose. It is fully understood that shipping is excepted from this arrangement, only, however, in so far as regards leaving the port; and that none of the stipulations above mentioned can be made the pretext of any commercial speculation.—Art. XVII. No native of Portugal shall be rendered accountable for his political conduct

during the period of the occupation of this country by the French army; and all those who have continued in the exercise of their employments, or have accepted situations under the French government, are placed under the protection of the British commanders; they shall sustain no injury in their persons or property, it not having been at their option to be obedient, or not to the French government; they are also at liberty to avail themselves of the stipulations of the 16th article.—Art. XVIII. The Spanish troops detained on-board ship in the port of Lisbon shall be given up to the commander-in-chief of the British army, who engages to obtain of the Spaniards to restore such French subjects, either military or civil, as may have been detained in Spain without being taken in battle, or in consequence of military operations, but on occasion of the occurrences of the 29th of last May, and the days immediately following.—Art. XIX. There shall be an immediate exchange established for all ranks of prisoners made in Portugal, since the commencement of the present hostilities.—Art. XX. Hostages of the rank of field-officers shall be mutually furnished on the part of the British army and navy, and on that of the French army, for the reciprocal guarantee of the present convention. The officers of the British army shall be restored on the completion of the articles which concern the army; and the officers of the navy on the disembarkation of the French troops in their own country. The like is to take place on the part of the French army.—Art. XXI. It shall be allowed to the general-in-chief of

of the French army to send an officer to France with intelligence of the present convention. A vessel will be furnished by the British admiral to convey him to Bourdeaux or Rochefort.—Art. XXII. The British admiral will be invited to accommodate his excellency the commander-in-chief, and the other principal officers of the French army, on-board ships of war.

Done and concluded at Lisbon this 30th day of August, 1808.

(Signed)

GEO. MURRAY, quar.-mas.-gen.

KELLERMANN, le gén. de division.

Nous duc d'Abrantes, général en chef de l'armée Française, avons ratifié et ratifions la présente convention définitive dans tous ses articles, pour être exécutée selon sa forme et teneur.

(Signed) LE DUC D'ABRANTES.

Au quartier général de Lisbonne, le 30 Aout, 1808.

Additional Articles to the Convention of the 30th Aug. 1808.

Art. I. The individuals in the civil employment of the army made prisoners, either by the British troops, or by the Portuguese in any part of Portugal, will be restored, as is customary, without exchange.—Art. II. The French army shall be subsisted from its own magazines up to the day of embarkation; the garrisons up to the day of the evacuation of the fortresses.—The remainder of the magazines shall be delivered over in the usual form to the British government, which charges itself with the subsistence of the men and horses of the army from the above-

mentioned periods till their arrival in France, under the condition of their being re-imburshed by the French government for the excess of the expences beyond the estimation, to be made by both parties, of the value of the magazines delivered up to the British army. The provisions on-board the ships of war, in possession of the French army, will be taken on account by the British government, in like manner with the magazines in the fortresses.—Art. III. The general commanding the British troops will take the necessary measures for re-establishing the free circulation of the means of subsistence between the country and the capital.

Done and concluded at Lisbon this 30th day of August, 1808.

(Signed)

GEO. MURRAY, quar.-mas.-gen.

KELLERMANN, le gén. de division.

Nous duc d'Abrantes, général en chef de l'armée Française, avons ratifié et ratifions les articles additionnels à la convention et contre, pour être exécutés suivant leur forme et teneur.

LE DUC D'ABRANTES.

A. J. DALRYMPLE, cap. milit. sec.

Admiralty-office, Sept. 16.

Captain Halsted, first captain to the squadron under the command of sir C. Cotton, bart., commander-in-chief of his majesty's ships and vessels on the coast of Portugal, arrived yesterday with dispatches to the hon. W. W. Pole.

Hibernia, off the Tagus, Sept. 3.

Sir—Enclosed herewith, for the information of the lords commissioners of the admiralty, is a copy of a convention*, entered into by

* A copy of the convention enclosed in a letter from sir Hew Dalrymple. lieutenant.

light-col. Murray and gen. Keller-mann, for the evacuation of Portugal by the French army; such convention having been ratified by lieut.-gen. sir Hew Dalrymple, myself, and the French commander-in-chief. British troops, consisting of the 3d and 42d regiments, were on the 2d inst. landed, to occupy the forts of Cascais, St. Antonio, St. Julien, and the Bugio; and no time shall be lost to embark the French troops, agreeably to the said convention.—Capt. Halsted, first captain of this ship, and captain of the fleet, who is the bearer of these dispatches to their lordships, respecting the Russian squadron in the Tagus, is in full possession of my confidence, and will be able to explain to their lordships the motives inducing me to ratify the convention in question, as well as give any further information that may be thought necessary.

C. COTTON.

Hibernia, off the Tagus, Sept. 4.

Sir—Herewith I have the honour to enclose to you, for the information of the lords commissioners of the admiralty, a copy of a convention entered into by me with vice-admiral Seniavin, commanding the Russian fleet in the Tagus; by which it will appear to their lordships that such fleet has been surrendered to me, to be held by his majesty as a deposit, until six months after the conclusion of peace between Russia and England. I have charged capt. Halsted, first captain of the *Hibernia*, and captain of the fleet, with the delivery of this dispatch to their lordships; he was sent by me to negotiate the convention with vice-admiral Seniavin, and will be able

to explain every particular. To capt. Halsted I feel greatly indebted for his able advice and assistance upon all points of service; his zeal and diligence have been exemplary, and entitle him to my highest commendation. Rear-admiral Tyler has been directed to superintend the first division of the Russian fleet, which I purpose ordering under his protection, immediately to Spithead; to him (since with me) I have been indebted for every assistance, and to the captains, officers, and crews, of these ships that have been employed throughout a tediously protracted blockade (by whom every exertion has been made with a degree of cheerfulness, doing them infinite honour). I feel extremely grateful, and deem it my duty to offer every possible testimony of my approbation in their favour.

C. COTTON.

Articles of a convention entered into between vice-admiral Seniavin, knight of the order of St. Alexander, and other Russian orders, and admiral sir Charles Cotton, bart., for the surrender of the Russian fleet, now anchored in the river Tagus.

Art. I. The ships of war of the emperor of Russia, now in the Tagus, as specified in the annexed list, shall be delivered up to admiral Cotton immediately, with all their stores as they now are, to be sent to England, and there held as a deposit by his Britannic majesty, to be restored to his imperial majesty within six months after the conclusion of a peace between his Britannic majesty and his imperial majesty the emperor of all the Russias.

Art.

Art. II. Vice-admiral Seniavin, with the officers, sailors, and marines, under his command, to return to Russia without any condition or stipulation respecting their future services; to be conveyed there in men-of-war, or proper vessels, at the expense of his Britannic majesty.

Done and concluded on-board the ship *Twerday*, in the *Tagus*, and on-board his Britannic majesty's ship *Hibernia*; off the mouth of that river, the 3d day of Sept. 1808.

DE SENIAVIN,
CHARLES COTTON.

Report of the Board of Inquiry.

May it please your Majesty,

WE the underwritten general officers of the army, in obedience to your majesty's warrant, which bears date the 1st day of November, 1808, commanding us strictly to enquire into the conditions of a suspension of arms, concluded on the 22d of August, 1808, between your majesty's army in Portugal, and the French force in that country—and also into a definitive convention, concluded with the French general commanding on the 31st August following—also into all the causes and circumstances (whether arising from the previous operations of the British army, or otherwise, which led to them)—and into the conduct, behaviour, and proceedings of lieutenant-general sir Hew Dalrymple, and such other commander or commanders of your majesty's forces in Portugal, and of any other person or persons, as far as the same were connected with the said armistice, suspension of

arms, and convention—and to report to your majesty a statement thereof, as it shall appear, together with our opinion thereon, and also our opinion, whether any, and what, further proceedings should be had thereupon.

We have, at several meetings, perused and considered your majesty's orders and instructions, as transmitted to us by the right hon. lord Castlereagh, your majesty's principal secretary of state, together with sundry letters, and other papers, therewith transmitted—And have heard and examined lieutenant-general sir Hew Dalrymple, sir Harry Burrard, and sir Arthur Wellesley, and other principal officers employed on the said expedition, with such witnesses as any of them desired—and also such other persons as seemed to us most likely to give any material information.—And in order that your majesty may be fully possessed of every circumstance which has appeared in the course of this enquiry, we beg leave to lay before your majesty the whole of our examinations and proceedings to this our report annexed.—And upon the most diligent and careful review of the whole matter, we do, in further obedience to your royal command, most humbly report to your majesty, that it appears, &c. &c.

[Here follows a statement of facts relative to the arrival in Portugal of sir Arthur Wellesley's expedition from Cork—to the appearance of general Spencer off the *Tagus*, his return to Cadiz, and his arrival again in Portugal—to the operations of the army up to the battles of the 17th and 21st—to the junction of general Auckland and

and general Anstruther's brigades—to the arrival of sir Harry Burrard and sir Hew Dalrymple—to the arrival and landing of sir John Moore; all of which have already been given in the official dispatches published in the Gazette, in the narratives of sir A. Wellesley, sir H. Burrard, and sir Hew Dalrymple, and in the evidence which was detailed during the sitting of the Board of Enquiry.]

After a description of the battle of Vimeira, the report proceeds thus:—Soon after twelve, the firing had ceased, and the enemy's cavalry were seen from our left, in bodies of about 200, by general Ferguson; and about the same time general Spencer saw a line formed, about three miles in front of our centre. About half past twelve, sir Arthur Wellesley proposed to sir Harry Burrard to advance from his right, with three brigades, upon Torres Vedras, and with the other five brigades to follow the enemy, who had been defeated by our left.

It appears that the situation of the army at this moment was—on the right, major-general Hill's brigade, which had not been engaged, was on the height behind Vimeira, and at a distance of above three miles from those of generals Ferguson and Nightingale on the left. In front of Vimeira and in the centre, were the brigades of Anstruther and Fane, which had been warmly engaged. Brigadier-general Bowes's and Ackland's brigades were advanced on the heights, towards the left, in support of generals Ferguson and Nightingale. Brigadier-general Crauford's brigade was detached rather to the rear of the left, about half a mile from major-general Ferguson, to support the Por-

tuguese troops, making front in that direction. It appears, that although the enemy was completely repulsed, the degree of expedition with which a pursuit could be commenced, considering the extended position of the army at that time, and the precaution to be taken against the superior cavalry of the enemy, must have depended on various local circumstances only to be calculated by those on the spot.

This very circumstance of a superior cavalry retarding our advance, would allow the enemy's infantry, without any degree of risk, to continue their retreat in the most rapid manner, till they should arrive at any given and advantageous point of rallying and formation; nor did sir A. Wellesley, on the 17th August, when the enemy had not half the cavalry as on the 21st, pursue a more inconsiderable and beaten army with any marked advantage. (Here passages are quoted from sir A. Wellesley's dispatches in the Gazette, in support of this statement.) It may also be considered, that as the attack on our centre had been repulsed long before that on our left, had, the attacking corps, which, as had been observed, was not pursued (but by the 20th dragoons, not exceeding 150), had time (above an hour) to re-assemble, and to occupy such ground as might afterwards facilitate the retreat of their right, and that the enemy were actually and visibly formed in one or more lines, at about three miles in front of the centre.

From these and other fair military grounds, as allowed by sir A. Wellesley; from those that occurred in sir H. Burrard's first interview with sir A. Wellesley; from the

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utmost certainty of the immediate arrival of sir John Moore's corps, which, if they had not stopped at Mondego Bay, would have been at Maccira on the 21st; sir H. Burrard declined making any further pursuit that day, or ordering the army to march next morning early. —(In this opinion sir H. Burrard states, brigadier-general Clinton and colonel Murray concurred.)

[Here follows an account of the appointment of sir Hew Dalrymple; his assuming the command; the negotiation of the armistice; objections of sir C. Cotton, and final conclusion of the armistice; all the particulars of which have already been laid before the public.]

It appears that when the proposed treaty (ratified by general Junot) of the 28th August, was brought by captain Dalrymple on the 29th to head-quarters at Ramalhal, all the lieutenant-generals (Burrard, Moore, Hope, Fraser, Wellesley) were present, lord Paget excepted, because not long previously summoned. The proposed treaty was, however, formally discussed. Minutes of proposed alterations were taken by sir A. Wellesley, as laid before the Board, and the commander of the forces has no reason to believe that sir J. Moore, or any of the lieutenant-generals that came with him, expressed any disapprobation of the state and terms of the negotiation.

The treaty with the alterations proposed were re-transmitted to lieutenant-colonel Murray. It appears when the treaty concluded by lieutenant-colonel Murray on the 30th, was brought by him to Torres Vedras on the 31st for ratification, the lieutenant-generals present were convened, and sir A.

Wellesley was sent for. Lord Paget, who was at a distance, did not come, nor did sir A. Wellesley, his corps having marched that morning. The other lieutenant-generals met, (Burrard, Moore, Fraser, Hope) the alterations made by lieutenant-colonel Murray were approved, and the treaty then ratified by the commander of the forces (sir H. Dalrymple) with the approbation of the lieutenant-generals present. Some of the articles of the treaty of the 28th, before objected to by the lieutenant-generals, were altered in that of the 30th, and some other good alterations had been inserted, not before suggested. A comparison of the treaty of the 28th, and that ratified, will shew the alterations. The meetings of the lieutenant-generals, the commander of the forces did not call, or consider as regular councils of war. He sought to benefit from their talents and experience, by consulting them on exigent cases, and by pursuing the measure he might himself deem most for the good of your majesty's service, after availing himself of the advantage he might draw from their reasonings, and he does not recollect there was any dissentient opinion on the 31st, as to the ratification of the convention. It appears that sir J. Moore's corps having arrived at Mondego Bay on the 20th of August, began to disembark; that they re-embarked, and arrived off Maccira Bay on the 24th; that from the 25th to the 29th, they landed under considerable difficulties, and successively joined the army at Torres Vedras. It appears that some of the principal advantages to arise from the convention were in the contemplation of

of the generals. That it immediately liberated the kingdom of Portugal from the dominion of the French, thereby restoring to the inhabitants their capital and fortresses, their principal sea-ports, their personal liberty, property, religion, and established government. That it relieved a great extent of Spanish frontier from all apprehensions of an enemy, and the whole of Spain from that of having an enemy behind them, and allowed all parts of Spain to take more effective measures for its defence; as well as permitted Portugal immediately to contribute for their mutual support. That it enabled the British army immediately to enter Spain, if required, by central routes, while it transported the French force to a very distant part of their own coast, far removed from the Spanish frontier. That it immediately released 4000 Spanish soldiers, and sent them to the defence of Catalonia; it also released from the Portuguese frontier another body of 2000 Spanish troops. The Portuguese army also became disposable for the common cause. To the men of war and transports, which at this season of the year with great difficulty could keep their station near the coast, and on whose presence the supplies and operations of the army depended, the opening of the Tagus afforded immediate shelter. It is further urged by the generals, as much more than probable, that if the enemy had been required to lay down their arms, and would surrender prisoners of war, they would not have complied; but if driven to extremity, that they would have retired upon Lisbon, reinforced by 6000 Russians, who must have been

thus compelled to share their fate; and in the temporary attack of this city, much calamity and destruction must have ensued. Also, that masters of the Russian fleet, and of boats and shipping in the Tagus, the passage to the river was ensured to them; that they could have defended, for a considerable time, its east bank, and prevented the occupation of the Tagus by our fleet; that, with the strong fortresses of Alentejo in their possession, they could have protracted a destructive war, to the great detriment of Portugal and the Spanish cause, by finding employment for the greater part of the British army, for the remainder of the year, and whose difficulties and losses in such operation must have been very considerable. It appears, that the forts on the Tagus were taken possession of on the 2d of September, by the British troops, and the port was then opened to our shipping. That on the 5th the army had its right at St. Juliens, and its left on the heights of Bellas: that on the 8th or 9th, a British corps marched into Lisbon, to ensure the tranquillity of that city, during the embarkation of the enemy, who were all sent off (except the last division, who were purposely detained) before the end of the month, and part of the army was then actually on its route towards the Spanish frontier.—It appears, that during the discussion, and afterwards during the execution of the convention, much firmness was shewn in resisting the pretensions and interpretations of the enemy; every stipulation being restricted to its fair, honourable, and grammatical meaning, and the French not allowed to carry off, but obliged to

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disgorge plunder, which they affected to consider as private property. It appears that pains were taken to misrepresent and raise a clamour in Portugal against this convention; but when it was generally known, and its effects felt, the people of Lisbon, and of the country, seem to have expressed their gratitude and thanks for the benefits attending it. It has been urged by sir Hugh Dalrymple, and allowed by major-general Spencer, that in Egypt, in 1801 (after the victory of the 21st of March, the French having thrown their whole force into Alexandria and Grand Cairo, about 10,000 men in each place), that at the siege of Alexandria, in August, the country was in the full possession of the British and Turks. The garrison, cut off from every possibility of relief, and could only have held out some days, when a capitulation was granted to it, September the 2d, as favourable as the convention of Cintrá to the army of Junot (of 24,000 French, and 6000 Russians), and perfectly similar in all the chief articles of men, baggage, artillery, conveyance, &c. also, that the same terms had been previously granted to the garrison of Cairo, under much the same circumstances. By these two conventions, or capitulations, above 20,000 French evacuated Egypt, and the British army was left disposable for other purposes. On the whole, it appears, that the operations of the army under sir Arthur Wellesley, from his landing in Mondego Bay the 1st of August, until the conclusion of the action at Vimeira, the 21st of August, were highly honourable and successful, and such as might be ex-

pected from a distinguished general, at the head of a British army of 13,000 men, augmented on the 20th and 31st to 17,000, deriving only some small aid from a Portuguese corps (1600 men) and against whom an enemy not exceeding 14,000 men in the field was opposed; and this before the arrival of a very considerable reinforcement from England, under lieutenant-general sir John Moore, which, however, did arrive and join the army, from the 25th to the 30th of August. It appears a point on which no evidence adduced can enable the board to pronounce, with confidence, whether or not a pursuit after the battle of the 21st, could have been efficacious; nor can the board feel confident to determine on the expedience of a forward movement to Torres Vedras, when sir Harry Burrard has stated weighty considerations against such a measure. Further, it is to be observed, that so many collateral circumstances could not be known in the moment of the enemy's repulse, as afterwards became clear to the army, and have been represented to the board. And considering the extraordinary circumstances under which two new commanding generals arrived from the ocean, and joined the army (the one during, and the other immediately after, a battle, and those successively superseding each other, and both the original commander within the space of 24 hours), it is not surprising that the army was not carried forward, until the second day after the action, from the necessity of the generals being acquainted with the actual state of things, and of their army, and proceeding accordingly.

It

It appears that the convention of Cintra in all its progress and conclusion, or at least all the principal articles of it, were not objected to by the five distinguished lieutenant-generals of that army; and other general officers who were on that service, whom we have had an opportunity to examine, have also concurred in the great advantages that were immediately gained, to the country of Portugal, to the army and navy; and to the general service, by the conclusion of the convention at that time.—On a consideration of all circumstances, as set forth in this report, we most humbly submit our opinion, that no further military proceeding is necessary on that subject. Because, howsoever some of us may differ in our sentiments respecting the fitness of the convention in the relative situation of the two armies, it is our unanimous declaration, that unquestionable zeal and firmness appear throughout to have been exhibited by lieutenant-generals sir Hew Dalrymple, sir Harry Burrard, and sir Arthur Wellesley, as well as that the ardour and gallantry of the rest of the officers and soldiers, on every occasion during this expedition, have done honour to the troops, and reflected lustre on your majesty's arms. All which is most dutifully submitted.

(Signed)

DAVID DUNDAS, general.
MOIRA, general.
PETER CRAIG, general.
HEATHFIELD, general.
PEMBROKE, lieutenant-gen.
G. NUGENT, lieutenant-gen.
OL. NICOLLS, lieutenant-gen.

22d Dec. 1808.

*Judge-Advocate-General's
Office, Dec. 27, 1808.*

In consequence of the following letter from his royal highness the commander in chief to general sir David Dundas, as president, viz.

Horse Guards, Dec. 25, 1808.

SIR—The judge-advocate-general having delivered to me, to be laid before his majesty, the several papers and documents, containing all the examinations and proceedings taken before the board of enquiry, of which you are the president, together with your report and opinion upon the whole of the late operations of his majesty's forces in Portugal, as connected with the armistice and subsequent convention of Cintra, I think it incumbent on me to state to you, that although the report is fully detailed, and perfectly explanatory of all the transactions as they appeared in evidence before you; yet upon a due consideration of the whole matter, it certainly appears that your opinion upon the conditions of the armistice and convention, which the words of his majesty's warrant expressly enjoin should be strictly examined, enquired into, and reported upon, has been altogether omitted. I feel it my duty, therefore, to call your attention to these two principal features of this important case, the armistice and convention, and to desire that you may be pleased to take the same again into your most serious consideration, and subjoin to the opinion which you have already given upon the other points submitted to your examination and enquiry, whether, under all the circumstances which appear in evidence before you, on the relative

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lative situation of the two armies, on the 22d of August, 1808, it is your opinion that an armistice was advisable, and if so, whether the terms of that armistice were such as ought to have been agreed upon; and whether upon a like consideration of the relative situation of the two armies subsequent to the armistice, and when all the British forces were landed, it is your opinion that a convention was advisable, and if so, whether the terms of that convention were such as ought to have been agreed upon.— I am the more desirous that you should resume the consideration of these two points, the armistice and convention, as it appears upon the face of your report, that a differ-

Approve.

Lt.-gen. Nicolls.
Lt.-gen. Sir G. Nugent.
Earl of Pembroke.
Lord Heathfield.
General Craig.
Gen. Sir D. Dundas.

Approve.

Lt.-gen. Sir G. Nugent.
Gen. Lord Heathfield.
General Craig.
Gen. Sir D. Dundas.

(Signed)

Do you, or do you not approve of the armistice as concluded upon the 22d of August, 1808, in the relative situation of the two armies?

Do you, or do you not approve of the convention as concluded upon the 31st of August, 1808, in the relative situation of the two armies?

Disapprove.
Earl of Moira.

Disapprove.
Lt.-gen. Nicolls.
Earl of Pembroke.
Earl of Moira.

DAVID DUNDAS, President.

My reason for considering the armistice as advisable on the 22d of August was, because the enemy had been able to retire after the battle of the 21st, and take up a strong defensive position.

OL. NICOLLS, L. G.

I think, considering the great increase of our force from the first suspension of hostility to the definitive signing of the convention,

ence of opinion exists among the members of the board, which may probably produce a dissent from the majority upon these very questions. You will be pleased, therefore, to desire such of the members as may be of a different opinion from the majority upon these two questions, to record upon the face of the proceedings their reasons for such dissent. I am, Sir, yours,

(Signed) FREDERICK,
Commander in Chief.

General Sir D. Dundas, K. B.

The board met this day at the judge-advocate-general's office, when the said letter having been read, they agreed that the following questions should be put to each of the members of the board:

added to the defeat the enemy had suffered, sir H. Dalrymple was fully entitled to have insisted upon more favourable terms.

OL. NICOLLS, L. G.

I approve of the armistice, after a due consideration of the relative situations of the two armies on the evening of the 22d of August, but I cannot fully approve of the whole of the convention, after a due consideration

sideration of the relative situation of the two armies at that time; because it does not appear to me that, in the progress of the negotiation, sufficient stress was laid upon the great advantages which had resulted, or were likely to result, from the former successful operations of the British army in the field—from the considerable reinforcements which had joined it, subsequent to the commencement of the negotiation—from the cause in which the British army was engaged being the cause of Portugal, which gave good reason to reckon upon the good will, if not upon the active assistance, of the majority of the inhabitants; and also, from the unusual readiness which, as it appears to me, was manifested by general Junot to enter into negotiation, and by the French negociator to accede to terms as they were proposed, and to such construction as lieut.-gen. sir Hew Dalrymple put upon them in some instances, where they might have borne a difference of interpretation. I therefore think it probable, for the above reasons, that if less favourable terms to the French army had been insisted upon, they would have been acceded to.

PENBRIDGE, Lieut.-gen.

I feel less awkwardness in obeying the order to detail my sentiments on the nature of the convention, because that I have already joined in the tribute of applause due in other respects to the officers concerned. My opinion, therefore, is only opposed to theirs on a question of judgment, where their talents are likely to have so much more weight, as to render the profession of my difference, even

on that point, somewhat painful. The duty is, however, imperious on me not to disguise or qualify the deductions which I have made during this investigation.—An armistice simply might not have been objectionable, because sir Hew Dalrymple, expecting hourly the arrival of sir John Moore's division, might see more advantage for himself in a short suspension of hostilities, than what the French could draw from it; but as the armistice involved, and in fact established the whole principle of the convention, I cannot separate it from the latter.—Sir A. Wellesley has stated, that he considered his force, at the commencement of the march from the Mondego river, as sufficient to drive the French from their positions on the Tagus. That force is subsequently joined by above 4000 British troops, under generals Anstruther and Ackland. The French make an attack with their whole disposable strength, and are repulsed with heavy loss, though but a part of the British army is brought into action. It is difficult to conceive that the prospects which sir A. Wellesley entertained could be unfavourably altered by these events, even had not the certainty of speedy reinforcements to the British army existed.—It is urged, that had the French been pushed to extremity, they would have crossed the Tagus, and have protracted the campaign in such a manner as to have frustrated the more important view of the British generals—namely, sending succours into Spain.—This measure must have been equally feasible for the French if no victory had been obtained over them; but I confess that the chance of such an attempt

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seems

seems to me assumed against probability. Sir Hew Dalrymple notices what he calls "the critical and embarrassed state of Junot," before that general has been pressed by the British army: and, in explanation of that expression, observes, that the surrender of Dupont, 'the existence of the victorious Spanish army in Andalusia, which cut off the retreat of the French in that direction, and the universal hostility of the Portuguese, made the situation of Junot one of great distress. No temptation for the translation of the war into Alentejo presents itself from this picture; nor does any other representation give ground to suppose that Junot could have contemplated the measure as holding forth any prospect but ultimate ruin, after much preliminary distress and disgrace. The strongest of all proofs as to Junot's opinion, arises from his sending the very morning after the battle of Vimeira, to propose the evacuation of Portugal; a step which sufficiently indicated that he was satisfied he could not only make no effectual defence, but could not even prolong the contest to take the chance of accidents. He seems, indeed, to have been without any real resource. It appears in evidence, that of the troops left by him in Lisbon and the forts, a considerable proportion were of very doubtful quality. Those troops on whose fidelity he could confide, had been dismayed by a signal defeat, and they were sensible that they had no succour to look to from abroad. To the British generals it was known, when the armistice was granted, that 10,000 men under sir J. Moore, as well as the 3d and 42d regiments of foot, with the 18th

dragoons, might be immediately reckoned upon; and although much advantage had not been drawn from the Portuguese troops, their support and the general violence of the country against the French, cannot be laid out of this calculation.

The disparity of force and of circumstances was, then, such as could leave no doubt that the issue must be favourable to us. I do not omit advertence to the difficulties urged as possible to occur in furnishing the British army with bread. But, putting aside the obvious solution, that such a temporary privation is not ruinous to an army where cattle can be procured in the country, this difficulty cannot be well pleaded, if admission is to be given to the speculation, that the heavy cannon necessary for battering forts St. Julien and Calcacs were to be got ashore in the Bays of the Rock of Lisbon. The question then comes to this: whether the convention did (as has been asserted) secure all the objects which were proposed in the expedition? If it did not, it was not what his majesty was entitled to expect from the relative situation of the two armies.

I humbly conceive it to have been erroneous to regard the emancipation of Portugal from the French, as the sole or principal object of the expedition. Upon whatever territory we contend with the French, it must be a prominent object in the struggle to destroy their resources, and to narrow their means of injuring us, or those whose cause we are supporting. This seems to have been so little considered in the convention, that the terms appear to have extricated

extricated Junot's army from a situation of infinite distress, in which it was wholly out of play, and to have brought it, in a state of entire equipment, into immediate currency, in a quarter too where it must interfere with our most urgent and interesting concerns.

Had it been impracticable to reduce the French army to lay down its arms unconditionally, still an obligation not to serve for a specified time, might have been insisted upon, or Belleisle might have been prescribed as the place at which they should be landed, in order to prevent the probability of their reinforcing (at least for a long time) the armies employed for the subjugation of Spain. Perhaps a stronger consideration than the merit of those terms presents itself. Opinion relative to the British arms was of the highest importance, as it might influence the confidence of the Spaniards, or invite the nations groaning under the yoke of France, to appeal to this country, and co-operate with it for their deliverance. The advantages ought, therefore, to have been more than usually great, which should be deemed sufficient to balance the objection of granting to a very inferior army, hopeless in circumstances, and broken in spirit, such terms as might argue, that notwithstanding its disparity in numbers, it was still formidable to its victors. No advantages seemed to have been gained that would not have equally followed from forcing the enemy to a more marked submission. The gain of time as to sending succours into Spain cannot be admitted as a plea, because it appears that no arrangements for the reception of

our troops in Spain had been undertaken previous to the convention; and this is without reasoning on subsequent facts. The convention in Egypt, which has been advanced as a parallel case, appears to me inapplicable. No object beyond the dislodgment of the French from Egypt was there in question. In the present instance, the operation of the convention upon the affairs of Spain was a consideration of primary interest; and in that view the inevitable effect of some of the articles offers itself to my mind as liable to material objection. I trust that these reasons will vindicate me from the charge of presumption, in maintaining an opinion contradictory to that professed by so many most respectable officers; for, even if the reasons be essentially erroneous, if they are conclusive to my mind (as I must conscientiously affirm them to be), it is a necessary consequence that I must disapprove the convention.

MOIRA, General.

December 27, 1808.

Convention of Cintra.

THE following formal declaration of his majesty's disapprobation of the armistice and convention in Portugal, has been officially communicated to sir Hew Dalrymple:—

THE King has taken into his consideration the report of the board of enquiry, together with the documents and opinions thereunto annexed. While his majesty adopts the unanimous opinion of the board, that no farther military proceeding is necessary to be had upon the transactions referred to their

their investigation, his majesty does not intend thereby to convey any expression of his majesty's satisfaction at the terms and conditions of the armistice and convention.

When those instruments were first laid before his majesty, the king, reserving for investigation those parts of the definitive convention, in which his majesty's immediate interests were concerned, caused it to be signified to sir Hew Dalrymple, by his majesty's secretary of state, that his majesty, nevertheless, felt himself compelled at once to express his disapprobation of those articles, in which stipulations were made, directly affecting the interests or feelings of the Spanish and Portuguese nations.

At the close of the enquiry, the king, abstaining from any observations upon any other parts of the convention, repeats his disapprobation of those articles; his majesty deeming it necessary that his sentiments should be clearly understood, as to the impropriety and danger of the unauthorised admission, into military conventions, of articles of such a description, which, especially when incautiously framed, may lead to the most injurious consequences.

His majesty cannot forbear farther to observe, that lieutenant-general sir Hew Dalrymple's delaying to transmit for his information the armistice concluded on 22d August, until the 4th September, when he, at the same time, transmitted the ratified convention, was calculated to produce great public inconvenience, and that such inconvenience did in fact result therefrom.

Bonaparte's Speech to the Corregidor of Madrid.

AN Address from the Corregidor and Magistracy of Madrid was presented to Bonaparte on the 9th December, 1808.

In this document the inhabitants are made to thank the conqueror for his clemency, and to solicit the favour of seeing king Joseph at Madrid. In his answer to this application, Bonaparte makes his consent to depend upon the 30,000 citizens Madrid contains, making a declaration of their fidelity, and setting an example of submission to the provinces. By the 30,000 citizens we suppose householders are meant, for the *Moniteur* states that registers had been opened at Madrid, and that 30,000 fathers of families had rushed to them in crowds to sign the required supplication. The answer which Bonaparte returned to the address of the corregidor contains so many remarkable traits, that we think it necessary to give it at length, as it appears in the Paris papers, in the following terms:—

“I am pleased with the sentiments of the city of Madrid. I regret the injuries she has suffered, and am particularly happy that, under existing circumstances, I have been able to effect her deliverance, and to protect her from great calamities. I have hastened to adopt measures calculated to tranquillize all ranks of the citizens, knowing how painful a state of uncertainty is to all men collectively and individually. I have preserved the spiritual orders, but with a limitation of the number of monks. There is not a single intelligent person

son who is not of opinion that they were too numerous. Those of them who are influenced by a divine call, shall remain in their cloisters. With regard to those whose call was doubtful, or influenced by temporal considerations, I have fixed their condition in the order of secular priests. Out of the surplus of the monastic property, I have provided for the maintenance of the pastors, that important and useful class of the clergy. I have abolished that court which was a subject of complaint to Europe and the present age. Priests may guide the minds of men, but must exercise no temporal or corporeal jurisdiction over the citizens.

“ I have accomplished what I owed to myself and my nation. Vengeance has had its due. It has fallen upon ten of the principal culprits: all the rest have entire and absolute forgiveness. I have abolished those privileges which the grantees usurped, during times of civil war, when kings but too frequently are necessitated to surrender their rights, to purchase their own tranquillity, and that of their people. I have abolished the feudal rights, and henceforth every one may set up inns, ovens, mills, employ himself in fishing and rabbit hunting, and give free scope to his industry, provided he respects the laws and regulations of the police. The selfishness, wealth, and prosperity of a small number of individuals, were more injurious to your agriculture than the heat of the dog-days. As there is but one God, so should there be in a state but one judicial power. All peculiar jurisdictions were usurpations, and at variance with the rights of

the nation; I have abolished them. I have also made known to every one what he may have to fear, and what he may have to hope. I shall expel the English army from the Peninsula. Saragossa, Valencia, Seville, shall be reduced to submission, either by persuasion, or the power of my arms. There is no obstacle which can long resist the execution of my resolutions. But what transcends my power is this—to consolidate the Spaniards as one nation, under the sway of the king, should they continue to be infected with these principles of aversion and hatred to France, which the partisans of the English and the enemies of the Continent have infused into the bosom of Spain. I can establish no nation, no king, no independence of the Spaniards, if the king be not assured of their attachment and fidelity.

“ The Bourbons can no longer reign in Europe. The divisions in the royal family were contrived by the English. It was not the de-thronement of king Charles, and the favourite (the Prince of the Peace), that the duke de Infantado, that tool of England, as is proved by the papers found in his house, had in view. The intention was to establish the predominant influence of England in Spain; a senseless project, the result of which would have been a perpetual Continental war, that would have caused the shedding of torrents of blood. No power under the influence of England can exist on the Continent. If there be any that entertain such a wish, their wish is absurd, and will sooner or later occasion their fall. It would be easy for me, should I be compelled to adopt that measure, to govern Spain: by esta-
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blishing as many viceroys in it as there are provinces. Nevertheless, I do not refuse to abdicate my rights of conquest in favour of the king; and to establish him in Madrid, as soon as the 30,000 citizens which this capital contains, the clergy, nobility, merchants, and lawyers, shall have declared their sentiments and their fidelity, set an example to the provinces, enlightened the people, and made the nation sensible that their existence and prosperity essentially depend upon a king and a free constitution, favourable to the people; and hostile only to the egotism and haughty passions of the grandees.

"If such be the sentiments of the inhabitants of the city of Madrid, let the 30,000 citizens assemble in the churches; let them, in the presence of the Holy Sacrament, take an oath, not only with their mouths, but also with their hearts, and without any jesuitical equivocation, that they promise support, attachment, and fidelity to their king; let the priests in the confessional and the pulpit, the mercantile class in their correspondence, the men of the law in their writings and speeches, infuse these sentiments into the people; then shall I surrender my right of conquest, place the king upon the throne, and make it my pleasing task to conduct myself as a true friend of the Spaniards. The present generation may differ in their opinion; the passions have been brought into action; but your grand-children will bless me as your renovator; they will reckon the day when I appeared among their memorable festivals; and from that will the happiness of Spain date its

commencement.—"You are thus, Monsieur leCorregidor," added the emperor, "informed of the whole of my determination. Consult with your fellow-citizens, and consider what part you will choose; but whatever it be, make your choice with sincerity, and tell me only your genuine sentiments."

Opinion of General Palafox. Given by Order of his Majesty Ferdinand VII. (whom God preserve), in the City of Bayonne, the 29th April, 1808.

"**H**IS majesty having ordered me to give my opinion, in writing, whether he ought or ought not to abdicate his crown, and take in exchange that of Tuscany, as is proposed by the emperor of the French;—I declare my opinion to be, that he ought not by any means to abdicate his crown, nor can he do so without violating his honour, and the engagements which he has contracted with his subjects, who took the oath of allegiance to him as heir of the crown. An additional reason is this, that his majesty is absent from his dominions, and consequently in a situation where no act of that description can be valid; such an act can the less stand good, as he is deluded and deceived by the false insinuations of the emperor Napoleon, and absolutely despoiled of all liberty. Besides, to render an act of this nature valid, it would be necessary to call a meeting of the cortes, and with their consent, his majesty might adopt any resolution which he should deem expedient. I am further of opinion, that he cannot accept of the crown
of

of Tuscany in exchange without disgracing his own, which he wears with so much dignity, especially because it is no equivalent, as is pretended by the emperor, and is moreover the lawful property of the most serene infant Charles Lewis, who has been proclaimed king of Etruria, and would undoubtedly have the right to claim that crown. On these and other palpable grounds, his majesty ought not by any means to accede to the proposal of the emperor, because it is disgraceful and contrary to the high dignity of the Spanish throne; nor ought any degree of violence or force move his majesty to accept the above proposal, as the acceptance of it would render him guilty of gross misconduct in the face of all Europe.

"This is my opinion, given in obedience to his majesty's order communicated to me, and signed by me in Bayonne, the 29th April, 1808.

"FON. REVOL. DE PALAFOX
Y MELZI.

"And in order that it may be known, I grant this certificate copy thereof, under my hand and the royal seal,

"PEDRO LEBALLOR."

"Bayonne, the 30th April, 1808."

At the time when Don Founvisro Revollo de Palafox y Melzi gave his opinion in Bayonne, he was brigadier-general in the royal service, acting lord of the bedchamber, and master of the horse to his majesty Ferdinand VII. He is now second in command of the army of Arragon, general of horse, and one of the deputies of the kingdom of Arragon, to the cen-

tral or supreme junta of Spain.—*Political and Literary Courier of Salamanca, of Sept. 17, 1808.*

Extract from the Address of his Imperial and Royal Majesty to the Legislative Body, on the 25th of October, 1808.

"THE United States of America have chosen to renounce the commerce of the ocean, rather than acknowledge its subjugation.

"In a few days I shall put myself at the head of my armies, to crown, with God's assistance, in Madrid, the king of Spain, and to plant my eagles on the towers of Lisbon.

"I cannot but be proud of the sentiments which animate the princes who compose the confederation of the Rhine.

"Switzerland every day experiences more and more the beneficial effects of the act of mediation.

"The people of Italy furnish me with nothing but matter for satisfaction.

"The emperor of Russia and myself have seen each other at Erfurth—OUR FIRST THOUGHT WAS OF PEACE—Nay, we have even resolved to make *some sacrifices* to procure for the hundred million of men we represent, the advantages of a MARITIME PEACE.—We are agreed and permanently united for PEACE as well as for WAR."

Translation of the Chop which the Tsontoe of Canton addressed to the Senior Commander, Captains, Officers, Petty Officers, and others, belonging to the English Ships

Ships at the Port of Whampoa, and which was delivered to the said Senior Commander, Captain Milliken Craig of the Elphinstone, by the Mandarins, deputed by the Tsontoe, under a Canopy of State, surrounded by Chinese Guaras under arms, erected for the occasion on French Island, on the side of a hill, having a Chinese Camp on each side on hills each about one mile distant, and all in view from the Van Ships of the Hon. Company's Fleet, moored in Line of Battle within Gun-shot.*

I THE Mandarin Vu, by favour of my prince, tsontoe of the two provinces of Quang-tong and Quang-si, member of the tribunal of war, &c. direct this letter to the captains, officers, passengers, and others belonging to the English ships, to warn you, that being certain that your bad kingdom is situated on an island of the sea, and that you originally employed yourselves in making watches to enable you to pay your taxes; afterwards, by the especial and profound goodness of our great emperor, who was desirous of benefiting you, he granted you permission to come to this empire to trade. Behold what exalted and profound virtue belong to him!!! Notwithstanding this, the admiral of your kingdom, regardless of the laws, has brought here for the first time foreign soldiers, and without leave

introduced them into Macoa, and your chief supra-cargo uniting with him, they are, with one accord, making disturbances. This being the case, I informed the emperor from whom I have just received a decree, in virtue of which I again send mandarins deputed to inform them, that if they persist in detaining the soldiers, a great many troops shall be immediately dispatched to destroy and extinguish them, and to terminate this business, for the consequences of which the admiral and chief supra-cargo will be responsible, but you captains, officers, passengers, and others, people of the ships, shall be free from all responsibility, if you remain quietly in the observance of the laws; and after the soldiers of your nation shall be entirely withdrawn, I shall feel it my duty to inform the emperor, praying him to have the goodness to permit you to carry on your trade as formerly. But if you, giving ear to and obeying the admiral and chief supra-cargo, unite yourselves to them to create disturbances; when afterwards our innumerable soldiers shall arrive, who shall destroy and burn you, even if you are as hard as stone or jasper, I shall then not be able to use you with any indulgence nor free you from the net of the law in which you will be ensnared; and in order that you may be obedient and discreet, I direct this chop to you. In the 13th year of the Emperor

* In Nov. and Dec. 1808, there were at Whampoa 13 of the hon. company's ships, each of 1200 tons, and one of 800 tons, the commodore, capt. M. Craig, of the Elphinstone; the tonnage, 16,400 tons; mounting 494 guns, and carrying 2080 men; there were also 17,350 tons of country ships, mounting 228 guns, and carrying 2075 men. The estimated value of these shipping and their cargoes, was upwards of 6 millions sterling, and the Chinese in Canton were in possession of as much more property belonging to the East-India Company and British subjects.

Kia King, on the 17th day of the 10th Moon, (3d Dec. 1808.)

Memorandum.—Received, on the 4th December, 1808, from the hands of the mandarins delegated by the *tsontoe*, who were, the military brigadier mandarin Chang, and the *quangchou-foo* (governor of the city of Canton) Fu.

Answer to the foregoing.

To his Excellency the Viceroy of Quang-tong and Quang-si.

May it please your Excellency,

WE the undersigned, commanders of the hon. English East-India company's ships at Whampoa, for ourselves, our officers, and our men, have the exalted honour to acknowledge the receipt of your excellency's most gracious letter, delivered to us on French Island, on the 4th Dec. 1808, by the two mandarins, whom we are informed it was your condescending pleasure to send for that purpose.

Our object in visiting this country is purely commerce, to continue in the same manner that friendly and useful intercourse which has existed for centuries, and now become, from its magnitude, of the very first importance to both our vast empires.

We are taught in our own country, that obedience to our laws is the first essential to the well-being of the state; the same principle must apply to all countries, and we are therefore ordered, and endeavour, to venerate and obey yours; but such is the nature of our own laws and constitution, that we dare not, even in a foreign country, depart from allegiance to our own country, nor to those who

are dignified with its most exalted representation.

We understand that our admiral, who is an officer of high rank, at the request of the Portuguese, landed some troops at Macoa, to help them to defend it, against attacks from the French. This wicked nation, ever since they murdered their sovereign, have waged war upon all nations within their reach, and we understand are now marching by land to make war upon the celestial empire, as the British navy prevent them by sea.

We, of course, wish to have no concern with any disturbances in the celestial empire, and we therefore most humbly implore your excellency to order the trade to be opened, that we may thereby find employment in the quiet habits of industry, which we conceive would prevent our services being required for other purposes, but which, if called for our laws and our honour, would compel us to obey, whatever might be the consequences.

With sentiments of the most profound veneration, and prayers for your excellency's welfare, we beg leave to subscribe our names.

*Hon. Comp.'s Ship Elphinstone,
Whampoa, 7th Dec. 1808.*

(Signed) M. CRAIG, Sen. Officer.
C. E. PRESCOTT,
WM. MOFFAT,
H. MERITON,
J. LOCKE,
WM. DUNSFORD,
R. H. BROWN,
J. J. WILLIAMSON,
C. B. GRIBBLE,
LUKE DODDS,
F. ARMITAGE, (Chief Officer) for W. A. MONTAGUE,

J. STRACHAN

J. STRACHAN (Chief Officer) for RICH. NEBBITT,

J. LOCKNER,

WM. PATTERSON.

The Tsontoe's Reply.

I, Tsontoe, &c. in reply to your letter, have to inform you that I first thought that you, like your merchants, came to carry on trade, and that you would not have joined with your superiors, I mean the admiral and chief, to make disorders. Under this idea I sent you a chop. But seeing now that you do not think proper to alter your way of thinking, taking as a pretence the protection of the Portuguese, I plainly know that you have joined your opinions with those of the above superiors remaining in the same vain hope, I, the Tsontoe, have repeatedly sent my chops declaring that as long as there remained a single soldier at Macoa, and you would not obey my orders, I absolutely will not

consent to your continuing to carry on your trade. If you do not wish to trade, you may take away your ships as you think proper; but if you are desirous of pursuing your mercantile negotiations, it is necessary to remain peaceable and to obey the laws, relying with certainty that after your troops shall have entirely evacuated Macoa, that your trade shall be granted you as formerly: as your letter declares that you must of course obey the laws of the imperial dynasty, this shews that you have respect and veneration for them, therefore I have directed to you this chop with all the efficacy possible, to open yet a way for you; but after this dispatch, if your admiral and you all will not change your sentiments, and send any more letters, I have given orders that they shall not be received.

In the 13th year of Kia, King, 21st day of the 10th Moon, (7th Dec. 1808). Received 9th Dec. 1808.

A GENERAL

A GENERAL BILL OF CHRISTENINGS AND BURIALS,

From DECEMBER 15, 1807, to DECEMBER 13, 1808.

Christened { Males... 10,189 } In all, | { Females.. 9717 } 19,906 |	Buried { Males..10,228 } In all, { Females..9726 } 19,954
-----------------------------------------------------------------------	--------------------------------------------------------------

Whereof have died under.... 2 years6075 between 2 and 5.....2466 5 and 10..... 847 10 and 20 643 20 and 301300 30 and 40.....1792 40 and 50.....1971	50 and 60.....1690 60 and 70.....1499 70 and 80.....1200 80 and 90504 90 and 100.....65 100.....1 102.....1
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Increased in Burials this Year, 1820.

DISEASES.					
ABORTIVE, and		Cow Pox.....	1	Mortification....	200
Still-born.....	462	Croup.....	76	Palsy.....	98
Abscess.....	49	Diabetes.....	2	Piles.....	1
Aged.....	1554	Dropsy.....	870	Pleurisy.....	17
Ague.....	5	Evil.....	8	Purples.....	1
Apoplexy and		Fevers of all		Quinsy.....	3
suddenly.....	229	kinds.....	1168	Rheumatism....	7
Asthma and		Fistula.....	1	Scurvy.....	2
Phthisic.....	586	Flux.....	10	Small Pox.....	1169
Bedridden.....	3	Gout.....	33	Sore Throat....	9
Bleeding.....	23	Gravel, Stone,		Sores and Ul-	
Bursten and Rup-		and Strangury	18	cers.....	5
ture.....	26	Grief.....	5	Spasm.....	15
Cancer.....	54	Headmouldshot,		St. Vitus's Dance..	1
Canker.....	2	Horse-shoe-head,		Stoppage in the	
Chicken Pox....	3	and Water in		Stomach.....	12
Childbed.....	172	the Head.....	193	Teeth.....	319
Colds.....	11	Jaundice.....	39	Thrush.....	48
Colick, Gripes,		Jaw locked....	2	Tumour.....	1
&c.....	19	Inflammation..	765	Worms.....	3
Consumption..	5220	Lethargy.....	1	Venercal.....	28
Convulsions....	4164	Liver-grown....	14		
Cough & Hoop-		Lunatic.....	172		
ing Cough.....	396	Measles.....	1386		
		Miscarriage....	2		

CASUALTIES.

Bit by a Mad Cat.1

Total 335

There have been executed in the city of London and county of Surrey 5; of which number none have been reported to be buried (as such) within the bills of mortality.

VOL. L.

T

PRICES

PRICES OF STOCKS for 1808. N. B. The highest and lowest Prices of each Stock in the course of each Month, are set down in that Month.

1808.	Bank Stock.	3p. rt. 3p. ct. rel. cons.	4p. ct. 5p. ct. cons. Navy.	5p. rt. 17p. Ann.	India Stock.	India S. Sea Bond. Stock.	Old Ann.	New Ann.	Exch. Bills.	Oma.	Irish 5p. ct. 3p. ct.	Imp. Lottery Tickets.
Jan.	{ 226 { 224 { 234 { 297	64 62 63 64	82 80 82 82	100 99 — —	18 17 18 18	par. 3 dis. par 3 dis.	67 63 64 63	63 62 63 63	3 pr. 2 dis. 3 pr. 2 dis.	2 1 3 2	93 93 94 93	20/19
Feb.	{ 233 { 231 { 234 { 232	64 64 65 65	83 82 83 82	100 99 — —	18 17 18 18	3 pr. 2 dis. 2 pr. 2 dis.	69 69 72 69	64 63 66 66	5 pr. 2 dis. 10 pr. 1 pr.	— — — —	96 95 95 94	21 0
March	{ 240 { 235 { 244 { 239	65 65 66 66	85 85 86 84	100 99 — —	18 18 19 18	2 pr. 2 dis. 2 pr. 1 dis.	73 73 — —	67 66 69 68	10 pr. 2 pr. 6 pr. 2 pr.	— — 4 pr. 1 pr.	95 95 96 96	21 0
April	{ 243 { 241 { 243 { 239	67 67 68 68	86 84 85 82	100 99 — —	18 18 19 18	5 pr. 2 dis. 6 pr. 2 pr.	73 73 74 73	68 68 68 68	10 pr. 2 pr. 3 dis. 3 dis.	— — 2 pr. 2 pr.	96 96 98 96	21 10
May	{ 243 { 241 { 243 { 239	67 67 68 68	86 84 85 82	100 99 — —	18 18 19 18	2 pr. 2 dis. 6 pr. 2 pr.	73 73 74 73	68 68 68 68	10 pr. 2 pr. 3 dis. 3 dis.	— — 2 pr. 2 pr.	96 96 98 96	21 10
June	{ 240 { 235 { 244 { 239	65 65 66 66	85 85 86 84	100 99 — —	18 18 19 18	2 pr. 2 dis. 6 pr. 2 pr.	73 73 74 73	68 68 68 68	10 pr. 2 pr. 3 dis. 3 dis.	— — 2 pr. 2 pr.	95 95 96 96	21 10
July	{ 240 { 239 { 240 { 239	67 67 68 68	86 84 85 82	100 99 — —	18 18 19 18	2 pr. 2 dis. 6 pr. 2 pr.	73 73 74 73	68 68 68 68	10 pr. 2 pr. 3 dis. 3 dis.	— — 2 pr. 2 pr.	96 96 98 96	21 10
Aug.	{ 240 { 239 { 240 { 239	67 67 68 68	86 84 85 82	100 99 — —	18 18 19 18	2 pr. 2 dis. 6 pr. 2 pr.	73 73 74 73	68 68 68 68	10 pr. 2 pr. 3 dis. 3 dis.	— — 2 pr. 2 pr.	96 96 98 96	21 10
Sept.	{ 240 { 239 { 240 { 239	67 67 68 68	86 84 85 82	100 99 — —	18 18 19 18	2 pr. 2 dis. 6 pr. 2 pr.	73 73 74 73	68 68 68 68	10 pr. 2 pr. 3 dis. 3 dis.	— — 2 pr. 2 pr.	96 96 98 96	21 10
Oct.	{ 240 { 239 { 240 { 239	67 67 68 68	86 84 85 82	100 99 — —	18 18 19 18	2 pr. 2 dis. 6 pr. 2 pr.	73 73 74 73	68 68 68 68	10 pr. 2 pr. 3 dis. 3 dis.	— — 2 pr. 2 pr.	96 96 98 96	21 10
Nov.	{ 240 { 239 { 240 { 239	67 67 68 68	86 84 85 82	100 99 — —	18 18 19 18	2 pr. 2 dis. 6 pr. 2 pr.	73 73 74 73	68 68 68 68	10 pr. 2 pr. 3 dis. 3 dis.	— — 2 pr. 2 pr.	96 96 98 96	21 10
Dec.	{ 240 { 239 { 240 { 239	67 67 68 68	86 84 85 82	100 99 — —	18 18 19 18	2 pr. 2 dis. 6 pr. 2 pr.	73 73 74 73	68 68 68 68	10 pr. 2 pr. 3 dis. 3 dis.	— — 2 pr. 2 pr.	96 96 98 96	21 10

List of the principal Public Acts passed in the second Session of the fourth Parliament of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland.—42th of Geo. III.

AN act for regulating the issuing and paying off of exchequer bills.

An act for continuing to his majesty certain duties on malt, sugar, tobacco, and snuff, in Great Britain; and on pensions and offices in England; and for repealing so much of certain acts as relate to certain duties of sixpence and one shilling respectively on offices and pensions, and for regranting the said duties of sixpence and one shilling respectively, and the said other duties, for the service of the year 1808.

An act for empowering the governor and company of the bank of England to advance the sum of three millions, towards the supply for the service of the year 1808.

An act to authorise the advancing, for the public service, upon certain conditions, a proportion of the balance remaining in the bank of England for payment of unclaimed dividends, annuities, and lottery prizes; and for regulating the allowances to be paid for the management of the national debt.

An act for repealing an act made in the 47th year of his present majesty, intituled, "An act for suspending the operation of an act of the 36th year of his present majesty, for the further support and maintenance of curates within the church of England," and for other purposes in the said act mentioned; so far as relates to the avoidance of benefices by the incumbents thereof having accepted augmented curacies.

An act for raising the sum of 10,500,000*l.* by exchequer bills, for the service of Great Britain for the year 1808.

An act for permitting the importation of goods from the Portuguese territories on the continent of South America in Portuguese ships.

An act to amend and continue, until the 25th of March, 1809, so much of an act of the 47th year of his present majesty as allows certain bounties on British plantation raw sugar exported.

An act for settling and securing a certain annuity on viscount Lake, and the two next persons to whom the title of viscount Lake shall descend, in consideration of the eminent services of the late general viscount Lake.

An act for making perpetual several laws relating to permitting the exportation of tobacco-pipe clay from Great-Britain to the British sugar colonies in the West Indies; the importation of salt from Europe into Quebec in America; and the prohibiting of foreign-wrought silks and velvets.

An act to continue several laws relating to the granting a bounty on the importation into Great-Britain of hemp, and rough and undressed flax, from his majesty's colonies in America; and to the more effectually encouraging the manufacture of flax and cotton in Great-Britain, until the 25th of March, 1810; and for granting a bounty upon certain species of British and Irish linens exported from Great-Britain, and taking off the duties on importation into Great-Britain of foreign raw linen yarns made of flax, until the 25th of March, 1811.

T 2

PRICES OF STOCKS for 1808. N. B. The highest and lowest Prices of each Stock in the course of each Month, are set down in that Month.

1808.	Bank Stock.	3 p. ct. red.	3 p. ct. con.	4 p. ct. con.	5 p. ct. Navy.	5 p. ct. 1797. Ann.	India Stock.	India S. Sea Stock.	Old Ann.	New Ann.	Exch. Bills.	Omn. 2½ pr.	Irish 5 p. ct. 03¾	Imp. 5 p. ct. 63¾	Lottery Tickets. 207.19.
									637	637	3 pr.	2½ pr.			

with regard to the course of proceeding on indictments, and informations in the court of king's bench in certain cases: for authorising the execution in Scotland of certain warrants issued for offences committed in England; and for requiring officers taking bail in the king's suit to assign the bail bonds to the king.

An act for enabling his majesty to settle an annuity on her royal highness the duchess of Brunswick Wolfenbützel.

An act for repealing an act passed in the 1st year of king James the 1st, intituled, "An act concerning tanners, curriers, shoe-makers, and other artificers occupying the cutting of leather;" and also for repealing and amending certain parts of several other acts of parliament relating thereto.

An act to continue, until the end of the next session of parliament, an act of the 45th year of his present majesty, for appointing commissioners to enquire into the public expenditure, and the conduct of the public business in the military departments therein mentioned.

An act to amend an act made in the 46th year of his present majesty, for enabling his majesty to accept the services of volunteers from the militia of Ireland.

An act for enforcing the residence of spiritual persons on their benefices in Ireland.

An act for granting an additional duty on copper imported into Great Britain, until the 5th of April, 18 from thence to the end of the next session of parliament.

to provide that the British ships which shall be captured by the enemy, and shall afterwards

become the property of British subjects, shall not be entitled to the privilege of British ships.

An act to amend so much of two acts of this session of parliament, for carrying into execution certain orders in council, as relates to the duties on goods exported from the warehouses in which they have been secured on importation, and on certain prize goods imported into Great-Britain or Ireland.

An act for providing suitable interment in church-yards or parochial burying-grounds in England for such dead human bodies as may be cast on shore from the sea, in cases of wreck or otherwise.

An act for raising the sum of 10 500,000*l.* by way of annuities.

An act to enable his majesty to vest the right of appointment of master of the free-school of Londonderry, in the city and county of Londonderry, in the bishop of Derry for the time being.

An act to regulate the trade between Great-Britain and the United States of America, until the end of the next session of parliament.

An act for repealing the rates and taxes taken by licensed hackney-coachmen, and for establishing others in lieu thereof; and for amending several laws relating to hackney-coaches.

An act to restrain the negotiation of promissory notes and inland bills of exchange, under a limited sum, in England.

An act for enabling the commissioners appointed to examine accounts of public expenditure in the barrack-office more speedily and effectually to investigate the said accounts.

An act to enable the commissioners

sioners for auditing public accounts, and the commissioners for the affairs of barracks respectively, to send and receive letters and packets on the business of their offices free of postage.

An act to repeal so much of an act made in the 47th year of his present majesty, for charging the sum of 12,200,000*l.* raised for the service of Great-Britain for the year 1807. upon the duties of customs and excise granted to his majesty, during the continuance of the present war, as relates to money issued for charges of management of stock redeemed.

An act to repeal so much of an act of the 1st year of king James I. as relates to the penalties on shooting at hares; and also to repeal an act of the 3d year of king George I. relating to game-keepers.

An act for repealing so much of an act made in the parliament of Scotland, in the fourth session of the first parliament of queen Anne, intituled, "Act for preserving the game," as relates to the shooting of hares.

An act for the better care and maintenance of lunatics, being paupers or criminals in England.

An act for further extending the provisions of several acts, for establishing the bank of Ireland; and for empowering the governor and company of the said bank to advance the sum of 1,250,000*l.* Irish currency, towards the service of the year 1808.

An act to remedy the inconvenience which has arisen, and may arise, from the expiration of acts, before the passing of acts to continue the same.

An act for enabling his majesty to establish a permanent local mi-

litia force, under certain restrictions, for the defence of the realm.

An act for raising the sum of 500,000*l.* by treasury bills for the service of Ireland for the year 1808.

An act for raising the sum of six millions, by exchequer bills, for the service of Great-Britain for the year 1808.

An act to prohibit the distillation of spirit from corn or grain, for a limited time.

An act for regulating the charging of the duty on spirits imported into Great-Britain, according to the strength thereof.

An act for reducing the duty of customs on coffee imported into Great-Britain when taken out of warehouse for home consumption.

An act for the discharge of debtors in execution for small debts from imprisonment, in certain cases.

An act to render valid certain marriages solemnized in certain churches and public chapels in which the banns had not usually been published before or at the time of passing an act made in the 26th year of the reign of his late majesty king George II. intituled, "An act for the better preventing of clandestine marriages."

An act to repeal so much of an act passed in the 8th year of the reign of queen Elizabeth, intituled, "An act to take away the benefit of clergy from certain offenders for felony," as takes away the benefit of clergy from persons stealing privately from the person of another; and for more effectually preventing the crime of larceny from the person.

An act to extend the provisions of an act, passed in the 45th year of his present majesty, for the encouragement

couragement of seamen and better manning his majesty's navy, to cases arising in consequence of hostilities commenced since the passing of the said act.

An act for enlarging the times appointed for the first meetings of commissioners and other persons for putting in execution certain acts of this session of parliament.

An act to amend the laws relating to the marking of bags and packets of hops.

An act to amend and enlarge the powers of an act of the 46th year of his present majesty, for consolidating and rendering more effectual the several acts for the purchase of buildings and further improvement of the streets and places near to Westminster-hall and the two houses of parliament.

An act for the more effectual administration of the office of a justice of the peace, and for the more effectual prevention of felonies within the district of Dublin metropolis.

An act to amend the acts relating to the duties of assessed taxes, and of the tax upon the profits of property, professions, trades, and offices, and to regulate the assessment and collection of the same.

An act for enabling the commissioners for the reduction of the

national debt to grant life annuities.

An act for the more effectual protection of oyster fisheries and the brood of oysters in England.

An act for enabling his majesty to grant annuities to the judges of the court of session, justiciary, and exchequer in Scotland, upon the resignation of their offices.

An act for granting to his majesty a certain sum of money out of the consolidated fund of Great-Britain, and for applying certain monies therein mentioned for the service of the year 1808; and for further appropriating the supplies granted in this session of parliament.

An act for repealing the stamp duties on deeds, law proceedings, and other written or printed instruments, and the duties on legacies and successions to personal estates upon intestacies, now payable in Great-Britain; and for granting new duties in lieu thereof.

An act for enabling his majesty to establish a permanent local militia force in Scotland, under certain restrictions, for the defence of the realm.

An act concerning the administration of justice in Scotland, and concerning appeals to the house of lords.

STATE PAPERS.

His Majesty's Speech to both Houses of Parliament, Jan. 21.

THIS day parliament assembled, pursuant to his majesty's proclamation, when the commissioners, appointed to open the session, read the following speech :

“ My Lords and Gentlemen,

“ We have received his majesty's commands to assure you, that in calling you together at this important juncture of affairs, he entertains the most perfect conviction that he shall find in you the same determination with which his majesty himself is animated, to uphold the honour of his crown, and the just rights and interests of his people. We are commanded by his majesty to inform you, that no sooner had the result of the negotiations at Tilsit confirmed the influence and controul of France over the powers of the continent, than his majesty was apprised of the intention of the enemy to combine those powers in one general confederacy, to be directed either to the entire subjugation of this kingdom, or to the imposing upon his majesty an insecure and ignominious peace. That for this purpose, it was determined to force into hostility against his majesty,

states which had hitherto been allowed by France to maintain or to purchase their neutrality ; and to bring to bear against different points of his majesty's dominions the whole of the naval force of Europe, and specifically the fleets of Portugal and Denmark. To place these fleets out of the power of such a confederacy became therefore the indispensable duty of his majesty. In the execution of this duty, so far as related to the Danish fleet, his majesty has commanded us to assure you that it was with the deepest reluctance that his majesty found himself compelled, after his earnest endeavours to open negotiation with the Danish government had failed, to authorise his commanders to resort to the extremity of force, but that he has the greatest satisfaction in congratulating you upon the successful execution of this painful but necessary service.—We are further commanded to acquaint you, that the course which his majesty had to pursue with respect to Portugal was, happily, of a nature more congenial to his majesty's feelings. The timely and unreserved communication by the court of Lisbon, of the demands and designs of France, while

while it confirmed to his majesty the authenticity of the advices which he had received from other quarters, entitled that court to his majesty's confidence, in the sincerity of the assurances by which that communication was accompanied. The fleet of Portugal was destined by France to be employed as an instrument of vengeance against Great Britain. That fleet has been secured from the grasp of France, and is now employed in conveying to its American dominions the hopes and fortunes of the Portuguese monarchy. His majesty implores the protection of Divine Providence upon that enterprise, rejoicing in the preservation of a power so long the friend and ally of Great Britain, and in the prospect of its establishment in the new world with augmented strength and splendour.—We have it in command from his majesty to inform you, that the determination of the enemy to excite hostilities between his majesty and his late allies, the emperors of Russia and Austria, and the king of Prussia, has been but too successful; and that the ministers from those powers have demanded and received their passports. This measure, on the part of Russia, has been attempted to be justified by a statement of wrongs and grievances which have no real foundation. The emperor of Russia had indeed proffered his mediation between his majesty and France. His majesty did not refuse that mediation; but he is confident you will feel the propriety of its not having been accepted until his majesty should have been enabled to ascertain that Russia was in a condition to mediate impartially, and until the prin-

ciples of the basis on which France was ready to negotiate, were made known to his majesty. No pretence of justification can be alleged for the hostile conduct of the emperor of Austria, or for that of his Prussian majesty. His majesty has not given the slightest ground of complaint to either of those sovereigns; nor even at the moment when they have respectively withdrawn their ministers, have they assigned to his majesty any distinct cause for that proceeding.—His majesty has directed that copies of the correspondence between his majesty's ambassadors and the minister for foreign affairs of his imperial majesty the emperor of Russia, during the negotiations of Tilsit, and the official note of the Russian minister at this court, containing the offer of his imperial majesty's mediation between his majesty and France, together with the answer returned to that note by his majesty's command; and also copies of the official notes presented by the Austrian minister at this court, and of the answers which his majesty commanded to be returned to them, should be laid before you. It is with concern that his majesty commands us to inform you, that, notwithstanding his earnest wishes to terminate the war in which he is engaged with the Ottoman Porte, his majesty's endeavours, unhappily for the Turkish empire, have been defeated by the machinations of France, not less the enemy of the Porte than of Great Britain. But while the influence of France has been thus unfortunately successful in preventing the termination of existing hostilities, and in exciting new wars against this country; his majesty commands

commands us to inform you, that the king of Sweden has resisted every attempt to induce him to abandon his alliance with Great Britain; and that his majesty entertains no doubt that you will feel with him the sacredness of the duty which the firmness and fidelity of the king of Sweden impose upon his majesty; and that you will concur in enabling his majesty to discharge it in a manner worthy of this country.—It remains for us, according to his majesty's command, to state to you that the treaty of commerce and amity between his majesty and the United States of America, which was concluded and signed by commissioners duly authorised for that purpose, on the 31st of December, 1806, has not taken effect, in consequence of the refusal of the president of the United States to ratify that instrument. For an unauthorised act of force, committed against an American ship of war, his majesty did not hesitate to offer immediate and spontaneous reparation. But an attempt has been made by the American government to connect with the question which has arisen out of this act, pretensions inconsistent with the maritime rights of Great Britain; such pretensions his majesty is determined never to admit.—His majesty, nevertheless, hopes that the American government will be actuated by the same desire to preserve the relations of peace and friendship between the two countries which has ever influenced his majesty's conduct, and that any difficulties in the discussion now pending may be effectually removed.—His majesty has commanded us to state to you, that, in consequence of the decree by which

France declared the whole of his majesty's dominions to be in a state of blockade, and subjected to seizure and confiscation of the produce and manufactures of his kingdom, his majesty resorted, in the first instance, to a measure of mitigated retaliation; and that this measure having proved ineffectual for its object, his majesty has since found it necessary to adopt others of greater rigour, which, he commands us to state to you, will require the aid of parliament to give them complete and effectual operation. His majesty has directed copies of the orders which he has issued with the advice of his privy council upon this subject to be laid before you; and he commands us to recommend them to your early attention.

“Gentlemen of the House of Commons,

“His majesty has directed the estimates for the ensuing year to be laid before you, in the fullest confidence that your loyalty and public spirit will induce you to make such provisions for the public service as the urgency of affairs may require. His majesty has great satisfaction in informing you, that, notwithstanding the difficulties which the enemy has endeavoured to impose upon the commerce of his subjects, and upon their intercourse with other nations, the resources of the country have continued in the last year to be so abundant, as to have produced, both from the permanent and temporary revenue, a receipt considerably larger than that of the preceding year. The satisfaction which his majesty feels assured you will derive, in common with his majesty, from this proof of the
solidity

solidity of these resources, cannot but be greatly increased, if, as his majesty confidently hopes, it shall be found possible to raise the necessary supplies for the present year without any material addition to the public burthens.

"My Lords, and Gentlemen,
"We are especially commanded to say to you, in the name of his majesty, that, if ever there was a just and national war, it is that which his majesty is now compelled to prosecute. This war is in its principle purely defensive. His majesty looks but to the attainment of a secure and honourable peace: but such a peace can only be negotiated upon a footing of perfect equality. The eyes of Europe and of the world are fixed upon the British parliament. If, as his majesty confidently trusts, you display in this crisis of the fate of the country the characteristic spirit of the British nation, and face unappalled the unnatural combination which is gathered around us, his majesty bids us to assure you of his firm persuasion, that, under the blessing of Divine Providence, the struggle will prove successful and glorious to Great Britain.—We are lastly commanded to assure you, that in this awful and momentous contest, you may rely on the firmness of his majesty, who has no cause but that of his people; and that his majesty reciprocally relies on the wisdom, the constancy, and the affectionate support of his parliament."

Napoleon, and dated at the Thuilleries, Jan. 11, 1808.

NAPOLÉON, &c. upon the report of our minister of finances, seeing our decrees of the 23d November, and 11th December, 1807; with the concurrence of our council of state we have decreed and do decree as follows:—Art. 1. When a vessel shall enter into a French port, or in that of a country occupied by our armies, any man of the crew, or a passenger, who shall declare to the principal of the custom-house, that the said ship comes from England or her colonies or countries occupied by English troops, or that it has been visited by an English vessel, shall receive a third part of the produce of the net sale of the ship and cargo, if it is known that his declaration is exact.—Art. 2. The principal of the custom-house, who shall receive the declaration mentioned in the preceding article, shall, in conjunction with the commissary of police, who shall be called on for that purpose, and the two principal custom-house officers of the port, cause each of the crew and passengers to undergo, separately, the interrogatory prescribed by the second article of our decree of the 23d November, 1807.—Art. 3. Any functionary or agent of government, who shall be convicted of having favoured the contravention of our decrees of the 23d of November and 17th December, 1807, shall be prosecuted in the criminal court of the department of the Seine, which shall be formed into a special tribunal for this purpose, and punished, if convicted, as if guilty

French Commercial Decree, signed

guilty of high treason.—Art. 4. Our ministers are charged, each in his respective department, with the execution of the present decree.

Russian Declaration against Sweden, Feb. 10, 1808.

JUSTLY indignant at the violence which England has displayed towards the king of Denmark, the emperor of Russia, faithful to his character and to his system of unceasing care for the interests of his empire, notified to the king of Great Britain, that he could not remain insensible of so unjust and unexampled an aggression on a sovereign connected with him by the ties of blood and friendship, and who was the most ancient ally of Russia.—His imperial majesty informed the king of Sweden of this determination by a note, dated the 24th of September last, presented to the Swedish ambassador.—An article of the treaty concluded in 1783, between the empress Catharine and Gustavus III. and another in the treaty of 1800, between the late emperor Paul and the present king of Sweden, contain the reciprocal and stipulated agreement to maintain the principle, that the Baltic is a close sea, with the guarantee of its coasts against all acts of hostility, violence, or vexations whatever; and further, to employ for this purpose all the means in the power of the respective contracting parties. His imperial majesty, referring to these treaties, considered himself not merely authorised, but bound, to call upon the king of Sweden for his co-operation against England.—His Swedish majesty did

not disavow the obligation imposed upon him by the treaties referred to, but refused all co-operation until the French troops should be removed from the coasts, and the ports of Germany opened to English ships. But the question here was the checking of those aggressions which England had commenced, and by which all Europe was disturbed. The emperor demanded from the king of Sweden a co-operation founded on treaties; but his Swedish majesty answered by proposing to delay the execution of the treaty to another period, and by troubling himself with the care of opening the Dutch ports, for England. In a word, with rendering himself of service to that England, against which measures of defence ought to have been taken. It would be difficult to find a more striking proof of partiality on the part of the king of Sweden towards Great Britain, than this which he has here given.—His imperial majesty, on the 16th of November, caused a second note to be delivered, in which his Swedish majesty was informed of the rupture between Russia and England.—This note remained two months unanswered, and the answer which was transmitted on the 9th of January to his majesty's ministers, was to the same purport as the former.—The emperor is, however, far from regretting his moderation. He is, on the contrary, well pleased to recollect that he has employed every means that remained to him for bringing back his Swedish majesty to the only system of policy which is consistent with the interests of his states; but his imperial majesty owes it at least

to

to his people, and to the security of his dominions, which is to a sovereign the highest of all laws, no longer to leave the co-operation of Russia with Sweden a matter of doubt.—Informed that the cabinet of St. James's, endeavouring to terrify Denmark into a concurrence with the interests of England, threatened that Swedish troops should occupy Zealand, and that the possession of Norway should be guaranteed to the king of Sweden; assured also that his Swedish majesty, while he left the Russian note unanswered, was secretly negotiating a treaty at London, his imperial majesty perceived that the interests of his empire would be very ill secured, were he to permit his neighbour, the king of Sweden, at the commencement of a war between Russia and England, to disguise his well-known sentiments of attachment to the latter power, under the appearance of a pretended neutrality. His imperial majesty, therefore, cannot allow the relations of Sweden towards Russia to remain longer in a state of uncertainty. He cannot give his consent to such a neutrality.—His Swedish majesty's being therefore no longer doubtful, nothing remained for his imperial majesty but to resort to those means which Providence has placed in his hands, for no other purpose except that of giving protection and safety to his dominions; and he has deemed it right to notify this intention to the king of Sweden and to all Europe.—Having thus acquitted himself of that duty, which the safety of his dominions require, his imperial majesty is ready to change the measures he is about to take, to measures of precaution only, if the

king of Sweden will, without delay, join Russia and Denmark in shutting the Baltic against England until the conclusion of a maritime peace. He himself invites the king, his brother-in-law, for the last time, and with all the feelings of real friendship, no longer to hesitate in fulfilling his obligations, and in embracing the only system of policy which is consistent with the interests of the northern powers. What has Sweden gained since her king attached himself to England?—Nothing could be more painful to his imperial majesty than to see a rupture take place between Sweden and Russia. But his Swedish majesty has it still in his power to prevent this event by, without delay, resolving to adopt that course which can alone preserve a strict union and perfect harmony between the two states.

Russian Proclamation to the Inhabitants of Finland, Feb. 18, 1808.

IT is with the utmost concern his imperial majesty, my most gracious master, finds himself necessitated to order his troops under my command to enter your country, good friends and inhabitants of Swedish Finland.—His imperial majesty feels the more concerned to take this step, to which he is compelled by the transactions which have taken place in Sweden, as he still bears in mind the generous and friendly sentiments which the Fins displayed towards Russia in the last war, when the Swedish king engaged in an invasion of Finland, in a manner equally unexpected and unwarrantable.—His present Swedish majesty, far from joining his imperial

imperial majesty in his exertions to restore the tranquillity of Europe, which alone can be effected by the coalition which so fortunately has been formed by the most powerful states, has on the contrary formed a closer alliance with the enemy of tranquillity and peace, whose oppressive system and unwarrantable conduct towards his imperial majesty and his nearest ally, his imperial majesty cannot by any means look upon with indifference.—It is on this ground, in addition to what his majesty owes to the security of his own dominions, that he finds himself necessitated to take your country under his protection, in order to reserve to himself due satisfaction, in case his royal Swedish majesty should persist in his design not to accept the just conditions of peace which have been tendered to him by his French majesty, through the mediation of his imperial Russian majesty, in order to restore the blessings of peace, which are at all times the principal object of his imperial majesty's attention.—Good friends and men of Finland, remain quiet and fear nought, we do not come to you as enemies, but as your friends and protectors, to render you more prosperous and happy, and to avert from you the calamities which, if war should become indispensable, must necessarily befall you.—Do not allow yourself to be seduced to take to arms, or to treat in a hostile manner the troops who are committed to my orders; should any one offend against this admonition, he must impute to himself the consequences of his conduct, while, on the other hand, those who meet his imperial majesty's paternal care for

the welfare of this country, may rest assured of his powerful favour and protection.—And as it is his imperial majesty's will, that all the affairs in your country shall pursue their usual course, and be managed according to your ancient laws and customs, which are to remain undisturbed as long as his troops remain in your country, all officers both civil and military, are herewith directed to conform themselves thereto, provided that no bad use be made of this indulgence, contrary to the good of the country.—Prompt payment shall be made for all provisions and refreshments required for the troops, and in order that you may still more be convinced of his majesty's paternal solicitude for your welfare, he has ordered several magazines to be formed, in addition to those which are already established, out of which the most indigent inhabitants shall be supplied with necessaries in common with his majesty's troops.—Should circumstances arise to require an amicable discussion and deliberation, in that case you are directed to send your deputies, chosen in the usual manner, to the city of Abo, in order to deliberate upon the subject, and adopt such measures as the welfare of the country shall require.—It is his imperial majesty's pleasure, that from this moment Finland shall be considered and treated in the same manner as other conquered provinces of the Russian empire, which now enjoy happiness and peace under the mild government of his imperial majesty, and remain in full possession of the freedom of religion and worship, as well as of all its ancient rights and privileges.—The taxes payable to the crown remain in substance unaltered,

altered, and the pay of the public officers of every description continues likewise on its ancient footing.

Swedish Declaration against Russia, March 11, 1808.

THE first intimation his majesty received of the hostile entrance of Russian troops into Finland on the 21st of February last, and of their public incitements to rebellion and revolt circulated in that province immediately afterwards, on behalf of his imperial Russian majesty, was by a telegraphic dispatch.—A breach of peace without a previous declaration of war, without a single article of complaint being preferred; a breach of peace emanating from treachery, and carried on by a traitor of his native country, placed at the side of the commander in chief, is an event which has but few examples, and must at the first glance create detestation; but when this act is examined at the same time with what has lately occurred between the two countries; when contemplated in its forbidding deviation from those paths of truth and honour exemplified by his ally, no feeling can then express, no name can compass the extent of such depravity; its features will remain without a parallel in history, filling up the deeds of iniquity heaped to-

gether in the present age.—At a time when his imperial Russian majesty seemed to feel tenderly for oppressed princes and countries; at a time when he estimated the dangers which threatened all Europe, his majesty, actuated by similar sentiments, was led into engagements with him, founded on the confidence he placed in him as a neighbour, an ally, and as an independent monarch. The emperor of Russia, in reference to the general welfare, had entered into useful engagements, had yet to demand of France the fulfilment of existing treaties, was possessed of power to support his own rights and those of all others concerned; his majesty entered into an alliance with him, and is now attacked by him on the direct ground of having been his ally. Never did a prince enter into an alliance with a more assured consciousness of the purity of its motives, as well as of its being inviolably kept. The emperor had been personally insulted by the refusal of the French government to fulfil a concluded and sealed treaty; had been publicly defamed by repeated insults levelled at his own person. The Russian nation had been no less insulted, being gazetted as savages and barbarians.† Thus every thing that is sacred to a government, was connected with the common interest. Was

* George Springporten.

† A people (the Russians) who from their barbarous customs and manners ought to create abhorrence amongst all civilized nations.—Ordre du Jour. Vienne, le 25 Brumaire, An. 14 (14th November, 1805.)—These savage bands, whose assistance shall for the last time, be called forth by European governments—26 bulletin de la grand armée, le 25 Brumaire, An. 14. If the Greek religion be allowed once to spread itself between the Baltic and the Mediterranean seas, we shall soon see our provinces attacked by a heap of mad barbarians—proclamation, the head-quarters, Warsaw, 25th Jan. 1807. Signed Napoleon Buonaparte.

it then possible but to look upon as irrevocable, what the emperor himself had declared, "that he would reject all conditions of peace, whether more or less advantageous, if they were not consistent with the glory of the Russian name; the security of the empire; the sanctity of alliances; and the tranquillity and peace of all Europe."^{*}—In what manner, and how far these great objects have been obtained by the peace of Tilsit, contemporaries have already decided, and futurity will more clearly discover. The king, although at his post on the theatre of war, was, contrary to the express tenor of his convention with Russia,† neither informed of the armistice, nor of the definitive negotiations, till the peace was concluded, having received advice of these transactions, accompanied with a cold and slight invitation to assist in the object of peace,‡ the king renewed his application for an armistice (which ought, no doubt, to have been stipulated in the peace of Tilsit), but received only evasive answers, and discovered at once the value of Russian co-operation. The king finding himself in consequence unable to defend his German states any longer, was obliged to leave them to their subsequent

fate. Having sustained this loss, originating in the desertion of Russia, his majesty was again placed out of the theatre of war, and endeavoured to enjoy within his own territory that peace and quietness which its geographical situation seemed to ensure to him. Having faithfully acted up to his engagements towards Russia, his majesty promised himself that notwithstanding the different system she had adopted, a just and equitable retrospect would be given to former occurrences. The king had supported the operations of Russia with his ships of war; had shared with the emperor his military stores; had rejected and immediately communicated the offers made him by the French government.¶ Among others, one that on condition of breaking with Russia while in the midst of the war, and when the Russian frontiers and her very capital were defenceless, Sweden should be put in possession of all the provinces lost during the reign of Charles XII, together with such further part of the Russian empire as his majesty might determine. His majesty stands on higher ground than to make a merit of having resisted temptations so mean and contemptible; but he is not without

^{*} See the Russian manifesto of the 30th August, 1806.

† Both the high contracting parties had engaged in the most powerful manner, that the hostilities being once commenced, they should not lay down their arms, or treat about any reconciliation with the French government without their mutual consent. The convention between Sweden and Russia, dated the 14th January, 1805.—Art. IX.

‡ General Budberg's letter to baron de Wetterstedt, first secretary for the foreign correspondence, dated the 10th July, 1807.

¶ Promise of Norway given by general Bernadotte to a Swedish officer—a prisoner, Nov. 1806, respecting the extending of dominions of the French minister Bourienne, to Netzel the chargé des affaires, the 14th November, 1806. General Grandjean's representation to colonel baron Tavast, the 27th May, 1807, that Sweden was to demand what territory she wished to have in order that she might counterbalance Russia, &c. &c.

hopes that the aggregated censure due to a power thus spared in the hour of danger, will be proportioned to its oppressive conduct towards this kingdom.—The consequences of the secret articles of the treaty of Tilsit, which were immediately suspected, and which the Russian ministry have since acknowledged, began by degrees to unfold themselves. England's commercial monopoly, that ridiculous scarecrow, erected by the French government, in order to usurp to itself the Continent, was also brought forward for the contemplation of the North, for the sake of extending, even to that part of the world, the oppression and misery which, from port to port, from state to state, Europe had been subjected to. No government is any longer left to its own light and experience; no people to their own lawful industry; no middle class must be acknowledged between the vassal and the enemy. Peace signifies confederacy—confederacy, submission; and from Paris must proceed the mandates which are to dictate both principles, laws, and ordinances, to the self-styled, independent confederacy, while they promote only a lust for power, and violate what is most sacred in society and between societies.—Preparations were made in conformity at St. Petersburg last autumn, for a rupture with England, and they waited only for the proper season of the year to be able, with somewhat more security, to carry that measure into effect. A proposal was made to his royal majesty, in a note, dated the 6th of October, to assist agreeably to the convention made in 1780, in shutting the Baltic against foreign ships of war. His

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majesty, on the 13th November, returned for answer that so long as the French government was in possession of so many harbours on the south side of the Baltic, and there exercised their system of exclusion, the Baltic could not be kept peaceable. His majesty in consequence also requested that his imperial majesty would first endeavour to prevail on the French to quit those ports; and when the first-mentioned application was renewed on the 27th of the same month, as an objection grounded on the convention of 1780, his majesty circumstantially declared on the 21st Jan. last, that by virtue of the convention made in the year 1801, between Russia and England, and to which his majesty at the pressing instance of Russia, and under her own guarantee, became a party, the previous armed neutrality had entirely ceased. That his majesty had then entered into direct engagements with England, in reference to that object, and which could not equitably be departed from, so long as the latter power, on her side, fulfilled her obligations. That at the same time that the armed neutrality was done away with, the stipulations grounded therein, respecting the shutting of the Baltic, became null and void, and which was the less applicable to existing circumstances, as the Danish naval force, then calculated upon, no longer was in being; not to mention that England had since that time discovered the passage through the great Belt. But that of Sweden could not with her arms contribute to the protection of the Baltic, she would, on the other hand, take upon herself to obtain, by negotiation with England, that

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she should not send any ships of war into those seas, provided no other power made armaments there, or new hostilities should oblige her to come there as an assistant. That Sweden should be called upon to serve Russia as outworks, because she had thought proper to provoke England; that Sweden should sacrifice her fleet and commerce as a defence for Cronstadt and Revel, was asking rather too much; yet immediately after these representations, Russia actually commenced her preparations for war on the frontiers of Finland. His majesty continued, notwithstanding, to view them with calm forbearance; for as yet no specific complaints had been preferred, nor had any unconditional demands been made. The proposal (his majesty had made) of an agreement to protect the Baltic, presented aspects of tranquillity and advantage to Russia, to all the north, which it would appear could not, but under great responsibility, be refused. The ports of Russia would thereby become more frequent than they had been since the commencement of the war, and might obtain an emulation in trade respecting their produce, unknown for many years. Neighbourly friendship, commerce, repose after an unfortunate war, and some motives for applause after a still more unfortunate peace, such were the advantages to be derived from the proposals which the king made to the emperor. They were made with a well-grounded confidence in the concurrence of England, and his majesty expected Russia's consent would have arrived much earlier than the dreaded English fleet could shew itself as an avenger in the Baltic. He pressed

a speedy answer, and it was intended that the king's ambassador should, on the 15th of February, in a private audience with the emperor, which was promised him, urge this important concern; when at once the communication of the embassy with Sweden was in a violent manner interrupted, and Russian troops entered Finland with the following proclamations: [Here follow the Russian proclamations, dated Frederiksham the 18th (6th) Feb. 1808, and Louisa, 19th (22d) Feb. 1808, already published]. The declaration then concludes as follows:—Let every legal government, let every brave and honest warrior, every loyal subject, judge of this conduct: a treacherous invasion of a peaceful neighbour's country, preceded by manifestoes inviting to rebellion, are things at all times detestable, even in these latter times, otherwise so burthened with examples of violence and injustice. The Russian empire, the ally of France, is not, it would seem, powerful enough to abide upon the common terms of the law of nations, the resistance of a province left to defend itself on account of the season of the year. It calls forth the aid of treachery and treason. The government expects to purchase the Finlanders *en masse*, under promises of liberty; but the commander of the army offers to purchase the soldiers individually, like slaves, in the market of St. Petersburg or Riga.—Ye youthful inhabitants of Finland, a people worthy of esteem; your king has, during the whole of his reign, paid attention to your instruction, to the cultivation and prosperity of your country. A faithless neighbour threatens to hurt you

you back to the state you were in in ages past, because your neighbourhood is become a reproach to him. His sword is brandished over your heads; his plundering hands are stretched towards your property; his forces approach your dwelling, and his promises and protestations have no other aim than to facilitate his access to you. Deeply grieved at the distresses inseparable from war, although conscious of in no wise having been the cause of it, your king rests assured that your hearts will remain unseduced and your courage unsubdued, till the time shall arrive when he can freely employ his whole force, and that of his ally, in protecting and revenging you.

*Danish Declaration against Sweden,
29th February, 1808.*

THE Danish government has with just impatience waited to see the effect of the efforts employed by the court of St. Petersburg for the purpose of recalling Sweden by the most friendly means, to those interests which are common to her with all the powers of the north, and to those principles which are the first bond of her connection with Russia and Denmark. These efforts having finally proved ineffectual, the Danish government finds itself placed in a position towards Sweden, which will no longer allow its relations with that kingdom to remain uncertain. What these relations had become, it is indeed impossible to dissemble, after a perfidious aggression had suddenly forced Denmark from the path she had followed during a long series of years with-

out the slightest deviation. All Europe has resounded with one cry of indignation at the crime committed by Great Britain against a neutral and peaceful state; and from all quarters has the Danish government received testimonies of the most lively interest in its cause. The court of Stockholm alone, notwithstanding the particular ties which united it with that of Copenhagen, observed a total silence, which it at length broke, only to prefer complaints the most unfounded and reproaches the most unjust, with respect to the inconveniences that had indirectly resulted to it, from the events of the war, as well as from the rigorous measures which the situation to which the Danish government has been most unexpectedly reduced, has imperiously required it to adopt, and which the chicane and endless vexations of Sweden have been little calculated to induce it to abandon. The Danish cabinet would have been extremely embarrassed to interpret the conduct on the part of a sovereign, whose interests, principles, and sentiments, it had regarded as being equally wounded by an act of atrocity, which has suddenly lighted the flames of war in the north, if it had not quickly seen cause to suppose, that the resolution taken by the king of Sweden under these circumstances, was not merely that of indifference. The extraordinary facility with which that monarch, several weeks before the reduction of Stralsund, had consented to the departure of the major part of the English forces in Pomerania (whether, as it should seem, they came with no other view than to await the opportunity of being conveyed to

to Zealand), and the pains his Swedish majesty took to inform his people that this re-embarkation took place by virtue of a separate article of his convention with Great Britain, gave the first indications of a secret understanding at the expense of Denmark. These indications were very soon increased. The Danish government is not acquainted with the extent of the assistance which its enemy received in the ports of Sweden; but it has felt the consequences of that assistance in a manner the most lamentable to itself. It is easy to conceive the impression which has been produced upon the Danish nation by the relations of every kind, and the uninterrupted communications which the English found no difficulty in maintaining with Sweden.—No one could fail to remark how much Denmark was insulted by the pleasure which the king of Sweden appeared to take in repairing to the coast opposite to the Sound, and beholding personally all the injustice and outrage committed against a neighbouring country; by the caresses and numberless marks of distinction lavished upon the leaders of the English forces; by the honours which they, on their part, affected to render to the ally of their sovereign; and by the demonstrations of respect towards his Swedish majesty, to which the ships of war, violently seized from the port of Copenhagen, were not bound, on their passage along the Sound, under the cannon even of that fortress to which their salute was owing. However unfavourable an aspect the concurrence of these circumstances necessarily casts upon the dispositions of the king of

Sweden towards the government of Denmark, that government cannot reproach itself with having gratuitously exaggerated these appearances, which the court of Stockholm, far from attempting to remove, wished to produce, cherish, and strengthen, as far as it was in its power. But these disingenuousness were soon succeeded by facts. The government of England was the first to develop to Denmark the openly hostile disposition of his Swedish majesty. Europe already knows the explanations occasioned between Denmark and Sweden by this denunciation. The king of Sweden, when called upon in the most frank and friendly manner to declare himself on this subject, was seen to endeavour eluding the necessity of such a declaration; and when he was at length closely pressed, his majesty gave an answer oblique, equivocal, and insulting. Nevertheless, as this answer appeared in some measure to give rise to the government of England, the government of Denmark was contented with it for the moment and thought it becoming to disavow its just resentments against Sweden, in the hope that, enlightened concerning her true interests, and reflecting on the consequences of her resolutions, she would at last end by yielding to the representations which the court of St. Petersburg had made, with as much tenderness as patience, in order to engage her to renounce her alliance with Great Britain, evidently become incompatible with the tranquillity of the North, and especially with the security of Denmark. The Danish government is but imperfectly acquainted with the nature and extent of the engagements

engagements which Sweden has entered into with England; whatever may be the object of them, and whatever their tendency, no one can better conceive or appreciate than itself the repugnance which his Swedish majesty would feel in failing in any of the obligations he had contracted. But the cabinet of Copenhagen is not uninformed that the Swedish government itself has admitted, that the term of its engagements recently expired; and after the cabinet of St. James's had unmasked itself in the face of all Europe, it would have been insulting the court of Stockholm to suppose that it would dare to concur in an attack upon the first bases of the security, prosperity, and dignity of the powers of the north. These considerations could not be balanced by the trifling advantage of subsidies, with which the cabinet of London shews itself ready at all times to purchase its allies, and whom it pretends to have then the right of treating as mercenaries. The resolutions of the king of Sweden having, however, frustrated the last hopes of his neighbours, the government of Denmark could no longer hesitate, on its part, to take those measures which its security, the general interest of the north, its attachment to Russia, and the nature of its engagements with that power, imperiously prescribe to it. At a moment when Zealand is threatened anew by the forces of England, to which the ports of Sweden serve as a point of reunion; when the enemy of the north has just assured himself of the dependence of the coast of Stockholm upon him for fresh pecuniary assistance; when the public declarations of the English ministry

sufficiently unfold the nature of the engagements still subsisting or renewed between the two allies, the Danish government deems it right to prefer a state of open hostility to precarious and equivocal relations towards an enemy whose disposition is become more and more suspicious, and who, during a long period, could be considered only as a disguised enemy. His majesty the king of Denmark declares consequently, that he adopts altogether the resolutions of Russia in respect to Sweden, and that he will not separate his cause from that of the emperor Alexander, his august and faithful ally.

*Declaration of the King of Prussia
against Sweden, dated Konigsberg, March 6, 1808.*

HIS majesty the king of Prussia, our most gracious sovereign, has been solicited by both imperial courts of Paris and St. Petersburg, consistently with the system of the other powers of the continent, and the declaration against England, to extend the same measures against Sweden, which have been taken against England, on account of her fresh alliance with that power. In imitation of the declaration issued by the emperor of Russia on the 10th (22) of February, in this year, his majesty has accordingly broken off all relations with Sweden, and commands all in office under him, under the penalty of severe punishment, to restrain from all community or intercourse whatever with Sweden. In pursuance of this, from the present moment, and till farther orders, all Prussian harbours shall be utterly closed

against Swedish vessels; Prussian vessels shall no longer be sent into Sweden, neither shall Swedish or neutral ships, or wares which came from Sweden, be admitted into Prussian harbours.

Answer of Sweden to the Danish Declaration of War. Dated Stockholm, March 21, 1808.

THE court of Denmark had made an alliance with France, was prepared to receive French troops in its country, collected transport vessels in its port, fitted out all its ships in the road of Copenhagen, to cover a French expedition against Sweden, and then issued a declaration of war. Denmark accused Sweden of being the cause of this rupture, because she did not make her compliments of condolence on the loss of her fleet, because she would not co-operate to avenge that humiliation, and especially because she sought aid from England against such an aggression. The relations of the king with his neighbouring power were those of a simple peace. There was neither alliance, nor any convention whatever which traced out for the two courts any common course for their political conduct; therefore, when Sweden, Russia, and Prussia fought in conjunction against France, Denmark, under the shade of her neutrality, appeared the friend of all. The king, witnessing this system, and convinced by some explanations, demanded in the course of the year 1806, of the impossibility of obtaining a change favourable to Sweden, could not entertain a hope that the naval force of Denmark

could ever be useful to him; on the contrary, after the peace of Tilsit, he had every reason to fear that, by the suggestions of Russia and France, it might be one day turned against him. His majesty, therefore, thought it proper to observe a profound silence relative to the events which passed in his vicinity last autumn, leaving to England and futurity to justify them. It is due to truth, however, to declare, that the court of London did not invite Sweden to take part in this expedition, nor confided it to her till the moment of its being carried into execution. Therefore, not the least movement was made in Sweden on this occasion. The English fleet arrived and departed without entering into any port of Sweden; and the auxiliary troops, embarked in Pomerania, were restored in virtue of a separate article in the convention concluded at London, relative to this object, on the 17th of June, 1807, when certainly there was as yet no reference to this expedition. The following is the article!—"It is fully understood, that, in case that unforeseen circumstances should render impracticable the object of this convention, or that his Britannic majesty should find it necessary to withdraw the said troops (the German legion) from Swedish Pomerania, the stipulation of this convention shall in no manner prevent his Britannic majesty from giving such orders as he may judge proper with respect to the ulterior disposition of these troops, which are now placed under the orders of his Swedish majesty."—The court of London has since fully justified this enterprize, and the experience of every day justifies it. Nume-
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your French armies remained in Lower Saxony and over-awed the north. There were still nations to subjugate, ports to shut, and forces to direct against England. They were to penetrate at any rate: they would have acted in any case and under any pretence that might have offered. At present it is the expedition against the Danish fleet which is the rallying word of the whole league. What is remarkable is, that the Danish government, already beset by French troops, overpowered, impelled, and even paid by France, issues a declaration of war against Sweden, without daring even to name the power which forces it to act. It seeks with embarrassment grievances, and reasons to appear to have had in this determination a will of its own. It cites the remonstrances of Sweden against the arrest of the Swedish mails as vexatious, while in its severity against English correspondence, it would not suffer it to pass according to treaty, and declares that it is imperiously obliged to take these measures. It pretends to know the thoughts of the king, and imagines them hostile, though for some months it had concerted an aggression upon Sweden. It pretends to reason on the interests of the country, though it has abandoned its own interests, and even its existence, to a foreign influence. In fine, it reproaches Sweden with having provided for her defence by a subsidiary treaty, though itself is paid for an aggression; and then it pronounces, though indeed with a kind of timidity, the word mercenary, which the government that pays it had probably dictated to it.—It is proposed here to render to his Bri-

tannic majesty the most authentic solemn testimony, that in all his transactions with Sweden he never demanded offensive measures; nor required any thing that was not perfectly compatible with its tranquillity and independence. The most convincing proof of this is the promptitude with which his ministry acceded to the proposition of the king for the pacification of the Baltic, by a formal promise not to send thither any ships of war, but on conditions useful and honourable to all the north. Let the Danish government read in this proposition the complete refutation of the complaints of which the manifesto against Sweden is composed; and in the moments when it shall return itself, let it compare the state of things which the king has desired with that which France and Russia wish. Let all the allies of France read in this consent of England the difference between the connections which unite the two courts, and those which enchain them, and let them pronounce on which side is to be found a due regard for particular interests, and a just moderation for the general good.—Denmark herself has been, during a long time, the object of this moderation, and did not cease to be so till she became absolutely dangerous. When the north was outraged by the devastation of Lower Saxony, the oppression of the Hanseatic towns, what did she to avenge them? Sweden, England, and Russia, made war for this object; but no one thought of forcing Denmark to take part in it. She was the ally of Russia, then, as well as at present; why did she not embrace her cause? What could she then alledge for her tranquillity

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that Sweden cannot now alledge? All this is explained by the single fact which she endeavours to conceal—that she is at present under the influence of the French government. Had England followed the principles of this enemy, she would not have waited the moment of her surrender to disarm her, she would have invaded her several years before; she would have guarded her, and all this with a view to the good of the north.—Her ancient alliance with Russia is made a pretext for this aggression, though all the world knows that it is merely defensive, and that it remained suspended during the late wars with Russia, when perhaps that power might have claimed it. The court of Denmark, in order to justify its proceedings, hesitates not to make all kinds of assertions, dares to defend the injustice of Russia, and betrays a premeditated plot; and all this it does to conceal the chief, nay, only reason, which is—that Denmark is the ally of France.—But injustice and falsehood find their end; honour and truth will triumph in their turn. His majesty, relying on the justice of his cause, hopes, with conscious pride of reigning over a brave and loyal people, so often tried by dangers, and held up by the Almighty, that the same Providence will vouchsafe to bless his army, and restore to his subjects a safe and honourable peace, to the confusion of his enemies.

*Proclamation of General Armfeldt,
on entering Norway.*

INHABITANTS of Norway.—The Danish government has declared war against Sweden,

without any cause or provocation on her part; it has crowned the calamities that afflicted the north, and spontaneously submitted to a foreign yoke. The Swedish troops, therefore, enter your country according to the laws of war, in order to prevent hostilities from being committed in their own country. But the laws of war are carried into execution only by soldiers; the peaceful inhabitants of the towns and country, if they excite no disturbances, shall enjoy tranquillity and protection.—The Swedish soldiers, celebrated for order and discipline, respect the personal safety and property of the unarmed; and should Providence bless his majesty's arms, the army under my command, so far from proving hurtful to your different trades, shall open your ports to commerce and importation, quicken your industry, and secure in the north an asylum for loyalty and honour.

AUGUSTUS MAURICE ARMFELDT.

The King of Sweden's Proclamation on the Rupture of the Intercourse with Prussia. Dated Stockholm Castle, April 5th, 1808.

WE, Gustavus Adolphus, by the grace of God, king of Sweden, of the Goths and Vandals, &c. unto all our true and loyal subjects, greeting:—We herewith graciously make known to you, that his majesty, the king of Prussia, has declared to us that all kind of intercourse between his dominions and Sweden is suspended; and that in consequence thereof, all trade and navigation to Swedish ports

ports is prohibited under severe penalties; and that further, all Prussian harbours are shut up against all Swedish ships.—This proceeding has not by any means been occasioned on our part; the said government, reduced by French tyranny, affords a fresh proof of the oppression to which all states must submit, that entertain any connexion with the French government. An unfortunate lassitude, which prevented Prussia from resisting in due time, has brought her to the distressed situation in which she is now placed—groaning under the domination of France, which still occupies a considerable part of the remains of that monarchy with a numerous army, notwithstanding the conclusion of peace.—We commend you all and severally to the merciful protection of Almighty God.

GUSTAVUS ADOLPHUS.

Decrees for raising Conscripts, and for uniting certain Countries with France.—23d Jan. 1808.

THE conservatory senate assembled to the number of members presented by act 90, of the act of the constitution of the 22d of Frimaire, year 8, having considered the project of the senatus consultum, drawn in the form prescribed by article 57 of the constitutional act of the 16th Thermidor, year 16.—After having heard on the motives of the said project, the orators of the council of state, and the report of the special commission nominated in the sitting of the 16th of this month; the adoption having been discussed with the number of voices prescribed by article 56 of the organic senatus

consultum of the 18th of Thermidor, year 10, decrees as follows:—Art. 1. Eighty thousand conscripts of the conscription of the year 1809, are placed at the disposal of government. 2. They shall be taken from among the youths born between the 1st of Jan. 1789, and Jan. 1, 1790. 3. They shall be employed, should there be occasion to complete the legions of reserve of the interior, and the regiment having their depots in France.—The present senatus consultum shall be transmitted to his imperial and royal majesty.

We require and command, that these presents, sanctioned by the seals of state, and inserted in the Bulletin des Loix, shall be addressed to the courts and tribunals, and administrative authorities, that they may be inserted in their respective registers, and observed, and caused to be observed; and our grand judge, the minister of justice, is charged to superintend the publication. NAPOLEON.

By another decree of the conservatory senate, in the same form, and in a like manner signed by Buonaparte, the towns of Kehl, Wesel, Cassel, and Flushing, are to be united to the French empire. Kehl to the department of the Lower Rhine; Cassel to the department of Mount Tonnere; Wesel in the department of the Roer; and Flushing in the department of the Scheldt.

Convention between his Majesty the King of England, &c. and the King of Sweden.

THE consequences of the treaty of Tilsit, between Russia and France,

Forces, unfolding themselves more and more, in such a manner as to threaten Sweden with a speedy invasion, for the purpose of forcing her to accede to the French system; and his Swedish majesty finding himself therefore under the necessity of bringing forward, to resist its effects, a greater force than he has at his ordinary disposal;—his Britannic majesty, animated with the constant desire of contributing to the defence and security of his ally, and of supporting him by every means in a war undertaken for the mutual interests of both states, has determined to give to his Swedish majesty an immediate aid in money, as being the most prompt and efficacious, to be paid from time to time at fixed periods: and their majesties have judged it expedient that a formal convention, with regard to their reciprocal intentions in this respect, should be concluded, they have for this purpose named and authorised their respective plenipotentiaries, who have agreed upon the following articles:

I. His majesty the king of the united kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, engages that there shall be paid to his majesty the king of Sweden the sum of 1,200,030*l.* sterling, in equal instalments of 100,000*l.* sterling each per month, beginning with the month of January of the present year inclusive, and to continue successively in the course of each month, the first of which instalments shall be paid on the ratification of the present convention by his Swedish majesty.

II. His majesty the king of Sweden engages, on his part, to employ the said sum in putting into motion and keeping on a respectable esta-

blishment, all his land forces, and such part as shall be necessary for his fleets, and particularly his flotilla, in order to oppose the most effectual resistance to the common enemies.

III. Their said majesties more over engage to conclude no peace, no truce, or convention of neutrality with the enemy, but in concert and by mutual agreement.

IV. The present convention shall be ratified by the two high contracting parties, and its ratifications shall be exchanged at London within the space of six weeks, after the signature of the said convention, or sooner if it can be done.

Separate Article.

The two high contracting parties have agreed to concert, as soon as possible, the measures to be taken, and the auxiliary succours to be stipulated for, in the case of a war actually taking place between Sweden and the powers her neighbours; and the stipulations which may then result shall be considered as separate and additional articles to this convention, and shall have the same force as if they were word for word inserted therein.

In faith of which, we the undersigned plenipotentiaries of their said majesties, have signed the present convention, and this separate article, and have caused the seal of our arms to be affixed thereto.

Done at Stockholm, the 8th of February, in the year of redemption 1808.

EDW. THORNTON (L.S.)
F. EHRENHEIM (L.S.)

Declaration of the Pope against the Usurpations of Buonaparte.

NAPOLÉON, by the grace of God, &c. Whereas the temporal

poral sovereign of Rome has refused to make war against England, and the interest of the two kingdoms, that of Italy and of Naples, demand that their communications should not be intercepted by a hostile power; and whereas the donation of Charlemagne, our illustrious predecessor, of the countries which form the holy see, was for the good of christianity, and not for that of the enemies of our holy religion:—We therefore decree that Urbino, Ancona, Macerata, and Camerino, be for ever united with the kingdom of Italy: to which kingdom all cardinal prelates, &c. natives of those districts, are commanded to return by the 5th of June (past), on pain of confiscation of goods, &c.

His holiness having received the painful notification of the above-mentioned four provinces, has, under the distressing feelings which this rigorous treatment has occasioned, charged cardinal Gabrielli to make the following declaration:

Declaration of his Holiness.

Quirinal Palace, May 19, 1808.

His holiness having received the painful notification of the union which is about to take place, of his four duchies of Urbino, Macerata, Ancona, and Camerino, with the kingdom of Italy, amid the cruel uneasiness which this rigorous treatment causes him, has charged the cardinal Gabrielli, pro-secretary of state, to make the following frank declaration to your most illustrious highness.

The holy father has seen, with infinite pain, that the force of the reasons contained in the note of the 19th of April, addressed to M. Le Febvre, the charge d'affaires,

has not prevented his imperial and royal majesty from putting his threats in execution. He has seen, with the same feelings, that this powerful monarch, in whose hands he placed, at the altar, the sceptre, and the rod of justice, has proceeded, contrary to every species of right, to inflict upon him a new spoliation of the best part of the states which remained to him.

But what has been the astonishment of his holiness in observing a decree, dated one day anterior to the note of M. Champagny; so that even before that minister had renewed his propositions, and received an answer, the fate of the three usurped provinces was already decided!

The astonishment of the holy father was still farther augmented, when he saw it assigned as a legitimate cause of this spoliation, that he had constantly refused to make war upon England, and to confederate with the kings of Naples and of Italy. However, his holiness had never ceased to represent, that his sacred character of minister of peace—the God, whose representative he is upon earth, being the God of peace—that his quality of universal pastor, and of the common father of all the faithful—that the holy laws of justice, of which, as the representative of the God who is their source, he ought to be the guardian and the avenger—could never permit him to enter into a permanent system of war, and much less still to declare war, without any motive, against the British government, from which it had never received the slightest offence. However, the holy father conjured his majesty to reflect, that not having, and not being in the

the capacity of having enemies, because he is the vicar of Jesus Christ, who came into the world not to foment but to destroy animosities, he could not bind himself and his successors in perpetuity, as the emperor wished, to make war for the quarrels of another.

But his holiness had also urged the incalculable evils which would result to religion, should he enter into a system of perpetual confederation, and that, without compromising his honour, without incurring universal hatred, without betraying his duties and his conscience, he could not place himself in the situation, by the league proposed, of becoming the enemy of every state, even a catholic sovereign, and of binding himself to make war upon him. But all the representations, and all the reasons so frequently submitted to his majesty with paternal mildness have not produced the least impression.

It has been sought to justify the spoliation upon another pretext, by assigning as the second motive which produced it, that the interests of the two kingdoms, and of the two armies of Italy and Naples, demanded that their communication should not be interrupted by a hostile power.

If by this power is meant to be understood England, the history of almost two centuries will shew the falsity of this specious pretence. —The catholic princes of Spain, and of the house of Austria, from the emperor Charles V. to Charles II. of Spain, possessed the kingdom of Naples and the duchy of Milan, which forms at present the principal part of the kingdom of Italy; and they never perceived

that their interests were compromised; they never experienced this pretended obstacle to the communication of their armies. They were frequently at war with Great Britain, and still oftener with France, but they were never apprehensive of an intermediate embarkation upon the territory of the holy see; still less did they pretend to force the pontiffs of that period to unite and confederate with them, or to despoil them of their possessions, should they have refused.

But putting history aside, what risks could the interests of these separated kingdoms even run? The neutrality of the holy fathers, recognized and respected by all other powers, and the measures taken to prevent its violation, are more than sufficient to place these interests in security.

To render this security still greater, and to take away every sort of pretext, his holiness carried his compliance as far as he consistently could; he declared himself disposed to shut his ports against the English during the present war, and to employ his troops to guard the coasts of his states from every hostility whatever.

But what attack could be dreaded upon these two kingdoms, which border upon the states of the holy see, while French troops, for so long a period, without regard to the interests of the public or of individuals, have violated his neutrality, occupied all his ports, and covered all his coasts?

If, however, by a hostile power, it was wished to designate the person of the holy father, his character itself, mild and pacific, puts an end to this injurious imputation; but

but the better to refute it, his holiness calls to witness the French empire and the kingdom of Italy, in favour of which he signed two concordats, whose violation has been the source of perpetual grief to his heart; in having constantly, but in vain, pressed their faithful execution. He calls Europe itself to witness, which has seen him, in his old age, in the most rigorous season of the year, traverse the Alps, and proceed to Paris, not without exciting the jealousy and disgust of other great powers, in order to consecrate and crown his imperial and royal majesty. He calls to witness the whole French troops, from the commander to the meanest soldier, either those who have traversed the states of the holy see, or those who have resided there, whether they have not experienced in the papal territory a reception the most friendly, and a hospitality the most generous;—a hospitality which cost bitter tears to the holy father, who was indispensably obliged to load his subjects with imposts for the maintenance and payment of the French troops; in short, his holiness calls to witness his majesty himself, for whom he has not ceased on all occasions to testify the most particular regards.

But if his holiness were able to testify the surprise excited by the two first articles, advanced to justify this spoliation, he wants words to express the profound astonishment produced by the expressions contained in the third. It bears upon the donation of Charlemagne, and it is remarked that that was made for the benefit of Christianity, and not for the enemies of our holy religion. It is well known that

this celebrated and glorious monarch, whose memory will be eternally blessed by the church; did not give to the holy see the provinces which have been usurped. It is notorious that they were, at an epoch very remote from his age, in the possession of the Roman pontiffs, in consequence of the voluntary submission of the people, who were abandoned by the emperors of the east; that the Lombards, having afterwards occupied the exarchate of Ravenna and the Pentapolis, which include these provinces, Pepin, the illustrious and religious father of Charlemagne, recovered them, and restored them to pope Stephen; that that great emperor, who was the honour and admiration of the eighth century, far from wishing to revoke the generous and pious donation of his father, approved and confirmed it under pope Adrian; that far from wishing to strip the Roman church of her possessions, he had no other intention than to secure and aggrandise them; that consequently, in his will he laid an express obligation on his three sons, to protect the states of the church with their arms; that he reserved to his successors no right of revoking that which his father Pepin had done for the advantage of the chair of St. Peter; that his whole design was to protect the Roman pontiffs against their enemies, and not to compel them to excite enemies; that ten centuries which have passed away since the days of Charlemagne, a thousand years of peaceable possession, render useless all more ancient investigations, and all ulterior interpretations; that, even if that pious prince had, instead

stead of a free restitution or gift of these territories, restored or given them for the profit of Christianity, it is exactly for the welfare of Christianity, or, to speak more strictly, of the catholic religion, that the holy father wishes peace with all the world, avoids to provoke the resentment of any power, and refuses to interfere in political quarrels. After so many voices have been raised against different popes, who have, for the best reasons, engaged in wars, the holy father cannot perceive why it can be attributed to him as a crime that he refused to assume a warlike character, and, at the suggestion of a foreign power, commence a war without any provocation, and which must be highly prejudicial to religion and his subjects.

His holiness cannot on any account overlook the injury which is done him in the forementioned decree, wherein it is remarked, *that the gift of Charlemagne was not made for the benefit of the enemies of our holy religion*; thereby accusing his holiness of betraying the interests of the church. This accusation has made a lively impression on the mind of his holiness, who, for upwards of three years, has been suffering persecution in behalf of religion, and for having acted faithfully in his apostolic capacity. He has suffered it, that he might not implicate himself in a permanent system of warfare, and that he might not, by his conduct, obstruct the free exercise of the catholic worship.

His holiness has submitted to it, because he could not admit the principles which were frequently intimated to him, which were, that if his holiness was bishop of Rome,

his majesty was notwithstanding emperor of it, and that the holy father ought to submit to him in temporal matters in the same manner as his majesty submitted to his holiness in religious matters; that the territories of the holy see belonged to the French empire, and that therefore the pope ought always to make common cause with the emperor and his successors; that he ought at all times to consider the enemies of France as his own, and that he ought of consequence to become a part of the federative system of the empire.

The solemn oaths which the holy father has made to maintain his liberty and independence, so essential to the catholic religion, and the free exercise of his supreme spiritual power, do not allow him to subscribe to these destructive and fatal maxims. His holiness suffers this persecution, because he would not consent to the pretensions of his majesty to nominate as many French cardinals as should form one-third of the sacred college, which must have sapped the fundamental base of its constitution, attacked the independence of his spiritual power, and again introduced those unhappy disorders which the church still deplors. His holiness suffers, because he would not enter into an offensive and defensive league against any power in Europe, catholic or otherwise, to the manifest injury of religion. If this refusal implies an abandonment of religion, let heaven, the church, the world, and posterity, judge. The holy father has the most conscientious reflection, that he never did any injury to his majesty, or to France; but if his majesty actually had any complaints

complaints against his holiness personally, that would not justify him in resenting on the catholic church, by irrevocably and for ever robbing it of that very property which the same decree declares to have been bestowed for the good of Christianity, nor to rob that church, which is not the proprietor, more than the pontiff, who is only the guardian of it. That church having the spiritual superintendence of every other, hath, since the peace of Constantine, been enriched by the piety of monarchs and people, and hath, by an admirable order of Providence, first accumulated considerable property, and afterwards different states, that it might maintain its spiritual government with more decency, liberty, and advantage—this very church, which his majesty would reduce to a state of degradation, and incapacity of exercising its divine supremacy.

His holiness cannot sufficiently regret the error into which his majesty has fallen, since, in his decree, whereby he deprives the holy see of a part of its states, on the ground "*that they were not intended to benefit the enemies of the catholic religion.*" His majesty has published in the same states, that code against which his holiness hath so often, but unsuccessfully, complained, on account of the articles it contains contrary to the gospel and the laws of the church, particularly of marriage and divorce.

His holiness cannot conceal his astonishment at seeing the demand of his excellency cardinal Caprara for his passports, made an additional motive to justify this scandalous spoliation. After what the

undersigned had the honour of signifying, in answer to the note of his excellency M. Champagny in the month of April, his holiness believes that the grounds of the principal accusations are completely refuted. He hath already sufficiently proved that the application for passports was accompanied with the equitable condition that the French emperor should evacuate Rome, and relinquish those pretensions which his holiness felt inadmissible. His holiness, therefore, cannot abstain from repeating, that it was discretionary with his majesty either to permit the departure of M. Caprara, who was not only the ambassador of the court of Rome, but at the same time the apostolic legate, or to permit him to continue his residence at Paris. His departure ought not, therefore, to be made any subject of complaint.

If the injustice of this decree hath increased the grief wherewith the mind of his holiness is overwhelmed, he could not but be additionally afflicted on perusing the other decrees of the same date, which enjoins all cardinals, prelates, and officers, holding any employment at the court of Rome, who are natives of Italy, to return, under the penalty of their whole property in case of disobedience. It is, therefore, perfectly clear to his holiness, that it is not his temporal authority, but also his spiritual, which is intended to be subverted, although the second decree makes a studied distinction between the temporal sovereign of Rome, and the vicar of Jesus Christ, under the pretext of showing a seeming respect for the latter.—It must be evident to the universe,

universe, that the intentions of his majesty the emperor are to render his holiness incapable of fulfilling his sacred duties, by dispersing his senate, and overturning the church establishment, and removing from him those persons most dear to him, thereby depriving him of the only consolation which remained to him in the exercise of his apostolical functions, already on the decline.

The pope is not only the bishop of Rome, as hath been so improperly asserted, but he is at the same time the head of the catholic church, and in that character, he is entitled to choose his ministers and coadjutors from the different nations of the earth. In fact, since the commencement of Christianity, the clergy of Rome have been always composed, not only of Romans, but of individuals from all nations, as is evident from the number of strangers admitted amongst the clergy of Rome, and who, during the first four centuries, ascended the chair of St. Peter. All these motives justify the grief of his holiness, who protests against a law, which spares not even distinguished ecclesiastics, chosen to assist him in his labours for the church of God. His holiness, at the same time, strongly protests, in the face of all the earth, against the usurpation of his states. He solemnly declares it to be unjust, vain, void, and of no avail; that it never can truly affect the imprescriptible and legitimate rights of sovereignty and possession of his holiness and successors for ever; and if force shall deprive him of his possessions, he is determined to maintain the integrity of his rights, because the

holy see can recover the real possession, when it may please the true and faithful God, who fights for justice, and who hath inscribed on his garments and forehead, THE KING OF KINGS, AND LORD OF LORDS.

Spanish Declaration of War against the Emperor of France, Napoleon the First.

Ferdinand the Seventh, King of Spain and the Indies, and in his Name the Supreme Junta of both.

FRANCE, under the government of the emperor Napoleon the First, has violated towards Spain the most sacred compacts—has arrested her monarchs—obliged them to a forced and manifestly void abdication and renunciation; has behaved with the same violence towards the Spanish nobles whom he keeps in his power—has declared that he will elect a king of Spain, the most horrible attempt that is recorded in history—has sent his troops into Spain, seized her fortresses and her capital, and scattered his troops throughout the country—has committed against Spain all sorts of assassinations, robberies, and unheard-of cruelties; and this he has done with the most enormous ingratitude to the services which the Spanish nation has rendered France, to the friendship it has shown her, thus treating it with the most dreadful perfidy, fraud, and treachery, such as was never committed against any nation or monarch by the most barbarous or ambitious king or people. He has, in fine, declared that he will trample down our monarchy,

chy, our fundamental laws, and bring about the ruin of our holy Catholic religion. The only remedy, therefore, for such grievous ills, which are so manifest to all Europe, is in war, which we declare against him.

In the name, therefore, of our king Ferdinand the seventh, and of all the Spanish nation, we declare war by land and sea against the emperor Napoleon the first, and against France; we are determined to throw off her domination and tyranny, and command all Spa-

ny against her, the damage ac- of war, to; on all French d all property ever part of ither belong- or to the in- tion. In the mand, that no molestation be ration, nor its ips, property, ividual of that n that there e communica- hat we have keep an dr- that we hope a and lasting

not lay down our arms till the emperor Napoleon the first has restored to Spain our king Ferdinand the seventh, and the rest of the royal family; has respected the sacred rights of the nation, which he has violated, and her liberty, integrity, and independence. With the same understanding and accordance with the Spanish nation, we command that the present solemn

declaration be printed, posted, and circulated, among all the people and provinces of Spain and America, that it may be known in Europe, Africa, and Asia.

Given in the royal palace of Alcazar at Seville, this 6th of June, 1808.

By order of the supreme junta of government,
MANUEL MARIA AGUILAR, Sec.
JUAN BAUTISTA PARDO, Sec.

His Britannic Majesty's Declaration to the Envoys of Asturias.

Dated, Office of Foreign Affairs, 12th June.

My Lords,

I HAVE laid before my sovereign the letter which you were authorised by the junta of the principality of Asturias to deliver to me, together with the powers entrusted to you by the junta, entreating, in their name, his majesty's assistance. His majesty has desired me to assure your excellencies, that he feels the warmest interest in the resolution of the principality of Asturias to sustain against the atrocious usurper of France a contest in favour of the independence of the Spanish monarchy: that his majesty is disposed to grant every kind of assistance to efforts so magnanimous and praiseworthy. His majesty has, therefore, ordered me to declare, that no time shall be lost in embarking for the port of Gijon the succours that you require, as being the most pressing necessary; he will besides send a naval force capable of protecting the coast of Asturias against any attempt which France may make, and of introducing troops by sea into the country...

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his majesty will make further efforts in support of so just a cause. His majesty has also ordered me to declare to your excellencies, his readiness to extend the same succour to every other part of the Spanish monarchy which may be animated by the same spirit of the inhabitants of Asturias, as well as his majesty's sincere desire to renew those ties of friendship which subsisted so long between the two nations, and to direct his united efforts against any power which may evince hostile intentions against Spain, as well as Great-Britain. I recommend to your excellencies to communicate, as soon as possible, to the junta, the manner in which his majesty has received the proposals transmitted by your excellencies. A vessel has been got ready at Portsmouth, to carry any person you may think proper to dispatch....I beg your excellencies to accept the assurances of my high consideration.

(Signed) GEO. CANNING.

Proclamation of the Supreme Junta at Seville, 29th May, 1808.

SEVILLE could not resist the impulse of her heroic loyalty, of which she has set the example in all ages. The king, to whom we all swore allegiance with emotions of joy, unprecedented in history, has been decoyed from us. The fundamental laws of our monarchy are trampled under foot; our property, our customs, our wives—all which the nation holds most dear, is threatened with imminent danger. Our holy religion, our only hope, is doomed to perdition, or will be reduced to mere external appearances without support and without protection. And

all this is done by a foreign power, not by dint of arms, but by deceit and treachery, by taking advantage of our good nature, and by converting the very persons who call themselves the heads of our government, into instruments of those atrocious acts; persons, who, either from the baseness of their sentiments, from shameful fear, or perhaps from other motives, which time or justice will unfold, hesitate not to sacrifice their country. It therefore became necessary to break the shackles, which prevented the Spanish people from displaying that generous ardour, which in all ages has covered them with glory; that noble courage, with which they have always defended the honour of the nation, their laws, their monarchs, and their religion. The people of Seville joined accordingly the 27th May; and, through the medium of all their magistrates, of all their constituted authorities, perfectly united, and of the most respectable individuals of every rank and description, this supreme council of government was formed, invested with all necessary powers, and charged to defend the country, the religion, the laws, and the king. We accept the heroic trust; we swear to discharge it, and reckon on the strength and energy of the whole nation. We have again proclaimed Don Ferdinand VII. our king; again we swore allegiance to him, swore to die in his defence—and this was the signal of happiness and union, and will prove so to all Spain. A council of government had scarce been formed, when it violated the most sacred laws of the realm. A president appointed without any authority whatever, and who, had he had

had any lawful title, hastened to forfeit it. In addition to his being a foreigner, which was a legal objection to his promotion, he acted with the utmost duplicity, and co-operated for the destruction of the very monarchy, from whom he received his appointment, and of the laws, which alone could sanction his authority. Under these circumstances we could not restrain our loyalty, and much less could we violate the sacred engagements, which we had before contracted, as Spaniards, as subjects, as christians, as freemen, independent from all foreign authority and power.—Nor could the authority of the first tribunal of the nation, the council of Castile, check or controul our exertions. The weakness of that council became obvious from the wavering and contradictory proceedings it adopted. The most momentous and most critical situation in which the nation ever hath been placed, and in which the council should have displayed that heroic firmness with which numberless motives and its own honour compelled it to act. The order tamely to submit to, and circulate, and obey the act of abdication in favour of a foreign prince, was a consummation of its weakness, perhaps, of its infamy, for that act was evidently void and illegal from want of authority in him who made it, because the monarchy was not his own, nor was Spain composed of animals subject to the absolute controul of their rulers; his accession to the throne was founded on his royal descent, according to his own confession, and on the fundamental laws of the realm, which invariably regulate the hereditary succession, and with regard to which the council is not

invested with any other power, than the sacred duty to enforce their observance. It is void on account of the state of violence and oppression in which it was made, and which is far more evident than the abdication itself; it is void, because the published act of abdication of king Ferdinand VII. and of his uncle and brother, was made in the same state of violence and compulsion, as it expressly declared, in the very act of abdication; it is void, because many royal personages, possessed of the right to claim the crown, have not relinquished that claim, but preserve it entire. Add to this the horrid treachery which has been employed to sacrifice and degrade the Spanish nation. It is to our alliance, and our sacrifices, that the French are indebted for what they call their triumphs; France withdrew our gallant troops from their native land, and sent them to the most distant countries; she made them fight for her interests, without having any occasion for them, for the obvious purpose of weakening us, and despoiling us of our strength. Her armies afterwards entered Spain, under continual professions of an anxious desire to promote our prosperity, and under the pretext of co-operating in expeditions against an enemy, of whom no farther mention is made. The people, by a generous effort, prevented the departure of their king, a measure which the French should have hailed with shouts of joy; but far from so doing, they kept a profound silence with regard to that departure, and what is still more, converted it into a motive to oppress us. France affected to perceive divisions in the nation which did not exist; the Spanish nation

having never been more united in the love and defence of its king. The latter was decoyed into the French territory by deceitful insinuations and professions; with a degree of generosity, of which perhaps there does not exist a precedent, the king, with implicit reliance on those vain professions, threw himself into the arms of the French, who with the basest treachery, unprecedented in the annals of civilized nations, made him their prisoner, treated him in a manner the most disrespectful, and forced him to the deeds of horror, which all Europe has witnessed with astonishment, and every Spaniard with indignation and the most poignant grief. In a manner equally deceitful they invited the royal parents to their country, and compelled them to unjust and illegal acts; acts which must hand down their memory to the latest posterity branded with disgrace; they also dragged away the rest of the royal personages, to whom their tender age would have proved an inviolable shield, even among the most barbarous nations. The French ruler summoned the Spanish nation before him; he chose such deputies as best suited his purpose; in a despotic manner of election of other deputies, appointed to deliberate in a foreign country on the most sacred interests of the nation, while he publicly declared a private and respectful letter, written to him by Ferdinand the Seventh, at the time when he was prince of Asturias, a criminal performance, injurious to the rights of sovereignty, although the same foreigner, who now affects to consider it as an offence, perhaps induced him to write it. It is, indeed, a heinous offence, it is rebel-

lion, when an independent nation submits to the controul of a foreign prince, and discusses in his presence, and under his decision, its most sacred rights and public welfare; and neither Seville, nor any Spaniard, will lower himself to a degree of disloyalty and meanness, which could induce him to a rebellion so atrocious, that even slaves would scorn to disgrace themselves by deeds of infamy like this. He has resorted to many other indecorous means to deceive us. He has distributed seditious libels to corrupt the public opinion, in which under the strongest professions of respect for the laws, and for religion, he insults both, leaves no means untried, however infamous they may be, to bend our necks under an iron yoke, and make us his slaves. He carries his audacity and deceit the length of assuring the public, in one of his libellous publications, that the supreme pontiff and vicar of Jesus Christ approves and sanctions his proceedings, while it is notorious, that in sight of all Europe he has despoiled him of his dominions, and forced him to dismiss his cardinals, in order to prevent him from directing and governing the whole church, in the manner sanctioned by our godly Saviour Jesus Christ.—Spaniards, every consideration calls on us to unite and frustrate views so atrocious. No revolution exists in Spain; or did we declare against any power; our sole object is, to defend what we hold most sacred, against him, who, under the cloak of alliance and friendship, intended to wrest it from us, and who, we have reason to fear, will despoil us, without fighting, of our laws, our monarchs, and our religion. Let us, therefore,

fore, sacrifice every thing to a cause so just, and if we are to lose our all, let us lose it fighting, and as generous men. Join me, therefore, all; the people are ready to take up arms; let us commit to the wisest among us in all the provinces of Spain, the important trust to preserve the public opinion, and refute those insolent libels replete with the most atrocious falsehoods. Let every one combat in his way; and let even the church of Spain incessantly implore the assistance of the God of Hosts, whose protection is secured to us by the evident justice of our cause. And what do you fear? There is not in Spain the number of the enemy's troops which they proclaim, in order to intimidate us. Those who occupy part of our country are composed of different nations, dragged into service, and who anxiously desire to break their chains. The positions they have taken are exactly those in which they can be conquered and defeated in the easiest manner. They are besides weak and dismayed, because the consciousness of guilt makes a coward of the bravest man. All Europe will applaud our efforts, and hasten to our assistance. Italy, Germany, and the whole north, which suffer under the despotism of the French nation, will eagerly avail themselves of the favourable opportunity held out to them by Spain, to shake off their yoke and recover their liberty, their laws, their monarchs, and all they have been robbed of by that nation. France herself will hasten to erase the stain of infamy which must cover the tools and instruments of deeds the most treacherous and heinous. She will not shed her blood in so vile a cause.

She has already suffered too much under the idle pretext of a peace and happiness, which never came, and can never be attained but under the empire of reason, peace, religion, and laws, and in a state where the rights of other nations are respected and observed. Spaniards, your native country, your property, your laws, your liberty, your kings, your religion, nay, your hopes in a better world, which that religion can alone devise to you and your descendants, are at stake, exposed to great and imminent danger.—By command of the supreme council of government,

DON JUAN BAUTISTA ESTELLER,
First secretary.

DON JUAN PARDO, Second sec.

Portuguese Revolution.

Edict and Proclamation, issued at Oporto, 20th June, 1808.

IN the name of the prince regent of Portugal, the junta of the supreme government of the city of Oporto makes known unto all the subjects of the said prince, that the French government is entirely exterminated from this country, and the royal authority of our legitimate sovereign is restored, which will be exercised fully and independently by the above-mentioned junta, until the government established in this kingdom, by his royal highness shall be restored: in consequence of which the said junta order that his royal highness shall be proclaimed, and his royal arms be displayed and respected as they always have been and shall be: and that all constituted authorities shall act conformably, publishing all their orders in the name of his royal highness.—The bishop, president,

president, and generalissimo. Given at Oporto, 19th June, 1808.

Edict.—The provisional council of the government of Oporto, invites the veteran soldiers, to whatever regiment of the line they may belong, to unite with the army of this province, that is, to enter into the ranks with the two regiments of the garrison of this city, which are in the course of organization; and to each man, by way of remuneration, are promised a month's pay, and a daily allowance of four vintens, with clothing, &c. The same pay will be allotted to all the soldiers now on service, as well as those who will join the same regiments, as far as circumstances will permit this extraordinary pay. Likewise the militia will have the same advantages.—The bishop, president, and governor.

Proclamation.

Portuguese!—By heaven, and by Jesus Christ! You have a governor who loves you, who is anxious for your happiness, and who will exert himself to obtain it. What avail your turbulence, your excesses, your want of that order and subordination to which he would conduct you, anxious to preserve your lives? What opportunities have you not lost, of which you ought to have availed yourselves against the enemy, since you have neglected your own resources? What signals do you not exhibit to the enemy, that he may entrap and surprise you. Portuguese! Listen to one who loves you. The French intends to strike a blow, fatal to you, and you are lost if you are guilty of insubordination, or disregard the councils of your governor. Your firing, your beat of drum, your bells, give to your enemies the

knowledge of where you are, where your force, and where your weakness. From your enemy conceal your power, that you may strike the blow with the more success; and that you may encounter him when he least expects your approach. By these means you may conquer him. Subject yourselves to your superiors in all and through all, if you are desirous of victory; otherwise be assured you will meet only disgrace. From necessity, after this manner, the mighty bull yields to vigilance, dexterity, and the little cloak. By whatever is sacred in heaven, or in earth, by the sacred name of Jesus Christ, the governor implores you, that you maintain subjection to your chiefs, conforming to the regulations of your respective companies. If you are ordered to a post, there you ought to remain until the moment of combat and glory shall arrive. To you who are in the van we first commit our cause, and by valour diminish the number of our enemies. You who are next in order, when your turn comes, fulfil your duty by dealing destruction around you: and you who form the rear-guard, destroy the rest. Your energy must be guided by intelligence; you must be conducted by wisdom, in order to be conquerors. Long live the prince regent; long live Portugal; long live the Portuguese!—The bishop, governor, and president.

Sketch of Buonaparte's New Constitution for Spain.

TITLE I.

Art. 1. **T**HE Catholic-Apostolic and Romish religion is the predominant and sole religion of Spain

Spain and its dominions; none other shall be tolerated.

Title II.

2. Prince Joseph Napoleon, king of Naples and Sicily, is king of Spain and the Indies.—3. The crown of Spain and the Indies shall be hereditary in the male issue lawfully begotten of the body of the said prince, according to seniority of birth, to the perpetual exclusion of females.—In default of such issue male, lawfully begotten of the prince Joseph Napoleon, the crown of Spain shall descend to us and our heirs male, and legal successors, either of our body, or by adoption.—In default of such our male descendants and lawful successors, to descend to the issue male and lawful successors of prince Louis Napoleon, king of Holland.—And in default of such male descendants and lawful successors of prince Louis Napoleon, to the issue male, and lawful successors of prince Jerome Napoleon, king of Westphalia.—And in default of these, to the first born son, before the death of the last king, of the eldest daughter of those who have male issue, and to his male descendants and lawful successors; and in case the last king should not have nominated that one of his daughters who has male issue, then to him whom he shall appoint by his will, either among his relations, or among those whom he shall deem most worthy to rule over Spain. This nomination shall be delivered to the cortes for their acceptance.—4. The crown of Spain shall never be fixed upon the same head with any other crown.—5. In all the edicts and laws, the title of the king of Spain shall be —D.N.—by the grace of God, and the constitution of the

state, king of Spain and the Indies.

—6. The king on his accession to the throne, or on his attaining his majority, shall take an oath to the Spanish people on the gospel, in the presence of the cortes, the senate, the council of state, the council of Castile, the archbishops and bishops.—7. The form of the king's oath is:—"I swear, on the holy evangelists, to reverence and cause to be revered our holy religion; to maintain the inviolability of the Spanish territory; to reverence and cause to be revered, the liberty of the person, and to govern alone for the welfare, happiness, and glory of the Spanish nation."

Title III.—Of the Government.

8. The minority of the king shall last till he has attained his 13th. year. During his minority there shall be a regent of the kingdom.—9. The regent must be at least 25 years old.—10. The regent shall be nominated by the preceding king, among the infants who have attained the age mentioned in the preceding article.—11. In default of nomination by the preceding king, the regency belongs to the prince the farthest removed from the throne, according to the law of succession, and who has attained the age of 25 years.—12. In case the prince furthest removed from the crown shall be in a state of minority, the regency belongs to the next prince, who shall continue to exercise his functions till the king shall have attained his majority.—13. The regent is not personally answerable for the acts of his administration.—14. All the acts of the regency pass in the name of the minor king.—15. The yearly revenue of the regent shall be one-fourth of the income of the crown.

crown.—16. In case the preceding king shall have nominated no regent, and all the princes shall be minors, then the government shall be carried on by the ministers who form the council of government.—

17. All state affairs shall be determined by a majority of votes in the council of government.—18. The regency has no right to the personal custody of the king, during his minority.—19. The care of the king during his minority is vested in his mother, and in default of her, in the prince appointed thereto by the demised sovereign.—20. The board of guardianship, composed of the ministers, shall principally be charged with superintending the education of the young king; and the same shall be consulted in every matter of importance, relative to his person or establishment.

Title IV.—Property of the Crown.

21. The palaces of Madrid, the Escorial, St. Ildefonso, Aranjuez, D'El Pardo, and all the others now forming part of the property of the crown, together with the parks, woods, domains, and estates of what kind soever, constitute the property of the crown. The revenues accruing from the said property shall be paid into the treasury of the crown; and should they fall below the yearly sum of a million of hard piastres, an addition of hereditary property shall be made, so as to make good the revenue to the amount stated.—22. The public treasury shall annually pay over to that of the crown, a sum of two millions in hard piastres.—23. The king's sons, on attaining the age of twelve years shall receive the following annual revenues in the name of subsistence money, viz.:—the

heir apparent, 200,000 piastres; each infant, 100,000 piastres; and each infanta, 50,000 piastres.

—24. The dowry of the queen is fixed at 400,000 piastres, and shall be paid out of the treasury of the crown.

Title V.—Of the Officers of the Royal Household.

25. The chief and grand officers of the royal household are six in number,—a grand almoner, grand chamberlain, grand cup-bearer, grand master of the horse, grand huntsman, and grand master of the ceremonies.—26. The noblemen of the chamber, the steward's chaplains, and equeries, are officers of the royal household.

Title VI.

27. There shall be nine ministerial departments, viz. of police, religion, foreign affairs, internal affairs, domains, war, marine, the Indies, and general police.—28. A secretary of state, in the character of minister, shall sign all acts of government.—29. The king may commit several ministerial functions to one minister.—30. There is no other precedence among the ministers than what results from their priority of nomination in point of time.—31. The ministers, each in his own department, are responsible for the execution of the laws, and of his majesty's orders.

Title VII.—Of the Senate.

32. The senate is composed, 1. of the infants of Spain, being 18 years of age. 2. Of twenty-four individuals, specially appointed by the king from among the ministers, captain-generals, ambassadors, councillors of state, and members of the council of Castile.—33. The existing councillors of state are members of the senate. No new nomination

nomination shall take place until they are reduced below twenty-four, as regulated by the preceding article.—34. The president of the senate is appointed by the king. He is chosen out of the senate, and his functions last for one year.—

35. The senate meets by the command of the king, or on the application of the junta, or one of its officers for internal affairs.—36. In the case of an armed insurrection, or of apprehensions respecting the safety of the state, the senate may, on the proposition of the king, suspend the operation of the constitutional act in a particular district, and time to be limited.

[The remaining articles of this title, and those of the 8th title relative to the council of state, contain little that is of general interest. The king presides in the council, which is to consist of not less than 30, nor more than 60 members, divided into six sections, viz. those of justice, religion, internal affairs, police, finance, war, the marine, and the Indies.]

Title IX.

57. The cortes or juntas of the nation are composed of 150 members, divided into three estates or orders, namely those of the clergy, nobility, and people.—58. The order of the clergy shall consist of 25 archbishops or bishops.—59. The order of the nobility shall consist of 25 nobles, who shall have the title of *grandees* of the cortes.—60. The order of the people shall consist of 40 deputies from the provinces, 30 from the principal cities, 15 from the merchants, and 15 deputies from the universities, to consist of the most celebrated for their attainments in the arts and sciences.—61. The archbishops or bishops

constituting the order of the clergy, shall be raised to the rank of members of the cortes, by a writ sealed with the great seal of the state. They cannot be divested of their functions, but by virtue of the sentence of a competent court, pronounced in due form.—62. The nobles must possess an annual income of at least 200,000 hard piastres, and have performed great services in the civil or military departments, to qualify them for being elevated to the rank of *grandees* of the cortes. They shall be raised to the rank by a writ stamped with the great seal of the state. They cannot be divested of their functions but by the sentence of a competent court, pronounced in due form.—63. The deputies from the provinces shall be nominated by the same, in the proportion of at least 1 to 300,000 inhabitants; for this purpose the provinces shall be divided into so many elective districts as shall be necessary to furnish the population giving the right to the election of a deputy.—[The articles from 64 to 70 inclusive, contain the forms to be observed in electing the deputies of the people, the commercial bodies, and the universities.]—71. The cortes shall assemble upon the summons of the king. They cannot be adjourned, prorogued, or dissolved, but by his orders. They shall meet once, at least, in three years.—72. The president of the cortes shall be appointed by the king, but shall be chosen out of three candidates to be nominated by the cortes by ballot, and an absolute majority of votes.—73 and 74. On the opening of such session, the cortes shall nominate three candidates for the presidency, two vice-presidents, two secretaries,

secretaries, and three committees, each to consist of five members, viz. a committee of justice, of internal affairs, and of finance.—75. The sittings of the cortes shall not be public. Their votes shall be taken by ballot.—76. Neither, the opinions nor votes shall be printed or published. Any act of publication, in print or in writing, by the assembly of the cortes, or the individual members thereof, shall be regarded as an act of insurrection.—77. The alterations to be made in the civil or criminal code, or in the system of finance, shall be laid before the cortes for their decision thereupon, by the orators of the council of state.—80. Should the cortes conceive themselves to have just grounds of complaint as to the conduct of any of the ministers, a petition, containing their alleged grievances and suggestions shall be carried by a deputation to the foot of the throne. The king shall appoint a commission, consisting of six councillors of state, and six councillors of Castile, to examine into the said petition.—81. The decrees of the king, issued in pursuance of the decision of the cortes, shall be introduced with the formula "upon consulting the cortes."

Title X.—Of the Spanish Colonies in America and Asia.

82. The Spanish colonies in America and Asia shall enjoy the same privileges as the mother country.—83. Each kingdom and province shall always have deputies at the seat of government, charged to watch over their particular interests, and to serve as their representatives in the cortes.—84. These deputies are 20 in number, viz, two from New Spain, two from Peru, two from the new kingdom of Gra-

nada, two from Buenos Ayres, two from the Philippine islands, one from the island of Cuba, one from Porto Rico, one from the province of Venezuela, one from Chareas, one from Quito, one from Chili, one from Guatimala, one from Guadalupe, one from the interior western provinces of New Spain, and one from the eastern provinces.—85. The said deputies shall exercise their functions during the period of eight years; and if upon the lapse of the same their successors shall not have yet arrived, they shall retain their functions until their actual arrival.

Title XI.—Of the Administration of Justice.

86. Spain shall be governed by one and the same code of civil laws.—87. The administration of justice is independent.—88. Justice shall be dispensed in the name of the king, by judges and courts of justice to be appointed by his majesty. All courts claiming particular privileges, and all the exclusive jurisdictions of any orders or seigniories whatever, are abolished.—[The remaining articles under this head contain nothing of general interest.]

Title XIII.—General Regulations.

107. There shall be a permanent alliance by sea and land, offensive and defensive, between France and Spain. The contingent to be furnished by each of the respective powers, in case of a continental or maritime war, shall be regulated by a separate treaty.—108. Foreigners who have performed, or may hereafter perform, great services to the state; who may prove useful from their talents, inventions, or zeal and activity; who may form great establishments, or purchase funded

funded estates paying a tax of fifty hard piastres,—are admissible to the rights of naturalization in Spain. The king confers this indulgence through his minister for internal affairs upon consulting his council of state.—109. The residence of every inhabitant of the Spanish territory is an inviolable sanctuary. It can only be entered in the day time, and for a purpose commanded by law, or in execution of an order issued by the public magistracy.—110.

No person domiciliated in the Spanish territory can be arrested, except in the actual commission of a crime, or by virtue of a lawful warrant in writing.—111. In order to the execution of a warrant of arrest, it is necessary, 1. That the reason of the arrest shall be formally set forth therein, and that it shall state the law enjoining the same. 2. That it shall be granted by an authority formally empowered by law to grant it. 3. That its contents shall be communicated, and a copy thereof given to the person to whom it applies.—112.

No jail or prison keeper can receive or hold any one in custody, without entering in his register a copy of the warrant or commitment, indictment, or sentence, or, in a word, every order whatsoever in virtue of which he holds the person in custody.—113. Every jailer or prison-keeper shall be compelled, and no order whatever shall be considered as an impediment, to bring his prisoners as often as he shall be required to do so, before the magistrate charged with the affairs of the police.—114. The relatives and friends of the prisoner shall not be prevented from entering the prison, upon their producing an order from the magistrate. A specific order

from the judge to the jailor can alone justify the detaining of a prisoner in close custody.—115. Persons not authorised by law to issue warrants of commitment who shall give orders for arresting, or cause to be arrested, any person whatsoever, as well as those who, in cases of legal arrest, shall detain the prisoner in any place not known as a legal jail, and all jailors contravening the three preceding articles, are guilty of the crime of arbitrary imprisonment.—116. The present constitutional statute shall successively, and according to the importance of the respective articles, be carried into execution by royal decrees or edicts, so that the whole shall be in operation before the 1st of January, 1813.—117. The freedom of the press shall be regulated two years after the constitutional statute shall have been in operation. The cortes shall pass a law respecting the freedom of the press.

Proclamation of Peace with the Spanish Nation by his Britannic Majesty.

At the court at the queen's palace, July 4, 1808; present, the king's most excellent majesty in council.

HIS majesty having taken into his consideration the glorious exertions of the Spanish nation for the deliverance of their country from the tyranny and usurpation of France, and the assurances which his majesty has received from several of the provinces of Spain, of their friendly disposition towards this kingdom, his majesty is pleased, by and with the advice

of

of his privy council, to order and it is hereby ordered,

1. That all hostilities against Spain on the part of his majesty shall immediately cease.—2. That the blockade of all the ports of Spain, except such as may be still in the possession or under control of France, shall be forthwith raised.—3. That all ships and vessels belonging to Spain, shall have free admission into the ports of his majesty's dominions, as before the present hostilities.—4. That all ships and vessels belonging to Spain, which shall be met at sea by his majesty's ships and cruizers, shall be treated in the same manner as the ships of states in amity with his majesty, and shall be suffered to carry on any trade now considered by his majesty to be lawfully carried on by neutral ships.—5. That all vessels and goods belonging to persons residing in the Spanish colonies, which shall be detained by any of his majesty's cruizers after the date hereof, shall be brought into port, and shall be carefully preserved in safe custody, to await his majesty's farther pleasure, until it shall be known whether the said colonies, or any of them, in which the owners of such ships and goods reside, shall have made common cause with Spain against the power of France.

And the right hon. the lords commissioners of his majesty's treasury, his majesty's principal secretaries of state, the lords commissioners of the admiralty, the judge of the high court of admiralty, and the judges of the courts of vice-admiralty, are to take such measures herein as to them may respectively appertain.

STEPH. COITRELL.

Speech delivered in his Majesty's Name on the Prorogation of Parliament, July 4.

“My Lords, and Gentlemen,
“We have, it in command from his majesty to express to you the great satisfaction which he derives from being enabled, by putting an end to the present session of parliament, to terminate the laborious attendance which the public business has required of you.

“The measure which you have adopted for the improvement of the military force of the country, promises to lay the foundation of a system of internal defence eminently useful, and peculiarly adapted to the exigencies of these times.

“The sanction which you have given to those measures of defensive retaliation, to which the violent attacks of the enemy, upon the commerce and resources of this kingdom; compelled his majesty to resort; has been highly satisfactory to his majesty.

“His majesty doubts not that in the result the enemy will be convinced of the impolicy of persevering in a system which retorts upon himself, in so much greater proportion, those evils which he endeavours to inflict upon this country.

“Gentlemen of the House of Commons,

“We are commanded by his majesty to return his most hearty acknowledgments for the cheerfulness and liberality with which the necessary supplies for the current year have been provided.

“His majesty directs us to assure you, that he participates in the satisfaction with which you most have contemplated the flourishing situation of the revenue and credit of

of the country, notwithstanding the continued pressure of the war; and he congratulates you upon having been enabled to provide for the exigencies of the public service, with so small an addition to the public burthens.

“ His majesty commands us to thank you for having enabled him to make good his engagements with his allies; and to express to you the particular gratification which he has derived from the manner in which you have provided for the establishment of his sister, her royal highness the duchess of Brunswick.

“ My Lords, and Gentlemen,

“ His majesty has great satisfaction in informing you, that, notwithstanding the formidable confederacy united against his ally the king of Sweden, that sovereign perseveres, with unabated vigour and constancy, to maintain the honour and independence of his crown; no effort has been wanting on the part of his majesty to support him in the arduous contest in which he is engaged.

“ The recent transactions in Spain and Italy have exhibited new and striking proofs of the unbounded and unprincipled ambition which actuates the common enemy of every established government and independent nation in the world.

“ His majesty views, with the liveliest interest, the loyal and determined spirit manifested by the Spanish nation, in resisting the violence and perfidy with which their dearest rights have been assailed.

“ Thus nobly struggling against the tyranny and usurpation of France, the Spanish nation can no longer be considered as the enemy

of Great Britain; but is recognized by his majesty as a natural friend and ally.

“ We are commanded to inform you that communications have been made to his majesty from several of the provinces of Spain, soliciting the aid of his majesty. The answer of his majesty to these communications has been received in Spain with every demonstration of those sentiments of confidence and affection which are congenial to the feelings and true interests of both nations. And his majesty commands us to assure you that he will continue to make every exertion in his power for the support of the Spanish cause; guided in the choice and in the direction of his exertions by the wishes of those in whose behalf they are employed.

“ In contributing to the success of this just and glorious cause, his majesty has no other object than that of preserving unimpaired the integrity and independence of the Spanish monarchy. But he trusts that the same efforts which are directed to that great object, may, under the blessing of Divine Providence, lead in their effects, and by their example, to the restoration of the liberties and the peace of Europe.”

PRECAUTIONS

Which it will be proper to observe throughout the different provinces of Spain, in the necessity to which they have been driven by the French, of resisting the unjust and violent possession which their armies are endeavouring to take of the kingdom.

WE cannot doubt a moment of the exertions which the united

ted provinces of Spain would make to obstruct and defeat the malicious designs of the French, and that they will sacrifice even their lives on this occasion, the most important, and even unparalleled in the history of the nation, both in the thing itself, and in the horrible means of ingratitude and perfidy by which the French have undertaken, pursued, and are still endeavouring to effect our slavery:—

1. Let the first object be to avoid all general actions, and to convince ourselves of the very great hazards, without any advantage, or even the hope of it, to which they would expose us. The reasons of this resolution are many, and such as any one will discover who has the use of his understanding.

2. A war of partizans is the system which suits us; the embarrassing and wasting the enemy's armies by want of provisions, destroying bridges, throwing up intrenchments in proper situations, and other similar means. The situation of Spain, its many mountains, and the passes which they present, its rivers and torrents, and even the collocation of its provinces, invite us to carry on this species of warfare successfully.

3. It is indispensable that each province should have its general, of known talents, and of such experience as our situation permits, that his heroic loyalty should inspire the utmost confidence, and that every general should have under his command officers of merit, particularly of artillery and engineers.

4. As a combined union of plans is the soul of every well concerted enterprize, and that which alone can promise and facilitate a success-

ful issue, it appears indispensable that there should be three generalissimos, who should act in concert with each other—one who should command in the four kingdoms of Andalusia, in Murcia, and lower Estremadura—another in Valencia, Arragon, and Catalonia; a person of the greatest credit being appointed to Navarre, the Biscayan provinces, Montanus, Asturias, Rioja, and the north of Old Castile, for the purpose which will be mentioned hereafter.

5. Each of these generals and generalissimos will form an army of veterans, troops and peasantry united, and put himself in a situation to undertake enterprizes, and to succour the most exposed points, keeping up always a frequent communication with the other generalissimos, in order that all may act by common accord, and assist one another.

6. Madrid and la Mancha require an especial general, to concert and execute the enterprizes which their particular local situation demand.—His only object must be to embarrass the enemy's armies, to take away or cut off their provisions, to attack them in flank and rear, and not to leave them a moment of repose. The courage of these inhabitants is well-known, and they will eagerly embrace such enterprizes if they are led as they should be. In the succession war, the enemy entered twice into the interior of the kingdom, and even as far as its capital, and this was the cause of their defeat, their entire ruin, and their utter failure of success.

7. The generalissimos of the north and east will block up the entrances to the provinces under their

their command, and come to the assistance of any one that may be attacked by the enemy, to prevent as much as possible all pillage, and preserve its inhabitants from the desolation of war; the many mountains and defiles which are on the confines of these provinces being favourable to such projects.

8. The destination of the general of Navarre, Biscay, and the rest of this department, is the most important of all, in which he will be assisted by the generals of the north and east, with the troops and other succours which he stands in need of. His whole business must be to shut the entrance of Spain against fresh French troops, and to harass and destroy those that return from Spain to France by this point. The very rugged local situation of these provinces will be of singular advantage in such a design, and these enterprises, if well concerted, and carried into execution, will no doubt be successful; and the same may be understood of the different points by which the French troops which are in Portugal may come into Spain, or by which French troops may enter through Rousillon into Catalunia, for there is not much to be apprehended for Arragon. And even from Portugal it is not thought that they will escape, on account of the proclamations which have been circulated in that kingdom, and the hatred that they before bore to the French being increased without measure by the innumerable evils which they have been made to suffer, and the cruel oppression in which they are held by them.

9. At the same time, it would be very proper that the generalissimos should publish and circulate fre-

quent proclamations amongst the people, and rouse their courage and loyalty, shewing them that they have every thing to fear from the horrible perfidy with which the French have dealt with Spain, and even with their king Ferdinand VII.; and that if they rule over us all is lost, kings, monarchy, property, liberty, independence, and religion; and that, therefore, it is necessary to sacrifice our lives and property in defence of the king and of the country, and though our lot (which we hope will never come to pass) should destine us to become slaves, let us become so fighting and dying like gallant men, not giving up ourselves basely to the yoke like sheep, as the late infamous government would have done, and fixing upon Spain and her, slavery, eternal ignominy, and disgrace. France has never domineered over us; nor set her foot in our territory. We have many times mastered her, not by deceit, but by force of arms; we have made her kings prisoners, and we have made the nation tremble—we are the same Spaniards, and France, and Europe, and the world shall see, that we are not less gallant, nor less brave, than the most glorious of our ancestors.

10. All persons of education in the provinces should be stimulated to frame, print, and publish frequent, short discourses, in order to preserve the public opinion, and the ardour of the nation, confuting at the same time the infamous diaries of Madrid, which the baseness of the late government has permitted and still permits to be published in Madrid itself, and has caused to be circulated abroad, detecting their falsehoods and continual contradictions;

dictions; let them cover with shame the miserable authors of those diaries, and sometimes extend their remarks to those charlatans, the French gazetteers, and even to their *Moniteur*; and let them display and publish to Spain, and to all Europe, their horrible falsehoods and, venal praises, for they afford abundant matter for such a work. Let all such perverted minds tremble at Spain, and let France know that the Spaniards have thoroughly penetrated their designs, and therefore it is that they justly detest and abominate them, and that they will sooner lay down their lives than submit to their iniquitous and barbarous yoke.

11. Care shall be taken to explain to the nation, and to convince them, that when freed, as we trust to be, from this civil war, to which the French have forced us, and when placed in a state of tranquillity, our lord and king, Ferdinand VII. being restored to the throne, under him and by him the cortes will be assembled, abuses reformed, and such laws shall be enacted as the circumstances of the time and experience may dictate for the public good and happiness. Things which we Spaniards know how to do, which we have done as well as other nations, without any necessity that the vile French come to instruct us, and, according to their custom, under the mask of friendship, and wishes for our happiness, should contrive, for this alone they are contriving, to plunder us, to violate our women, to assassinate us, to deprive us of our liberty, our laws, and our king, to scoff at and destroy our holy religion, as they have hitherto done, and will always continue to do so, as long

as that spirit of perfidy and ambition which oppresses and tyrannizes over them shall endure.

JUAN BAPTISTA PARDO,
Secretary.

By order of the Supreme Junta.

PROCLAMATION

Of Peace with England; and Sweden her ally.

Ferdinand VII. king of Spain, and in his royal name:

THE supreme junta of this principality declares a general peace with England, and at the same time the closest alliance with that nation, which has with the greatest generosity offered all the succours and assistance that have been asked of her. They also declare peace with Sweden, and order that all our ports should be open to the vessels of both nations, and that this royal resolution be communicated to all the justices of the principality.

Manifesto of the Junta of Seville.

THE defence of our country, and of our king, that of our laws, our religion, and of all the rights of man, trodden down and violated in a manner which is without example, by the emperor of the French, Napoleon I. and by his troops in Spain, compelled the whole nation to take up arms, and to chuse itself a form of government; and in the difficulties and dangers into which the French had plunged it, all, or nearly all, the provinces, as it were by the inspiration of Heaven, and in a manner little short of miraculous, created supreme

supreme juntas, delivered themselves up to their guidance, and placed in their hands the rights and the ultimate fate of Spain.

The effects have hitherto most happily corresponded with the designs of those who formed them. The provinces have armed themselves; some have formed large armies of veteran troops, and have united to them the enlisted peasants; all, or nearly all, have fought and are fighting against the French in behalf of their king, Ferdinand VII. with a valour and a constancy, of which neither Greece nor Rome, nor any other nation of the world, had any idea. The French are really amazed and terrified, and the hopes of conquering them are as sure as human certainty can reach.

The only thing which can impair or frustrate them is discord, and the want of union among the provinces themselves. Hence the supreme junta paid its first attention to remove that danger, with which view it printed and published the official paper, entitled *Precautions*, which it communicated in every possible manner to all the provinces of Spain. The bringing this plan to perfection, and carrying it into complete execution, is now more than ever necessary. Our enemies are anxious to foment our divisions. Human passions, personal interests ill-understood, the ignorance, the weakness, the blindness of men, may, perhaps, without their knowing it, assist the evil designs of our enemies, and thus destroy a beginning so glorious, and facilitate and consummate the entire ruin of Spain. This it is that we are endeavouring to guard against, urged only by the most sacred motives,

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by our honour, by our loyalty as affectionate subjects, by our duty as Spaniards, by our faith as Christians; and here we protest before God and man, whose aid we invoke with all fervency, that we will write nothing but what is dictated to us by the love of our country, the preservation of our king, and of our rights, not mingling with it any thing that appears to partake of passion, of interest, or of any other personal motive; but being always ready to hear the opinions of the other provinces, and to amend our own errors, wherever it shall be shewn that we have committed any.

Be it the chief care to avoid every thing which is not absolutely necessary, and which may serve to sow the seeds of disunion in the provinces, and to excite divisions among them; and of this nature we esteem all conversations about the royal house, and of the order of succession in different families which derive a right from it. There is no person so ignorant of the history of Spain, and of the manner in which the throne has been occupied, as not to know the changes which have taken place in the succession. It is also known what are the legislative proceedings upon this point; what the manner in which endeavours were used to introduce an alteration into them; the different pretexts for this alteration; and, lastly, the final settlement which was made by the cortes of 1789, and which ought in future to be the rule.

But are we in a situation to talk of these matters? Long live our king and indisputable sovereign Ferdinand VII. and long live his august brothers, heirs of the crown,

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after his attested decease. Why then anticipate those inquiries which can only be necessary in default of these? This anticipation may produce, by the diversity of opinions which it creates, a cruel disunion, which, of itself alone, will utterly ruin the only aim and object which Spain at present has in view, and that is, its own entire and independent preservation for its sovereign lord and king Ferdinand VII. and his undisputed successors; and, with its king, the preservation of its own rights and laws, and the unity of the Holy Roman Catholic Apostolical religion, which it has gloriously professed and defended for so many ages. It is, therefore, both absurd and dangerous to dispute about the succession in cases evidently remote; all the provinces of Spain ought to confine themselves in this respect to this general expression—*“Hereditary succession, according to the fundamental laws of the monarchy.”*

Not so is it with the second question moved by the various juntas of the kingdom, which certainly keeps the people in a state of disquietude and agitation, is the continual object of public conversation, and may produce divisions fatal to the generous design, and the virtuous obligation into which we have entered, of defending ourselves against our enemies, and of preserving our country, our king, our monarchy, our laws, and our religion. This second question is—*is there a necessity for creating a supreme government, which may unite the sovereign authority of all the provinces, till the restitution of king Ferdinand to his throne?*

This supreme junta declares

openly, that from the beginning to the present time it has been persuaded that such a supreme government is altogether necessary, and that without it the country is in danger, and its enemies will find means of completing its ruin; and the reasons of this determination and declaration are so evident, and present themselves with such clearness to the eyes of all, that they cannot fail of convincing all who have the least notion of public affairs, or a correct insight into the nature of man, the passions which move him, and the order of human affairs in all ages. Various supreme juntas and military chiefs have expressed their conviction of this truth.

A conviction of the same springs from the indispensable necessity of a civil government in every nation, whose duty it is to attend to the happiness of the kingdom, and to which the military may be subordinate. The confidence of the nation, and consequently the public funds and the capitals of individuals, must necessarily have a civil government for their support. Without it the military power would, indispensably, be under the necessity of employing violence, with the view of acquiring that confidence which it never could attain, and getting a command of those capitals, which it would be equally impossible for it to bring within its grasp; and thus it would ultimately destroy that public prosperity and happiness, which ought to be the sole object of every government. Let us not vainly flatter ourselves with notions of Roman dictators, and the other military chiefs of the ancient republics: they were placed under very prudent

dent restraints, and the duration of their authority was limited to a very short period. The dangers of complete despotism and usurpation kept them in continual alarm, and compelled them to take very rigorous precautions, which are very incompatible with the habits of modern times. Spain has derived a lesson of wisdom from the history of past ages: she has never thought of appointing a military dictator. Her military chiefs (and it is a fact most honourable to the Spanish name) have been the first to embrace, with the utmost cordiality, a system of things as ancient in Spain as the monarchy itself. The experience of our times—the confidence of the people in the supreme juntas—the facility and abundance with which pecuniary resources have been placed at their disposal—the heroic loyalty with which the military chiefs and the army have acknowledged and obeyed them, and the happy issue hitherto of their civil administration, and the military enterprizes which they have directed, have placed in the most conspicuous light, and established beyond all doubt, this fundamental truth, and most essential political principle.

But who is to create this supreme civil government? Who are to compose it? Where shall be its place of residence? What the extent of its authority? How shall it be established without interrupting the public tranquillity, and producing disunion among the different provinces? How is the public opinion to be so regulated as that, without opposing it, this tranquillity shall be attained, and all risk of disturbance obviated? These are the important and serious questions

which we shall now proceed to examine; and upon which, influenced solely by the love of our country, and our anxiety to promote its welfare, we will enter into a frank explanation of our sentiments.

In the various papers that have been published upon this subject, we are told that the cortes should assemble; that they should elect representatives; and farther, that the old council of Castile should convoke them, and the whole of the proceedings should be executed under its authority.

Most assuredly we do not understand the grounds upon which this decision rests. The council of Castile, though a lawful assembly, never convoked the cortes. Why then should we give it an authority which it does not possess? Is it because it lent the whole weight of its influence to such important changes, with regard to which it had no powers, nor any authority whatsoever? Is it because it has acted in opposition to those fundamental laws, which it was established to preserve and defend? Is it because it afforded every facility to the enemy to usurp the sovereignty of Spain, to destroy the hereditary succession of the crown and the dynasty legally in possession, and recognized and seated on the throne a foreigner, destitute even of the shadow of a title to it; for it is incontrovertibly manifest, that the renunciation of Charles IV. in his favour gave him no such claim? What confidence could the Spanish nation place in a government created by an authority invalid and illegal, and which had also rendered itself suspected, by the previous commission of acts of so horrible a description, that they may be justly

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ranked

ranked with the most atrocious crimes against the country?

The council of Castile being thus excluded from all consideration—who should convoke the cortes? The authority to convoke them is a part of the peculiar and exclusive prerogative of the king. The provinces would not submit to any other authority; they would not unite; there would be no cortes; and should a few delegates assemble, that very circumstance would expose the kingdom to division—the evil which all wish to avoid.

Besides, the cities who have votes in the cortes have not undertaken the defence of the kingdom, nor of themselves, nor in their corporate capacity, have they made any effort to defend it. We entertain the most profound respect both for them and their rights; but truth compels us to speak out.

Most undoubtedly, however, the cities who have votes in the cortes, in thus conducting themselves, acted with consummate prudence, and with a due observance of law. The kingdom found itself suddenly without a king, and without a government—a situation indeed unknown in our history, and to our laws. The people legally resumed the power of appointing a government; and this truth has been openly avowed by various supreme juntas. The people created these juntas without paying any regard to the cities who have votes in the cortes. The legitimate power is therefore deposited with the supreme juntas, and, in virtue of that power, they have governed and do govern with real authority, and have been and still are acknowledged and obeyed by all ranks of subjects, and by all cities in their respective districts

having votes in the cortes. Their situation has not changed; the danger still exists; no new authority has supervened; the lawful authority therefore resides entire in the juntas which the people created, and to which they confided it.

It is, therefore, incontestable that the supreme juntas have the sole and exclusive right of electing those who are to compose the supreme government, as the only means of protecting and preserving the kingdom, whose defence the people have intrusted to them, and which cannot be accomplished but by the establishment of a supreme government. Nothing is more evident than this truth.

And whom shall the supreme junta elect? Most certainly individuals of their own body; for they alone derive their power from the people, and it is in their constituent members that the people have reposed entire confidence. Should any other persons be chosen, they would possess neither the confidence nor the consent of the people, and all their acts would be null and void; and from this want of confidence, the nation would be exposed to intestine divisions, the last and greatest of all our calamities.

Hence, if there be any province in which the military power has alone been retained, results the absolute necessity of constituting supreme juntas, in which the power of the people shall reside, and by which they may act. Whether they shall be constituted by the petty cortes or any other bodies, their appointment in some form or other is indispensable, in order to the concentration of the legitimate power of the people, and the establishment

establishment of a civil government, which shall inspire confidence into the people, and proceed to the choice of persons who shall compose the supreme government, which, under the present circumstances, cannot be legitimate, unless it has its origin in the free consent of the people.

It seems then to be indispensably necessary, that all the supreme juntas, meeting on the same day, should each elect from among their own members two deputies to form the supreme government, and the persons so elected should, from that moment, be reputed, and actually be the governors-general of the kingdom; and that as such they should be universally acknowledged and obeyed.

Their authority is well known, and cannot be subject to any doubt. The supreme junta of Valencia has most judiciously marked its extent and limits, in the paper which they published on this question, on the 16th of July. We shall, therefore, be excused from going more at large into the consideration of it.

We will only add, that the supreme juntas ought to be continued with all their appointments and insignia, and be invested with the internal governments of their respective provinces, until the conclusion of the present state of things, but at the same time under due subordination to the supreme government. In those supreme juntas resides the legitimate power of those portions of the people who have respectively created them. It is their duty to take measures for ensuring the happiness of their constituents, through the medium of a just government, and vigilantly to protect and defend the rights of

every individual among them. For this purpose they ought to give their instructions to their respective deputies, constituting the supreme government; and it will be the duty of the latter to observe them, and to represent and support the claims of their provinces, as far as may be consistent with the general prosperity.

If there existed among us a royal personage, capable of presiding in this supreme government, reason and justice prescribe that he, and no other, should be appointed to that office. But if there be no such royal personage, the supreme government must elect a president from its own body. To obviate every danger, however, the presidency should be temporary, and continue only for a fortnight, a month, or any other term agreeable to the supreme government, upon the lapse of which period it should be incumbent on them to choose a different person.

We have already remarked, and it is unnecessary to repeat it, that the supreme juntas should elect, as deputies to the supreme government, such of their members as are most distinguished for their talents, their general knowledge of legislation, and all the branches of public welfare and government, recollecting that they are to be the depositaries of the hopes of the kingdom. This supreme junta, in full reliance upon the generous character of Spaniards, and their ardent attachment to the good of their country, assures itself that intrigue, party, or personal interest or predilections, will have no influence upon this occasion.

The supreme juntas will, in the first instance, appoint the place
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which shall be the seat of the supreme government, who shall afterwards adhere to or alter that appointment, as they think fit, according to a plurality of votes. The seat of government, as has been most wisely observed by the supreme junta of Valencia, ought to be at a distance from all the dangers of war, and should, as a claim to preference, possess other advantages of a local nature. Seville conceives herself to possess all these advantages, but has no anxiety to be selected; for she will most cordially sacrifice all her claims to what the other supreme juntas shall decide to be for the general prosperity of the kingdom. The supreme juntas will, therefore, make known their pleasure as to this point, when they notify the election of their deputies. In the mean time we will frankly state that La Mancha appears to us most convenient for the seat of government, and there we would particularly name its large cities of Ciudad Real or Almagro. But on this subject we are nowise anxious; we leave it entirely to the free choice of the supreme juntas.

It remains only that we speak of this supreme junta of Seville, upon which point we shall not say much. Certain persons, either ignorant or malevolent, have endeavoured to spread the persuasion that we affected a superiority over the other provinces. Any such thought has been far from us, although the general good of the nation has been our guide, and, as it were, the soul of all our determinations. We possessed the only foundery for cannon in the kingdom, and arms and ammunition in a certain degree

of abundance. Various captains-general acknowledge us from the commencement, and veteran troops were more numerous in our province than in other parts; and thus we formed an army in a shorter time, and have harassed the enemy, who have surrendered prisoners of war, with their general Dupont, and have capitulated for the divisions of generals Vedel and Gobert, who are to be conducted to France, amounting, altogether, to 17,000 men, so that there does not remain a single French soldier in arms in Andalusias; a victory most glorious and singular, which has been effected without the effusion of much Spanish blood, in which it appears we stand alone.

The local situation of the Andalusias presents also a more probable mode of defence against the arms of Napoleon, if he means to attack us; and, with this view, we have united with us the Portuguese provinces of Algarve and Alentexo, who have placed themselves under our protection; and the Canary Isles have sent us a deputy for the same purpose.

The greater opulence and other peculiar circumstances of these provinces offers resources which the rest want; and we have thus been enabled to make provision for immense expense, without having received any money from any other part, or imposed any contributions.

The marine arsenal of the Isle of Leon, perhaps the most considerable of all, obeyed us from the beginning, and with it the Spanish squadron off Cadiz, whose force is the greatest, and has since been augmented

augmented by that of the French moored in that harbour, and surrendered to us at discretion.

Gibraltar, the famous English fortress, is in our territory, and one of the most numerous squadrons of that nation kept our coast in a state of blockade. We immediately, therefore, opened a communication with Gibraltar, and with the English squadron, which has given us all the assistance that was in its power, sent us a resident minister at the very first, and conveyed our deputies to London, to request subsidies, and settle a peace advantageous to the whole nation.

Amidst so many serious cares, we have transmitted all the arms which it was possible to transmit to Granada. Estremadura has received a still greater number, and has experienced our protection, and so has Cordova and Jaen. We have offered arms to La Mancha, to Murcia, to Tarragon, to Gerona, who requested them of us, and we exerted ourselves to the utmost to fulfil the promises which we had made.

We have not forgot the rest of the European provinces and kingdoms, and we hope in time that the effects of our zeal and vigilance will be made clear and public.

The Americas claimed at the first a great share of our attention; in order to preserve that so principal a part of the Spanish monarchy, we have sent envoys and commissaries thither and to Asia, in order that they may unite themselves to us, which we could not do without qualifying ourselves as the supreme junta for the government of Spain and the Indies, and we trust that this title and our cares will not be found useless. So many labours,

surrounded by so many dangers, will, we trust, deserve some consideration of our country, for the love and defence of which only we have done and suffered so much.

With all this, we repeat that we neither affect nor desire any superiority. Whatever we have done, we owed to our country; it was an indispensable obligation upon us. Our only object is, that Spain may preserve its integrity and independence, for our lord and king, Ferdinand VII. and for that object we joyfully sacrifice our lives. May God, who has so clearly and marvellously shewn his protection of Spain, grant a safe return to its king Ferdinand VII. and then with the supreme government, he will determine what may be his royal will, either commanding an union of the cortes, or by such other means as his prudence may suggest, and will facilitate the reform of abuses and the general happiness of the kingdom, securing it upon such foundations as are firm, and subject to no change.

If these hopes are vain, in which the clemency of God leads us to indulge, then the existing supreme government will itself determine what is most conducive to the interest of the kingdom, conforming itself to the fundamental laws thereof, defending it against the fury and malice of our enemies, and preserving this monarchy, in which itself, the liberty of nations, and the catholic church, the beloved spouse of our Lord Jesus Christ, is so deeply interested.

Given at the royal palace of Seville, this 3d day of August, 1808.

FRANCIS SAAVEDRA, Archbishop of Laodicea; the Dean of the Chapter of the Holy Church;
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FRANCIS XAVIER CIENFUEGOS; VINCENT HORE; FRANCIS DIAZ BERMUDO; MANUEL GIL, C.M.; Father JOSEPH RAMIREZ; JUAN FERNANDO AGUIRE; Count TILLY; Marquis de la GRANINA; Marquis de TORRES, and eleven others.

By command of his Serene Highness.

PROCLAMATION

Issued by the Supreme Junta of Spain, to the Spanish Nation.

SPANIARDS! The supreme junta of government, the depositary of the supreme authority, has devoted the first moments which succeeded its formation, to the urgent measures which its situation, and the circumstances of the time, prescribe. But from the first instant of its installation, it has believed that one of its obligations is to address itself to you, with the dignity which becomes a great and generous nation, in order to inform you of your situation, and establish in a frank and noble manner those relations of reciprocal confidence which are the bases of every just and prudent administration. Without these, neither the government can fulfil the high duty imposed upon it, nor the governed attain the objects desired.

A tyranny of twenty years, exercised by the unfittest hands ever known, had placed our country on the brink of perdition. The oppressor of Europe saw that the time was arrived for carrying into execution the plot he had long been forming, and adding the richest and most brilliant wreath to his

bloody crown. Every thing appeared to flatter his hopes. The nation was alienated from its government by hatred or contempt—the royal family was divided—the beloved heir to the crown accused, calumniated, and, if possible, degraded; the public force dispersed and disorganized; the resources exhausted; the French troops were introduced into the kingdom, and had already seized the strong places of the frontier; finally, 60,000 men were ready to enter the capital, in order from thence to give law to the kingdom.

It was at this critical moment that, suddenly awaking from the slumber in which you lay, you precipitated the favourite from the height of power he had usurped, and placed on the throne the prince you idolized. An act of fraud the most abominable which the records of human perversity bear, deprived you of your most innocent king; and the aggression of Bonaparte and tyranny of the French were announced to Spain by the cannonade of the 2d of May on Madrid, and by the blood and slaughter of its innocent and brave inhabitants—a horrible but fit prelude of the fate Napoleon was preparing for you.

From that memorable day, when the supreme authority was sold to the enemy which our deceived monarch had left at the head of the government—when the other authorities were oppressed, and the seat of the empire occupied by the foe, the French believed that no further resistance would be made, and spread themselves from east to south, to extend their dominion, and enjoy the fruits of their perfidy. Fools! they were not aware that they

they were insulting and outraging a people most jealous of their honour, and that they rushed on inevitable perdition.

The irritated provinces of Spain rose against the oppressors suddenly, but with solemnity, and swore to perish rather than sustain so ignominious a tyranny. Europe, in astonishment, was informed at the same instant of the offence and the chastisement; and a nation which but a short time before had scarcely the semblance of power, became at once the object of the interest and admiration of the universe.

Our situation was unexampled in our history, unforeseen by our laws, and, as it were, opposed to our habits. It was necessary to give a direction to the public force, corresponding with the will and the sacrifices of the people; and this necessity created the juntas in the provinces, which collected in themselves the whole authority of the nation, in order to expel the public enemy and maintain the peace of the interior. What their energy has been—how they have discharged the trust imposed upon them by the people—and what gratitude the nation owes them, let the fields declare which have been covered with the bodies of Frenchmen, the military spoils of the invader, which serve to deck our temples as trophies; the lives and independence of the greater part of the national magistrates, which have been preserved, and the applauses of so many thousands of individuals who owe to them their liberty and their vengeance.

But as soon as the capital was delivered from the enemy, and the communication between the pro-

vinces was re-established, it was necessary to unite the public authority into one centre, which had been divided into as many parts as there were provincial juntas, whence the strength and activity of the nation could be called into exercise. This was the decision of the public voice, and this was the measure adopted by the provinces. Their respective juntas nominated deputies, who concurred in forming the centre of authority; and in less time than had been in French Machiavelianism to destroy our ancient government, a new and much more formidable administration was seen in the central junta which is now addressing you.

The concurrence in the national will, which wrought this good—the universal freedom from selfish motives which induced the provinces to intrust their authority and power to other hands; this has been, Spaniards, your greatest action, this your best victory. The present age which beholds you, and posterity, to whom you will serve for study and admiration, will find in this act the most convincing proof of your virtue and prudence. The enemies of Spain had already designed the moment of your ruin; they already saw the divisions which would be formed by the convulsions of civil discord—they already triumphed, believing the provinces would be divided by ambition, and that some pretending to superiority over the rest, would apply to them for protection and aid. But, lo! a central power has been formed before their eyes, and peacefully acknowledged by all; the car of the state runs upon one axle-tree, and vehemently and powerfully forces its way, crushing

crushing all the pretensions and all the hopes of their iniquity.

The junta being established, its attention was at once turned to the discharge of its duties. To drive the enemy beyond the Pyrenees, and compel him to deliver up the august person of our august king, and those of his brother and uncle, recognizing at the same time our liberty and independence, was the first duty which the junta conceived the nation had imposed upon it. Much of this it found already effected, at the period of its establishment; the public enthusiasm was kindled; armies were formed, composed almost wholly of fresh troops; important victories were gained; the enemy was driven to the frontiers; the opinion in favour of his military skill destroyed, and the laurels which adorned those conquerors of Europe transferred to the brows of our warriors.

This had already been done, and was what might be expected from the impulse of the first moment; but having effected all that could be produced by impetuosity and valour, it is necessary to avail ourselves of the means prescribed by prudence and constancy; for what we have yet to attain, Spaniards, we must repeat it again and again, is an arduous undertaking, and ought to call into exercise all your enthusiasm and all your virtue.

You will be convinced of this when you turn your attention to the internal and external situation of public affairs, at the time when the junta began to exercise its functions. Our armies full of ardour, and eager to march to victory, but naked and unprovided with every thing: beyond, the remains of the French armies await-

ing reinforcements on the banks of the Ebro, ravaging Upper Castile, the Rioja; and the provinces of Biscay: occupying Pampeluna and Barcelona with their fortresses; masters of the castle of St. Ferdinand, ruling over almost the whole of Navarre and Catalonia; the despot of France, restless on his throne, deceiving the slaves who obey him by the grossest impostures, and striving to lull to inactivity all the other states, in order to discharge on us alone the enormous weight of his military force; the powers of the continent, in fine, oppressed or insulted by France, expecting with anxiety the issue of this first struggle, desiring to declare against the common enemy of all, but proceeding with the timid circumspection which their past misfortunes counsel.

It is evident that the sole asylum which remains for the preservation of their independence, is a general confederacy—a confederacy which will assuredly take place at last, for interest persuades and necessity prescribes it. Which is the state which can hold relations of amity with Bonaparte? Who can give credit to his words and promises, or trust to his loyalty and good faith? The fate of Spain will serve as a lesson and a warning, her resolution as an example, her victories as an incentive; and the reprobate who has trampled under foot the principles of equity, and the sanctity of good faith, is placed himself in the hard necessity of having more power than all of them, or of being buried under the mountains raised by his frenzy.

The security and certainty of a league, so necessary and just, are to be determined by our previous exertions,

exertions, and the prudence of our conduct. When we shall have raised a mass of military force as terrible for its quantity as for its preparation—when we shall hold in our hands all the means of profiting by success, or remedying a reverse—when the sound judgment and integrity which distinguish the Spanish people, among all others, will manifest themselves in the regulation of all our proceedings and pretensions: then all Europe, secure of triumphing, will unite itself to us, and avenge at once its injuries and ours. Then Spain will enjoy the glory of having saved the powers of the continent, and reposing in the moderation and rectitude of her desires, and in the strength of her situation, she will be, and she will be recognized as the loyal confederate of all, but neither the slave nor the tyrant of any.

Let us then now employ all the means we possess, as if we had to sustain alone the whole force of France. For this purpose, the junta has believed that it is necessary to maintain under arms 550,000 effective men; the 50,000 to be cavalry; an enormous mass of strength, and disproportionate it may be confessed to our present situation and our ancient wants, but by no means unsuited to the present occasion. The three armies which are to occupy the frontier, and the bodies of reserve which are to support their operations, and supply their wants, will easily absorb the designated number. And what are they, or the sacrifices which necessity requires, compared with the enterprize we have proposed to ourselves, and the enthusiasm which animates us? Spaniards,

the power of our adversary is colossal, his ambition is still greater than his power, and his existence is incompatible with our liberty. Judge of his exertions by the barbarity of his character, and the extremity of his danger; but these are the exertions of a tyrant, and will be confounded, opposed to the valour of a great and free people, who have resolved upon no other termination to their conflict than to conquer or die.

Considering the magnitude and importance of this first object, the junta turned its attention to the vast means necessary to attain it. The neglect of the last government, if that may be called government which was one continued and monstrous dilapidation, had exhausted all the sources of prosperity, had obstructed the canals which brought life and food to all the members of the state, dissipating the treasures, disorganizing the public force, and consuming the resources.

The junta has already announced to the public the great savings which result from the suppression of the expenses of the royal household, the enormous sums which had been devoured by the greedy and insatiable avarice of the favourite, the product of his great possessions, and that of the estates of those unworthy Spaniards who fled with the tyrant. We may add to these the profit which will accrue to the state from a free navigation and commerce, and from the communication already opened with America. Principally we rely on a well-arranged administration of the public revenue, and regularly-distributed contributions, to the reform and management of which the junta will directly apply its

its attention. We may add to these means, the succours which are now given with so generous a hand, and will be hereafter granted us by the English nation. But it is incumbent on us, that these succours which have been so opportunely given, and so gratefully received, and the effects of which have been so beneficial, should be hereafter recognised and recompensed with the reciprocity and decorum which become a great and powerful nation. The Spanish monarchy ought not, in this respect, to be placed in a state of inequality and dependence upon its allies.

The produce of these means will certainly be great, but at the same time it will be slow, and for that reason insufficient for the urgent necessities of the state. Are they sufficient to furnish for a time the ordinary supplies, discharge the immense debt which will be incurred, and maintain the formidable army which is to be kept on foot? But the junta will, in case the manifold events and force of circumstances should exhaust the treasury, have recourse at once to the nation with the confidence which its ardent patriotism ought to inspire, and the necessity and notoriety of the sacrifice. For evils so extraordinary as the present, remedies as extraordinary must be applied; and as the government judges it to be one of its obligations to give an exact account to the nation of the application of the resources and funds which it is about to administer, it has no fear that its demands will be disregarded through distrust, or be detested as arbitrary.

Thus much with respect to the defence of the kingdom, and the

means of effecting it, the most urgent concerns and the first in the order of time which the junta has under its care. But, Spaniards, there are others as necessary and primary as that, without attending to which the junta would fulfil but half its duties, and which is the great reward of your enthusiasm and sacrifices. Political independence is nothing without felicity and interior security. Turn your eyes to the time when oppressed and degraded, ignorant of your own strength, and finding no asylum against your evils, either in the institutions or in the laws, you held foreign dominion less odious than the wasting tyranny which internally consumed you. The dominion of a will always capricious, and for the greater part unjust, has, for your calamity, lasted long enough in Spain: your patience, your love of order, and your generous loyalty, have been long enough abused; it is time that the voice of the law only should begin to command, founded on general utility. This was the desire of our good and unfortunate monarch; this was the path he pointed out, even during an unjust captivity to which a perfidious traitor reduced him. Country, Spaniards! ought not to be a vague and a vain name to you: it ought to import in your ears and in your heart the sanctuary of the laws and customs, the theatre for talents, and the reward of virtue.

Yes, Spaniards, the great day is drawing near, when, according to the uniform desires of our beloved king, and of his loyal people, the monarchy will be established on solid and durable bases. You will then possess fundamental laws, which

which will be beneficial, friends of order, restrictive of arbitrary power; and these being re-established, and your genuine rights being assured, you will rejoice to behold a monument worthy of you, and of the monarch who is to watch over the preservation of it, blessing, amid so many calamities, the share which the people will have had in its erection. The junta, which holds in its hand the supreme direction of the national forces, in order, by all means, to assure its defence, felicity, and glory; the junta, which has already publicly acknowledged the great influence which a nation ought to have in the government, which alone, and without any assistance, has done every thing in the name of the king and for his cause; the junta solemnly promise to you, that you shall possess that country which you have invoked with so much enthusiasm, and defended, or rather conquered, with so much valour.

Until the military operations, slow at first, in order better to secure a happy result, shall furnish the opportunity and repose necessary for the grand and solemn reunion which it announces to you, the government will take care privately to discuss and to examine the projects of reform, and the institutions which ought to be presented for the national sanction. Without instruction, or knowledge, or data, the majestic work of legislation is the result of a blind and unstable will, and as such, exposed to error, inconsistency, and contempt! Wise Spaniards! you who devoted to the investigation of the social principles, unite the love of humanity to the love of country,

and instruction of zeal: this concern is yours, the happy execution of which is so necessary. The junta, instead of rejecting your council, desires and seeks it. The knowledge and illustration of our ancient constitutional law; changes, which, in their re-establishment, they ought to undergo from the difference of circumstances; reforms which are to be made in the civil, criminal, and commercial codes; projects to meliorate public education, which, among us, is so greatly in decline; a system of regulated economy for the better distribution and collection of the national revenue; all these claim your attention, and form a vast series of problems and objects of meditation, in which you may manifest your talents and your acquirements. The junta will form from among you different committees, each intrusted with a particular department, to whom are to be freely addressed all writings on matters of government and administration, in which may be discussed the different objects which claim the general attention; so that each contributing by his exertions to give a just and enlightened direction to the public opinion, they may enable the nation to establish solidly and tranquilly its internal felicity.

The Spanish revolution will thus be distinguished by characteristic features, altogether the reverse of those which were seen in the French revolution. That began in the wretched internal intrigues of courtiers; ours, in the necessity of repelling an unjust and powerful aggressor: in that there were as many opinions concerning the forms of government as there were factions

factions, or rather persons: in ours, there is but one opinion, one general desire; an hereditary monarchy, and Ferdinand VII. on the throne. The French, shedding torrents of blood during their anarchy, proclaimed no one principle which they did not afterwards reject; they made no law which they did not violate, and at last they submitted to a barbarous despotism. The Spaniards, who, on account of the perfidious invasion of the French, found themselves without a government, and without communication with each other, have not shewn themselves terrible or bloody, except towards their enemies, and well know how to meliorate their institutions, and consolidate their liberty, without overthrowing the state.

O Spaniards! How beautiful a perspective of glory and felicity we behold before us, if we know how to profit by the singular epoch; if we fulfil the high purposes which Providence points out to us! Instead of being objects of compassion and contempt, as we have hitherto been, we are about to become the envy and admiration of the world. The delicious climate we enjoy, the fertile soil whence we draw our subsistence, our geographical position, the riches which nature has lavished upon us, and the noble and generous character with which she has endowed us, will not be wasted gifts in the hands of a vile and enslaved people.

Already the Spanish name is pronounced with respect in Europe, whose nations, which lie trampled upon by the French, hang all their hopes upon our fortune; even the very slaves of the tyrant, groaning under his intolerable yoke,

form vows for us. Let us be constant, and we shall gather the fruit which victory will produce: the laws of religion satisfied; our monarch either restored to the throne, or avenged; the fundamental laws of the monarchy restored and consecrated, in a manner solemn, and consonant with civil liberty; the fountains of public prosperity pouring benefits spontaneously, and without impediment; our relations with our colonies drawn more closely and become more fraternal, and consequently more useful; in fine, activity, industry, talents and virtues stimulated and rewarded: to such a degree of splendour and fortune we shall raise our country, if we ourselves correspond with the magnificent circumstances which surround us.

These are the views, and this is the plan which the junta proposed to itself from the moment of its installation, in order to fulfil the two primary and essential objects of its institution. Its members charged with an authority so great, and making themselves responsible by entertaining hopes so flattering, do not fail to see the difficulties they have to conquer in order to realize them, the enormity of the weight which hangs over them, nor the dangers to which they are exposed; but they will think the fatigues, and the devotion of their persons to the service of the country well paid, if they succeed in inspiring Spaniards with that confidence, without which the public good cannot be secured, and which the junta dares to affirm it merits, from the rectitude of its principles and the purity of its intentions.

Aranjuez, Oct. 26, 1808.

Extracts

Extracts from the Correspondence with the Russian and French Governments, relative to the Overtures received from Erfurth.

No. 1.—Letter from count Nicholas de Romanzoff to Mr. secretary Canning, dated Erfurth, 30th September—(12th October), 1808.—Received Oct. 21st.

(Translation.)

SIR,—I send to your excellency a letter which the emperors of Russia and France write to his majesty the king of England. The emperor of Russia flatters himself that England will feel the grandeur and the sincerity of this step. She will there find the most natural and the most simple answer to the overture which has been made by admiral Saumarez. The union of the two empires is beyond the reach of all change, and the two emperors have formed it for peace as well as for war.—His majesty has commanded me to make known to your excellency that he has nominated plenipotentiaries who will repair to Paris, where they will await the answer which your excellency may be pleased to make to me. I request you to address it to the Russian ambassador at Paris.—The plenipotentiaries named by the emperor of Russia will repair to that city on the continent to which the plenipotentiaries of his Britannic majesty and his allies shall have been sent.—In respect to the bases of the negotiation, their imperial majesties see no difficulty in adopting all those formerly proposed by England, namely, the *uti possidetis*, and every other basis founded upon the reciprocity and equality which ought to prevail between all great nations.—I have the honour to be,

with sentiments of the highest consideration, &c. (Signed)

COUNT NICOLAS DE ROMANZOFF.
His excellency Mr. Canning, &c.

No. 2.—Letter from his majesty the emperor of all the Russias, and Buonaparté, to his Majesty, dated Erfurth, 12th Oct. 1808.—Received Oct. 21st.—Translated from the original French.

SIRE,—The present circumstances of Europe have brought us together at Erfurth. Our first thought is to yield to the wish and the wants of every people, and to seek, in a speedy pacification with your majesty, the most efficacious remedy for the miseries which oppress all nations. We make known to your majesty our sincere desire in this respect by the present letter. The long and bloody war which has torn the continent is at an end, without the possibility of being renewed. Many changes have taken place in Europe; many states have been overthrown. The cause is to be found in the state of agitation and misery in which the stagnation of maritime commerce has placed the greatest nations. Still greater changes may yet take place, and all of them contrary to the policy of the English nation. Peace, then, is at once the interest of the people of the continent, as it is the interest of the people of Great Britain. We unite in entreating your majesty to listen to the voice of humanity, silencing that of the passions; to seek, with the intention of arriving at that object, to conciliate all interests, and by that means to preserve all the powers which exist, and to ensure the happiness of Europe and of this generation, at the head

head of which Providence has placed us. (Signed)

ALEXANDER.
NAPOLEON.

No. III.—Letter from M. de Champagny, to Mr. secretary Canning, dated Erfurth, 12th October, 1808.—Received October 21st. (Translation.)

SIR,—I have the honour to transmit to your excellency a letter which the emperor of the French and the emperor of all the Russias write to his Britannic majesty. The grandeur and the sincerity of this step will, without doubt, be felt. That cannot be attributed to weakness, which is the result of the intimate connection between the two greatest sovereigns of the continent, united for peace as well as for war. His majesty the emperor has commanded me to make known to your excellency, that he has nominated plenipotentiaries who will repair to that city on the continent to which his majesty the king of Great Britain and his allies shall send their plenipotentiaries. With respect to the *bases* of the negociation, their majesties are disposed to adopt those formerly proposed by England herself, namely, the *uti possidetis*, and any other *basis* founded upon justice, and the reciprocity and equality which ought to prevail between all great nations.—I have the honour to be, with the highest consideration, &c.

(Signed) CHAMPAGNY.
His excellency Mr. Canning, &c.

No. VII.—Letter from Mr. secretary Canning to the Russian ambassador, at Paris, dated Foreign Office, 28th October, 1808. (Translation.)

SIR,—Having laid before the king

my master the two letters which his excellency the count Nicolas de Romanzoff has transmitted to me from Erfurth, I have received his majesty's commands to reply to that which is addressed to him, by the official note which I have the honour to enclose to your excellency.—However desirous his majesty might be to reply directly to his majesty the emperor of Russia, you cannot but feel, Sir, that from the unusual manner in which the letters signed by his imperial majesty were drawn up, and which has entirely deprived them of the character of a private and personal communication, his majesty has found it impossible to adopt that mark of respect towards the emperor of Russia, without at the same time acknowledging titles which his majesty never has acknowledged.

I am commanded to add to the contents of the official note, that his majesty will hasten to communicate to his majesty the king of Sweden, and to the existing government of Spain, the proposals which have been made to him. Your excellency will perceive that it is absolutely necessary that his majesty should receive an immediate assurance, that France acknowledges the government of Spain as party to any negociation. That such is the intention of the emperor of Russia his majesty cannot doubt. His majesty recollects with satisfaction the lively interest which his imperial majesty has always manifested for the welfare and dignity of the Spanish monarchy, and he wants no other assurance that his imperial majesty cannot have been induced to sanction by his concurrence, or by his approbation, usurpation, the principle of which is not

not less unjust than their example is dangerous to all legitimate sovereigns.

As soon as the answers on this point shall have been received, and as soon as his majesty shall have learnt the sentiments of the king of Sweden, and those of the government of Spain, I shall not fail to receive the commands of his majesty for such communications as it may be necessary to make upon the ulterior objects of the letter of count Romanoff.—I have the honour to be, &c.

(Signed) GEORGE CANNING.
To his excellency the Russian ambassador at Paris.

No. VIII.—Letter from Mr. secretary Canning to M. de Champagny, dated Foreign Office, October 28th, 1808.

SIR,—Having laid before the king my master the two letters which your excellency transmitted to me from Erfurth, one of which was addressed to his majesty, I have received his majesty's commands to return, in answer to that letter, the official note which I have the honour herewith to enclose.

I am commanded to add, that his majesty will lose no time in communicating to the king of Sweden and to the government of Spain the proposals which have been made to his majesty.—Your excellency will see the necessity of an assurance being immediately afforded to his majesty, that the admission of the government of Spain as a party to the negotiation is understood and agreed to by France.

After the answer of your excellency upon this point shall have been received, and so soon as his majesty shall be in possession of the sentiments of the king of Swe-

den, and of the government of Spain, I shall receive his majesty's commands to communicate with your excellency on the remaining points of your letter.—I have the honour to be, &c.

(Signed) GEORGE CANNING.

No. IX.—OFFICIAL NOTE.

The king has uniformly declared his readiness and desire to enter into negotiations for a general peace on terms consistent with the honour of his majesty's crown, with fidelity to his engagements, and with the permanent repose and security of Europe. His majesty repeats that declaration.—If the condition of the continent be one of agitation and of wretchedness; if many states have been overthrown, and more are still menaced with subversion; it is a consolation to the king to reflect, that no part of the convulsions which have already been experienced, or of those which are threatened for the future, can be in any degree imputable to his majesty. The king is most willing to acknowledge that all such dreadful changes are indeed contrary to the policy of Great Britain.—If the cause of so much misery is to be found in the stagnation of commercial intercourse,—although his majesty cannot be expected to hear, with unqualified regret, that the system devised for the destruction of the commerce of his subjects has recoiled upon its authors, or its instruments,—yet is it neither in the disposition of his majesty, nor in the character of the people over whom he reigns, to rejoice in the privations and unhappiness even of the nations which are combined against him. His majesty anxiously desires the termination of the sufferings of the continent.

The war in which his majesty is engaged, was entered into by his majesty for the immediate object of national safety. It has been prolonged only because no secure and honourable means of terminating it have hitherto been afforded by his enemies. But in the progress of a war, begun for self-defence, new obligations have been imposed upon his majesty, in behalf of powers whom the aggressions of a common enemy have compelled to make common cause with his majesty; or who have solicited his majesty's assistance and support, in the vindication of their national independence. The interests of the crown of Portugal, and of his Sicilian majesty, are confided to his majesty's friendship and protection. With the king of Sweden his majesty is connected by ties of the closest alliance, and by stipulations which unite their counsels for peace as well as for war.

To Spain his majesty is not yet bound by any formal instrument; but his majesty has, in the face of the world, contracted with that nation engagements not less sacred and not less binding upon his majesty's mind than the most solemn treaties. His majesty therefore assumes that, in an overture made to his majesty for entering into negotiations for a general peace, the relations subsisting between his majesty and the Spanish monarchy have been distinctly taken into consideration, and that the government acting in the name of his Catholic majesty Ferdinand the Seventh is understood to be a party to any negotiation in which his majesty is invited to engage.

(Signed) GEORGE CANNING.

No. 12.—Letter from count Nicolas de Romanzoff to Mr. secre-

tary Canning, dated Paris, 16th—(28th Nov.) 1808. Received December 6th.

(Translation.)

SIR,—I transmit to your excellency my answer to the note of the 28th October, which you were pleased to address to count de Tolstoi; and I hasten to seize this fresh opportunity of renewing to your excellency the assurances of the high consideration with which I have the honour to be, &c.

(Signed) LE COMTE NICOLAS DE ROMANZOFF.

His excellency Mr. Canning,
&c. &c.

(Translation.)—NOTE.

The undersigned minister for foreign affairs of his majesty the emperor of all the Russias, has the honour to reply to the note of the 28th October, signed by Mr. Canning, secretary of state for foreign affairs to his majesty the king of Great Britain, and addressed by his excellency the Russian ambassador at Paris:—That the admission of the sovereigns in alliance with England, to a congress, cannot be a point of any difficulty, and that Russia and France consent to it. But this principle by no means extends to the necessity of admitting the plenipotentiaries of the Spanish insurgents: The emperor of Russia cannot admit them. His empire, in similar circumstances,—and England can recollect one particular instance,—has always been true to the same principle. Moreover, he has already acknowledged the king Joseph Napoleon. He has announced to his Britannic majesty, that he was united with the emperor of the French for peace as well as for war; and his imperial majesty here repeats that declaration. He is

is resolved not to separate his interests from those of that monarch ; but they are both ready to conclude a peace, provided that it be just, honourable, and equal for all parties.

The undersigned sees with pleasure, that, in this difference of opinion respecting the Spaniards, nothing presents itself which can either prevent or delay the opening of a congress. He derives his persuasion in this respect from that which his Britannic majesty has himself confided to the two emperors, that he is bound by no positive engagement with those who have taken up arms in Spain. After fifteen years of war, Europe has a right to demand peace. The interest of all the powers, including that of England, is to render it general. Humanity commands it ; and such a desire, surely, cannot be foreign to the feelings of his Britannic majesty. How can it be, that he alone can withdraw himself from such an object, and refuse to terminate the miseries of suffering humanity?

The undersigned consequently renews, in the name of the emperor his august master, the proposal already made, to send plenipotentiaries to any city on the continent, which his Britannic majesty may please to point out ; to admit to the congress the plenipotentiaries of the sovereigns in alliance with Great Britain ; to treat upon the basis of the *uti possidetis*, and upon that of the respective power of the belligerent parties : in fine, to accept any basis which may have for its object the conclusion of a peace, in which all parties shall find honour, justice, and equality. The undersigned has the honour to re-

new to his excellency Mr. Canning the assurances of his high consideration. (Signed)

COUNT NICOLAS DE ROMANOFF.
To his excellency Mr. Canning,
&c. &c.

Exposé ; or, State of the French Empire.—Paris, Nov. 3.

IN the sitting of yesterday, his excellency the minister of the interior, accompanied by Messrs. de Segur and Corvetto, councillors of state, pronounced the following speech on the situation of the French empire :—Gentlemen, you terminated your last session, leaving the empire happy, and its chief loaded with glory. The year has passed away, and a multitude of new circumstances have added to the good fortune of the country, and increased our hopes of future benefits. All that I have to state to you, gentlemen, is already known to you ; and, for your full information, I have only to retrace to your memory the principal events which have filled up the interval between your last and your present session, and to recal to you the additional advantages for which France is indebted to the wisdom and valour of her sovereign. I will speak to you first of the wants of nations ; justice, public instruction, the arts and sciences, the numerous branches of internal administration, public worship, the finances, and our principal relations with the states of the continent. The recital will bring us of course to this lamentable war, which we maintain against one single people. The glory of our nation wounds that people, our strength alarms them ; the independence of our commerce and
our

our industry disquiets them; every thing is again subjected to the fortune of war; but the days of justice are not far distant.—[Here follows a long detail respecting the administration of justice, the principal amelioration of which consists in the establishment of the trial by jury, on the precise principles of the English law. The next head is that of public worship, which is followed by that of sciences and literature, public instruction, &c.—These articles being of great length, and less immediate importance, we reserve them for a future opportunity, and proceed to the heads which are most interesting to the English reader.]—Among the arts of industry which have made progress in the course of this year, we must enumerate the manufactory of tin. In two of our manufactories they have attained a degree of perfection no ways yielding to that of the English. A premium of encouragement has been given accordingly; and another is also destined to ulterior efforts in the same branch.—The mechanics, in their endeavours of simplifying their looms, and introducing economy in their labours, have often also improved the quality of their stuffs. Those that are used in the weaving of cotton, have, for several years, been much multiplied; the spirit of invention has brought them to perfection. There is nothing now but what we can make, and very well. The weaving of the cotton has made as marked a progress as the spinning. These two kinds of industry are already adequate to the consumption of the empire, which is for ever liberated of the grievous taxation it has hitherto been under to the Indian

manufacturers and to their oppressors. The machines best calculated for the manufacture of cloths, are already in wide circulation; they have lately been much encouraged by advances made to different manufacturers in the departments.—The conservatory of arts and handicraft is daily enriching by the requisition of new patterns, and is entitled to commendation for the information which the pupils receive, who frequent its school of drawing and descriptive geometry. Reforms have been made in the school at Chalons-sur-Marne.—The consultation chambers of the manufactures are hastening to present useful views, which will be taken advantage of. The institution of arbitrators, for the purpose of deciding with celerity variances that may arise between the workmen and their employers, render to industry services which have been set forth. Since your last session, gentlemen, several towns have demanded them, and there are already some established at Nîmes, Aix-la-Chapelle, Avignon, Treves, Mulhausen, Sedan, and Thiers.

Commerce.—The political events have been unfavourable to commerce. It still was kept alive in the midst of the contentions that have deluged the continent in blood, because those nations that were involved in the war preferred their neutrality—that right deemed, even in our times, inviolable. But the English legislation, already misled by the ambition of universal monopoly, has overthrown the ancient barrier of the law of nations, and trampled their independence under foot, substituting in the room of them a new maritime code. The ordinances of his Britannic majesty have

have realized these innovations: that of the 11th of November, 1807, is particularly remarkable; it pronounces, by an universal blockade, the interdiction of all our ports, in subjecting the ships of neutral powers, friendly and even allied to Great Britain, to the visitation of its cruisers, to be conducted to British ports, and there to be taxed by an arbitrary inquisition.—The emperor, obliged to oppose just reprisals to this strange legislation, gave out the decree of the 23d of November, ordaining the seizure and confiscation of the ships which, after having touched in England, should enter the ports of France.—From these measures, provoked by the British laws, the almost absolute cessation of the maritime relations, and many privations for the French merchants, manufacturers, and consumers, must have necessarily ensued. We all know with what resignation these privations were endured; we know that they are already become habitual, that they have awakened the genius of invention, and produced a thousand resources in substitution of the objects which we are in want of; we know, finally, that a great nation, essentially agricultural, can, by possessing in abundance all articles of utility, easily forego those, which only form certain luxuries or conveniences of life, particularly when its independence and glory should be put at stake.—These circumstances have favoured one of the greatest scourges of commerce, smuggling. But it has been strongly repressed. The government is preparing new means against this foe to the public revenue, and national industry; the great emolments it procures excites

the most ardent cupidity, who ought not to be with the approbation of most, lest we should degrade ourselves by still devoting themselves to criminal speculations; they think they are only braving the public indignation and will overtake them, and that under circumstances of national emergency for its defence an unexampled war, the violation of all commercial treaties with the enemy, the violent dispositions is an honest declaration, a true alliance with the same enemy; that consequently every smuggler renounces the benefit of the municipal law subjected solely to those laws, which authorise the ruin of his fortune, and personal degradation.—The government treated with the situation of French commerce, has sought to mitigate the evils, to provide its wants.—Abroad, a treaty with the kingdom of Italy secured France all the advantages compatible with the principles of commercial justice. In the interior, enormous sums have been advanced to manufacturers and proprietors of produce, which public credit had accumulated or cramped stores.—The *Caisse d'Armement* has interfered in the affairs of adventurers.—A law limited the bounds of the lottery on money; offices established at Lyons and Rouen are put to a grand system of facilitating the circulation of the money and merchandize.—The establishment of the commercial trib

Paris see rising for their accommodation a stately palace, on the site of the nunnery of St. Thomas.—Conformably to the new code, an organization of the tribunals of commerce of the empire is preparing. The prefects, the courts of appeal have been consulted on the most eligible sites for these tribunals, as well as on the subject of their number, the judges and their surrogates. A general project has been submitted to the discussion of the council of state, and to the sanction of his majesty.

Agriculture.—The prefects, the courts of appeal, and of the members of the general councils of department, formed in commission, are also called upon to give their advice on a project of the greatest utility, that of a rural code, so important to the prosperity of agriculture, and so closely interwoven with national prosperity.—In the mean time, one of the principal improvements of which agriculture is capable, is daily effected by the re-organization of our repositories for the breed of horses. Eight new repositories of stallions have been formed this year. Premiums held out to the owners of the best horses brought to the fairs, rewards decreed at the departmental races, are so many additional means of favouring the production of the most eligible species of this animal. Two new sheep-farms have been introduced. Six hundred Merinos, of the best breed, have been ordered from Spain, and they are already arrived in France, notwithstanding the variety of obstacles that have occurred on their passage. They will be divided in two new establishments, as yet in embryo. The multiplication of the

flocks increases rapidly, and we may consider the happy revolution introduced in this branch as completed.—May it one day be so also with the culture of cotton. In spite of the contrarieties of a hardy spring, and a tolerable cold autumn, the attempts made still give room to hope for ultimate success. We are justified to augur well also of the attempts made on the subject of the syrups of the grape. The rich culture of tobacco is daily extending; that which is gathered in the vicinity of St. Malo, equals in quality that of America. France will one day, to judge by appearances, not only supply its own wants with that production, but also export it to her neighbours.

The Public Treasure and Finances.—Regularity, and a judicious administration, prevail in every department of the public treasury.—The national accounts are reduced to a system the most scientific and luminous; it differs from the mode adopted by the most intelligent merchants, only in the extent and necessary complication of the transactions of government.—The finances have been gradually brought by the emperor, from a state of dilapidation and confusion, to a state of order and prosperity unknown in the governments the best administered. It is a trophy raised by vigorous exertion, by combinations the most judicious, and by a perseverance which has unravelled the most intricate details, and surmounted incredible difficulties. The nation enjoys the benefits which result from this new sort of conquest. Since France has generously consented to the adoption of indirect taxation, the finances have really been consolidated,

dated, and the utmost facility of carrying on the functions of every department of the public service.—The finances in modern times may be considered as the security of states, and the measure of their stability. If they furnish government only with inadequate, precarious, or oppressive resources, its energies become paralyzed, individuals insolvent, and if war, or any other calamity, should visit a nation under these circumstances, it must subscribe to its own dishonour, or be involved in irretrievable ruin.—The finances of a state are not essentially and efficiently good, until they become independent of circumstances—until they can be maintained independently of the ruinous expedient of resorting to loans and excessive contributions—until, in fine, they are so connected and identified with national prosperity, that they constitute a direct emanation from it; then only can they be deemed solid, efficient, permanent, and essentially national, and, particularly, if they have received an organization sufficiently simple; so that in an extraordinary emergency, all the property, and all the individuals may be called upon, promptly, to furnish their respective quotas in advance.—The endeavours of his majesty have been incessantly directed to the attainment of this desirable object, and they have been crowned by the most complete success, and the finances are calculated in future to meet with equal effect the exigencies of war and of peace. In a period of peace, 600 millions will be sufficient to defray the public expenses, and will leave a large surplus for national improvements. The receipts, which amount at the

present moment to 800 millions, will, according to this arrangement, be reduced one-fourth.—In time of war, it is not in the contemplation of his imperial majesty to resort to the illusory expedients of imposing taxes of a novel description, or to hold out temptation to raise new supplies. The contributions on the recurrence of war will be brought back to the war standard—i. e. 800 millions, and even then raised only by 100 or 150 millions at a time, in case of need; and this will be done by a simple scale, or table of proportions, which will enable every citizen to judge of the share he has in the good or bad fortune of the state.—Observe, gentlemen, that this simplicity has no affinity or connection with that so considerably extolled as the result of a single direct contribution; it is, on the contrary, founded on a conviction that taxes ought to be laid on various objects, that our laws of finance include all the taxes which it was expedient to establish, and that all that is just and reasonable has been effected.—It remains only to limit to the survey or register, without which the uniform progress of the scale of increase or diminution would be deficient, in proportion, and would continue to affect the proprietors of the funds actually surcharged; the making up of this register, which ought to efface so much inequality, to repair so much involuntary and inevitable injustice, is pursued with so much constancy, that those who disbelieve the practicability of this immense work, no longer doubt of its speedy execution. I must not here omit, gentlemen, the creation of the court of accounts, to the establishment

of which you co-operated in your last session. We wanted a new institution, powerful in its unity, present to all the depositaries of the public property by the rapidity of its action, embracing all the responsibility of inferior accountants connected with the public income and expenditure. This court ought, by the distribution of its duties, and the number of its members, to be adequate to all the occasions, and responsible for all the labours, that may be intrusted to it. The principles on which this establishment rests, the choice of its members, the consideration in which they are held, every thing guarantees the success: the government has promised itself, that of a salutary controul over the several accountants.

Administration of the War Department.—The same principles of order, and the same views for the acceleration of the service, have influenced the general direction of the commissariat, whose first essays justify the expectation that had been formed. This administration renders the supplies of the army independent of contractors, who have so frequently done injury, at the same time that it secures the advantage of our economy, very sensible to the public funds.

Marine.—Though during the present campaign the government has limited its maritime operations, still a squadron armed at Toulon, as if by enchantment, and conducted with skill, has been able to defeat, by able manœuvres, the combinations of the enemy, by conveying to Corfu two years supplies of men, artillery, provisions, and ammunition. After having thus rendered useless the expedition with

which that barrier of the Adriatic was threatened, the fleet of admiral Gantheaume returned safe through all the difficulties of a boisterous navigation, and all the dangers of continued tempests. The colonies have in like manner been successfully supplied with provisions, by squadrons of frigates and corvettes, which, while they fulfilled that important object, had, like the squadron that went to Corfu, the advantage of making prizes of a great number of the enemy's ships, richly laden. In India, prizes to the value of 15 millions have been the result of the cruises of our frigates, one of which only surrendered, and that after a glorious contest, against a superior force.—Our cruisers, in all parts of the world, and above all in the seas of India, and Guadaloupe, have proved themselves formidable to the enemy. But it is not so much with a view to what it has done, but to what it may do with time, that our marine ought to be considered. Ten ships of the line, constructed in the docks of Antwerp, and fitted for sea many months since, are awaiting their destination. The flotilla of Boulogne, kept up and equipped, is still in readiness to undertake the operations for which it was originally created. Twelve ships of the line, and as many frigates, have been launched within the year, and twenty-five more, and as many frigates on the stocks, attest the activity of our dock-yards. Our ports are preserved in perfect order, and the creation of that of Cherbourg is so far advanced, that its basin may be expected to be in a state to contain squadrons before the lapse of two campaigns.—Spezzia is about to be-

come

come a second Toulon. The union of almost all the coast of the Mediterranean to France, secures to our arsenals and our ships abundant supplies of provisions, stores, and men. Venice, Ancona, Naples, and all the means of Holland and Italy, are in motion.

The present War.—At the epoch of your last sitting, gentlemen, every thing combined to deliver Europe from its long agitations; but England, the enemy of the world, still repeated the cry of perpetual war, and war continues. What then is the object—what will be the issue? The object of this war is the slavery of the world, by the exclusive possession of the seas. There is no doubt, that, by subscribing treaties of bondage, disguised under the holy name of peace, nations may obtain repose; but this shameful repose would be death. In this alternative, the choice between submission and resistance could not be long doubtful.—The war which England has provoked, which she continues with so much pride and obstinacy, is the termination of the ambitious system which she has cherished during two centuries. Mixing in the politics of the continent, she has succeeded in holding Europe in a perpetual agitation, and in exciting against France all the envious and jealous passions. It was her wish to humble or destroy France, by keeping the people of the continent constantly under arms; but thus detaching the maritime powers, she had the art to profit from the divisions she fomented among neighbours, in order to forward her distant conquests. In this manner she extended her colonies, and augmented her naval power; and, by

the aid of that power, she hopes henceforth to enjoy her usurpation, and to arrogate to herself the exclusive possession of the seas.—But until these latter times, she paid at least some respect to the laws of nations; she seemed to respect the rights of her allies, and even, by some returns towards peace, allowed her enemies to breathe.... This conduct is, however, no longer suitable to the development of a system which she can no longer dissemble. All who do not promote her interests are her enemies. The abandonment of her alliance is a cause of war; neutrality is a revolt; and all the nations that resist her yoke are made subject to her cruel ravages. It is impossible to foresee what might have been the consequence of so much audacity, had not fortune, on our part, raised up a man of a superior order, destined to repel the evils with which England threatens the world. He had also to combat the allies of that power on the continent, and to conquer the rising enemies she succeeded in creating. Always attacked, always threatened, he found it necessary to regulate his policy by that state of things, and felt that to lay the contest it was necessary to augment our forces, and weaken those of our enemies. The emperor, always pacific, but always armed by necessity, was not ambitious of aggrandizing the empire, Prudence always directed his views. It became necessary for him to relieve our ancient frontiers from the too near danger of sudden attacks, and to found their security on limits fortified by nature; finally, it became necessary so to separate France, by alliances from her rivals, that even the sight of an enemy's

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standard never could alarm territory of the empire.—England defeated in the disputes she repowed, profited, however, to increase her wealth, by universal monopoly of com-

She had impoverished her wars, in which they fought her interests. Abandoned moment in which their arms to serve those interests, she became the more indifferent as she preserved some social relations with them, while she continued at war France.—Even France herself to the English the hope of useful subjugation to the want vain objects, the privation of they believe our generous nation could not support. They felt that if they could not enter territory of the empire by their they might penetrate its heart commerce now become its dangerous enemy, and the ruin of which would have exhausted its most valuable resources. Genius and the prudence of Napoleon have not overlooked danger. Involved in the difficulty of the continental war, he not, however, to repel from the monopoly of English commerce. He has since completed measures of an effectual resist-

No one can now be deceived on this subject, since the belligerents have declared this new era of war, all the ports of the continent are blockaded, the ocean is subjected to every neutral ship will not pay to the British a tribute which is meant imposed on the whole population of the globe.—To this law of other nations have replied with means of a reprisal and by

wishes for the annihilation of such a tyranny.—The English nation has separated itself from every other nation. England is fixed in this situation. All her social relations with the continent are suspended. She is smitten by the excommunication which she has herself provoked.—The war will henceforth consist in repelling from all points the English commerce, and in employing all the means calculated to promote that end. France has energetically concurred in the exclusion of the monopoly of commerce; she has resigned herself to privations which long habits must have rendered more painful. Some branches of her agriculture and her industry have suffered, and still suffer, but the prosperity of the great body of the nation is not affected: she is familiarised with that transitory state, the hardship of which she beholds without fear. The allies of France, and the United States, sacrifice like her, and with a resolution equally generous, their private conveniencies. England was on the eve of the moment when her exclusion from the continent was about to be consummated: but she availed herself of the last circumstance to spread the genius of evil over Spain, and to excite in that unhappy country all the rage of furious passions. She has sought for alliances even in support of the inquisition, and even in the most barbarous prejudices. Unhappy people, to whom do you confide your destiny? To the contemners of all moral obligations—to the enemies of your religion—to those who, violating their promises, have elevated on your territory a monument of their impudence, an affront, the impunity of

of which, for above a century, would bear testimony against your courage, if the weakness of your government had not been alone to blame. You ally yourself with the English, who have so often wounded your pride and your independence, who have so long ravished from you, by open violence, and even in time of peace, the commerce of your colonies; who, in order to intimate to you their prohibition of your neutrality, caused their decrees to be preceded by the plunder of your treasures, and the massacre of your navigators; who, in fine, have covered Europe with proofs of their contempt for their allies, and for the deceitful promises they had made to them. You will without doubt recover from your error. You will then groan for the new perfidies that are reserved for you. But how much blood will flow before this tardy return to your senses? The English, hitherto absent from all great conflicts, try a new fortune on the continent. They ungarrison their island, and leave it almost without defence, in the presence of an enterprising and valiant king, who commands a French army, and who has already snatched from them the strong position of the island of Caprea. What then will be the fruit of their efforts? Can they hope to be able to exclude the French from Spain and Portugal? Can the success be doubtful? The emperor himself will command his invincible legions. What a presage does the heroic army of Portugal offer to us, which, struggling against double its force, has been able to raise trophies of victory on the very land where it fought to such disadvantage, and

to dictate the conditions of a glorious retreat? In preparing for a new struggle against our only enemy, the emperor has done all that was necessary for the maintenance of peace on the continent. He must reckon upon it without doubt, inasmuch as Austria, the only power which could disturb it, has given the strongest assurances of her disposition, in recalling her ambassador from London, and desisting from all political communication with England.—Still Austria had recently made armaments, but they took place certainly without any hostile intention. Prudence, nevertheless, dictated energetic measures of precaution. The armies of Germany and Italy are strengthened by levies of the new conscription. The troops of the confederation of the Rhine are complete, well organized, and disciplined.—One hundred thousand of the grand army leave the Prussian states to occupy the camp at Boulogne, while Denmark, henceforth safe from any English invasion, is evacuated by our troops, which are concentrated and centralizing themselves. Before the end of January, the battalions withdrawn to Spain will be replaced on the banks of the Elbe and the Rhine.—Those which quelled Italy, last year, return to their former destination.—Such, messieurs, is the external situation of France.—In the interior, the greatest order in all parts of the administration, important ameliorations, a great number of new institutions, have excited the gratitude of the people.—The creation of titles of nobility have environed the throne with a new splendour. This system creates in all hearts a laudable emulation.

It

It perpetuates the recollection of the most illustrious services paid by the most honourable reward.—The clergy have distinguished themselves by their patriotism, and by their attachment to their sovereign and their duties. Respect to the ministers of the altar, who honour religion by a devotion so pure, and virtues so disinterested!—The magistrates of all classes every where aid, with their utmost efforts, the views of the sovereign and the people, by their zeal facilitate the operation of their authority, and by the manifestation of the most affecting sentiments, exalt the carriage and ardour of the troops.—Soldiers, magistrates, citizens, all have but one object, the service of the state; but one sentiment, that of admiration for the sovereign; but one desire, that of seeing heaven watch over his days, too just a recompense for a monarch who has no other thought, no other ambition, than those of the happiness and the glory of the French nation.

The King of Great Britain and Ireland's Declaration respecting the Overtures of France and Russia. Dated Westminster, Dec. 15, 1808.

THE overtures made to his majesty by the governments of Russia and of France have not led to negotiation: and the intercourse to which those overtures gave rise being terminated, his majesty thinks it right thus promptly and publicly to make known its termination.—The continued appearance of a negotiation; when peace has been found to be utterly unattainable, could be advantageous only to the enemy.—It might enable France to

sow distrust and jealousy in the councils of those who are combined to resist her oppressions: and if, among the nations which groan under the tyranny of French alliance, or among those which maintain against France a doubtful and precarious independence, there should be any which even now are balancing between the certain ruin of a prolonged inactivity, and the contingent dangers of an effort to save themselves from that ruin; to nations so situated the delusive prospect of a peace between Great Britain and France could not fail to be peculiarly injurious. Their preparations might be relaxed by the vain hope of returning tranquillity; or their purpose shaken by the apprehension of being left to contend alone.—That such was, in fact, the main object of France in the proposals transmitted to his majesty from Erfurth, his majesty entertained a strong persuasion.—But at a moment when results so awful from their importance, and so tremendous from their uncertainty, might be depending upon the decision of peace or war, the king felt it due to himself to ascertain, beyond the possibility of doubt, the views and intentions of his enemies.—It was difficult for his majesty to believe, that the emperor of Russia had devoted himself so blindly and fatally to the violence and ambition of the power with which his imperial majesty had unfortunately become allied, as to be prepared openly to abet the usurpation of the Spanish monarchy; and to acknowledge and maintain the right assumed by France, to depose and imprison friendly sovereigns, and forcibly to transfer to herself the allegiance of independent

independent nations. When therefore it was proposed to his majesty to enter into negociation for a general peace, in concert with his majesty's allies, and to treat either on the basis of the *uti possidetis* (heretofore the subject of so much controversy), or on any other basis, consistent with justice, honour, and equality, his majesty determined to meet this seeming fairness and moderation, with fairness and moderation, on his majesty's part, real and sincere.—The king professed his readiness to enter into such negociation in concurrence with his allies; and undertook forthwith to communicate to them the proposals which his majesty had received. But as his majesty was not connected with Spain by a formal treaty of alliance, his majesty thought it necessary to declare, that the engagements which he had contracted, in the face of the world, with that nation, were considered by his majesty as no less sacred, and no less binding upon his majesty, than the most solemn treaties; and to express his majesty's just confidence that the government of Spain, acting in the name of his catholic majesty Ferdinand VII. was understood to be a party of the negotiation.—The reply returned by France to this proposition of his majesty casts off at once the thin disguise, which had been assumed for a momentary purpose; and displays, with less than ordinary reserve, the arrogance and injustice of that government. The universal Spanish nation is described by the degrading appellation of "the Spanish insurgents:" and the demand for the admission of the government of Spain as a party to any negotiation, is rejected as

inadmissible and insulting.—With astonishment as well as with grief his majesty has received from the emperor of Russia a reply, similar in effect, although less indecorous in tone and manner. The emperor of Russia also stigmatizes as "insurrection," the glorious efforts of the Spanish people in behalf of their legitimate sovereign, and in defence of the independence of their country; thus giving the sanction of his imperial majesty's authority to an usurpation which has no parallel in the history of the world.—The king would readily have embraced an opportunity of negociation, which might have afforded any hope or prospect of a peace, compatible with justice and with honour. His majesty deeply laments an issue, by which the sufferings of Europe are aggravated and prolonged. But neither the honour of his majesty, nor the generosity of the British nation, would admit his majesty's consenting to commence a negotiation, by the abandonment of a brave and loyal people, who are contending for the preservation of all that is dear to man; and whose exertions in a cause so unquestionably just, his majesty has solemnly pledged himself to sustain.

Spanish Revolution.—Decree for the Formation of a Militia of Honour, dated Royal Palace of Aranjuez, Nov. 23, 1808.

IT would be useless to proclaim to the Spanish people the great obligation they are under, to deliver themselves from the slavery which threatens them, and which is already suffered by their most amiable

amiable monarch, and the whole royal family, from the most powerful, cunning, and perfidious of tyrants. Although the continental powers of Europe, all subdued and held in great subjection, more by the subtle, sordid, and immoral policy of the tyrant, than by the force of his arms, cannot aid us directly by rebelling, or declaring war against the common oppressor, yet they assist us indirectly and passively, by engaging a great part of his armies in the keeping in obedience some of them, and watching the others. All of them, even France herself, have their attention fixed upon Spain, hoping from its intrepid inhabitants, liberty and independence. As soon as the Spaniards shall have shaken the superiority of their opposers, not one of them will fail to take up arms for his annihilation; because not one of them will fail to behold his black intrigues laid bare and frustrated, or to convince himself that the terrifying opinion hitherto entertained of his power, has been more the effect of the artifices, of which he has been able to seduce them, than by the number, skill, and valour of his troops. But upon us is imposed the duty, and to us is reserved the glory of striking the first blow. To us, Spaniards, Providence has left the alternative of being the first people of Europe, and the deliverers of all of them, or of being the most wretched of slaves. The general will of all has been long pronounced, in the most solemn and expressive manner. Almost altogether disarmed, our best resources dispersed and disorganized; our marine destroyed; our enemies masters of the capital, and of the

most important fortresses; the nation impoverished, social virtue despised, our manners corrupted, and vice enthroned, we have in an instant recovered our ancient dignity and character, vanquished obstacles which could yield only to patriotic heroism. While we believed that our public disorders might be ephemeral, being accidental, and produced by the blind confidence of our sovereign in a perverse favourite, our innate loyalty obliged us to endure them with resignation and constancy; but no sooner did we clearly perceive, that the tyrant of France sought to avail himself of those disorders, in order to enslave us, as he had enslaved our sovereign—in order to entangle us in the same toils in which he had already caught Italy, Holland, Switzerland, and the greater part of Germany, and in order to convert our robust and honourable arms into vile instruments of his ambition and rapacity—then it was that all our provinces, cities, towns, and villages, as if on a sudden they had awakened from a profound lethargy, recollected their imprescriptible rights, and recovered all the énérgy necessary to defend and preserve them. In the short space of eight days, every Spaniard, animated by an enthusiasm as ardent as patriotic, resolved to perish or take vengeance of the tyrant; and Providence instantly favoured their just and valorous determination. The satellites of oppression, who had till then arrogated to themselves the epithet of invincible, were finally conquered, for the first time pursued, hunted like wild bears, and obliged to take refuge either in the recesses of the Pyrennees, or in the strong places which

which had been surprized by the base arts of fraud, perfidy, and treason. But, Spaniards, it is still to be seen whether these first and brave efforts of your valour are to resemble the sudden flashes of an expiring torch, or the first flame of a pile, whose fire, growing every instant more luminous and active, does not cease till it has no substance to devour. The first would take place were you to prefer your apparent and individual interests to the public welfare which is truly substantial—if you suffer yourselves to be misled by selfishness, or distracted by private passions—if you divide yourselves into factions or parties—and, in a word, if you are not convinced, that it is, above all things, indispensably necessary that you should make great sacrifices, in order to complete your great enterprise, and one day enjoy the glory you are to reap with it. In this enterprise your device should be, die or conquer. But you will overcome all obstacles, if you assert and boldly maintain this your irrevocable resolution ; for neither does fortune generally forsake those who meet danger with unshaken firmness, nor can God deny his aid to those who purpose to defend his cause with sound and deliberate resolution. Spaniards, do not doubt it. War ought to be henceforth your chief element. Your endeavours should be directed to the maintaining of it with intrepidity and constancy ; and whatever is capable of weakening those efforts, you should consider as the first link in the chain of your future slavery, and as impediments to the delivery of your adored Ferdinand.—In his name, and after the maturest examination, the supreme central jun-

ta have resolved, that besides the increasing numbers of troops already constituted and even organized, and which are now marching towards the Pyrennees, to repel, attack, and drive away the foe, 250,000 warriors shall be enlisted, organized, and instructed in arms, agreeably to the rules prescribed in the regulations and provisions which are to be published for that purpose.—But at the same time that his majesty flatters himself that those forces, added to those which will be furnished by the English and Portuguese, our allies, will be able to destroy his mortal enemy, he foresees, at the same time, the great convenience, and even necessity there will be that in the metropolis, and in all the provinces which remain without garrison or armed force, there should be raised loyal bodies, interested in preventing disorders, and capable of arresting banditti, deserters, and evil-disposed persons, who may purpose to satiate their ambition or rapacity by disturbing the public tranquillity. Honour, union, fraternity, forgetfulness of injury, a disregard of what is or what we may fancy due to us, internal and mutual peace and concord among the citizens, and, in a word, all the virtues which constitute true patriotism; these are the planks which alone can save us from the threatening shipwreck. The suggestions and discourses which might stifle and make cool these virtues, would be so many hemlock cups fraught with death, so many hidden snares placed by malice or imprudence in our path, on the brink of the precipice.—To preserve then those virtues, and maintain tranquillity in all the towns, and especially in the larger ;

larger; to impose awe upon robbers, and apprehend deserters, and to prevent, by prompt and inevitable punishment, the multiplication of crimes, his majesty has resolved, that in all the towns of the kingdom which are out of the theatre of war, there shall be raised bodies of militia of honour (*milicias honradas*), according to certain rules and regulations.

Deposition of the Pope.

HIS majesty the king of Sicily has caused to be published the different notes that passed between the secretaries of his holiness and Mons. Lefebvre, the French charge d'affaires, and general Miollis, who in February last took possession of the city of Rome, under the pretext of expelling those whom he denominated "*The Neapolitan Brigands*." The notes are preceded by a very impartial dissertation on the circumstances whereby France has lately acquired such power and consequence amongst the European states.

The 1st note is dated from the Palais Quirinal, from cardinal Pamphili to M. Lefebvre, and is dated the 2d of March. It complains in the most glowing language of the French commandant, in forcibly depriving the chevalier Altieri of the government of Rome; of placing a guard at the post-office, and opening all the letters, in defiance of the public law; of forcibly incorporating the Papal troops with those of France, and placing guards on all the printing-houses, and thereby depriving his holiness of the liberty of the press.

The 2d note is from the same

cardinal to Lefebvre, remonstrating, in the name of his holiness, against the proceedings of the French commander in imprisoning and threatening the officers of his holiness with banishment, because they were adverse to unite with the French against the inclination of their sovereign.

The 3d note is written by the secretary of his holiness to such cardinals as were ordered by the French to quit the papal dominions.

The 4th note is from cardinal Gabrielli to Lefebvre, complaining of the behaviour of the French in imprisoning and banishing of other cardinals, natives of Italy, as well as of Naples.

The 5th note requires the treasurer of his holiness to give two cardinals banished to the north of Italy 1000 ecus each.

The 6th note is from cardinal Gabrielle to Lefebvre, complaining of the French officers having seized a number of the papal troops, and confining them, and requiring their liberation.

The 7th note is from the same to the same, signifying that after the forced incorporation of the Italian and French troops, his holiness had caused those of his troops who still remained faithful to him to wear a cockade different from the rest, that the public might not ascribe to him the excesses of the French.

The 8th note is from M. Champagny, addressed to cardinal Caprara. It calls upon the pope to declare war against England, and in the event of his refusing to do so, threatens to overturn the government, and to establish another, which will make common cause with Italy and Naples against the common enemy.

CHARACTERS.

CHARACTERS.

Character of the late Countess of Bath.

HENRIETTA Laura Pulteney, Countess of Bath, was descended, by her mother, in a direct line from Daniel Pulteney, brother to the great Earl of Bath. By the failure of male issue in the Pulteney family, her mother became heiress-at-law to their large fortune; the whole of which on the death of her father, the late sir William Pulteney, devolved on lady Bath.

Illustrious by birth and fortune, but more illustrious by those virtues which are the bond of union among mankind, her character was early marked by those traits of benevolence which distinguished her from such as are only rich and great. In the first impulse of infantine sensibility she would attempt to give the shoes and stockings from her own feet, to the beggars at the door of her mother's carriage. This amiable principle so favoured by nature, was never checked by education. She entered into the bustle of fashionable

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life, glowing with all the finer feelings of humanity; and, after having tasted its enjoyments, perhaps with all the gaiety, certainly with all the innocence of youth, she retired from its allurements with those feelings unimpaired.

It was during the tedious hours of sickness that she first turned her thoughts to those more serious studies and acquirements which enable the mind to retire into itself with complacency. Awakened to a sense of the most trifling deficiencies, she cultivated habits of application and business, which evinced that she possessed a strength of mind equal to the goodness of her heart. In the exclusive management of her very large estates, she never signed a paper without perusing it, and frequently correcting the mistakes of her lawyers. A degree of exactness and assiduity incompatible with a fashionable life; which indeed she was, in every respect, above.

An almost uninterrupted continuance of ill-health rendered her retirement at last equal to a perfect

seclusion from the world. From this time, to form a proper estimate of her character we must put away those ideas which accompany our reflections on the virtues of the rich and noble. We are not to weigh some occasional acts of benevolence against a life of habitual dissipation, or indolent luxury; the strict or ostentatious observance of some moral duties against the indulgence of peculiar frailties; religion, with all the trappings of vanity; and charity, with all the incense of applause: but we must consider the unwearied exercise of all these virtues during long tedious years of solitude and sickness.

The weakness and even the humanity of our nature, when withdrawn from the cheering intercourse of society, requires some object on which to rest its sufferings; some period of hope, however distant, when its sorrows shall be done away. Lady Bath found this object in religion, this hope in the firm assurance of a future life. "You do well," said she to one who visited her in her last illness, "to come so far to see a sick friend; it is by such actions as these we prepare ourselves for another world, which is all in all."

Her devotion, though ardent, was simple and unobtrusive, and if it partook of the glow of enthusiasm, it had none of the austerity of bigotry or gloominess of superstition. When she spoke of her religion, it was the overflowing of a grateful heart, eager to communicate to others a share in those blessings it deemed most precious.

For those who differed from herself in belief or practice, she had only pity; for those who injured her only forgiveness. In her dis-

position, religion had no obstacles to overcome. It consequently imbibed neither pride nor bitterness. The finer feelings of the soul were not blunted, nor the milk of human kindness soured by the continual contest between duty and inclination: nor did offended nature seek to compensate its sacrifices by the self-homage of spiritual pride.

Love and charity towards our fellows is the first approach to the Supreme Being; and it is then only we worship Him, when our hearts expand with benevolence, and are raised to Him as our common Father: the great bond of social feeling and affection upon earth. This was truly the principle of that amiable character, we now attempt to describe. She loved her God in heaven, as her fellow creatures on earth; and in such feelings no bitterness could dwell.

To a casual observer, constant habits of seclusion might seem to have tinged her temper with melancholy; but in the few moments she could steal from indisposition, her spirits had an appearance not only of cheerfulness but gaiety, with a flow of conversation enriched with anecdotes in a style of naïveté and elegance not unworthy the brilliant societies of which she had been a member. Her education, chiefly in France, had given her a taste for polite literature; and there were few works of celebrity in either that language or her own, which she had not only read, but of which she was capable of judging. When we add to this, the most unassuming simplicity of manners, the most unaffected good-nature, a strength of mind to know and to discern, and a heart to feel, we shall

shall look round with a sigh, to think, that the choice of death is not biassed by the feelings and wishes of mankind.

She died at Brighton, July 14th, 1808, aged 41; and was buried in Westminster Abbey. A long train of her illustrious connections followed her to the grave; but the real mourners were the poor and unfriended, who felt that they had lost their benefactress.

*Character of William Wilkie, D.D.
Professor of Natural Philosophy,
in the University of St. Andrews;
Author of the Epigoniad; a Volume of Fables; and a Dream, in the manner of Spenser.*

THOUGH Dr. Wilkie was exceedingly admired by all who knew him, and were capable of estimating his learning and genius as a philosopher, a poet, and a man of wit; his character is, perhaps, less generally known than that of any other man of our times, equally entitled to fame. It must be owned, that there is somewhat of a whimsical appearance in a philosopher's writing a poem, at this time of day, about the sons of the Grecian heroes who fought in the first war against Thebes. In this age of philosophical precision, so destructive of all faith in fable or machinery; there is scarcely any kind of poetry that is tolerable, except the satirical and descriptive, this last including the dramatic. The epic poem, languishing under the pier-

cing rays of science, has died a natural death. The last efforts in this way, at all respectable, are, the *Leonidas* of Glover, the *Henriade* of Voltaire, and Wilkie's *Epigoniad*. Still, however, the admirable genius of Wilkie might have been better employed; notwithstanding all that he says in his preface to the *Epigoniad*, universally allowed to be a piece of masterly criticism. There are few, it is presumed, who can work up their imagination, or be so wrought upon by others, as to feel any interest in the characters or fortunes of the *Epigoni*. But there is no one who does not admire the varied harmony of Wilkie's versification, formed, it would appear, on the model of Milton's *Paradise Lost*, and of Thomson's *Seasons*; the splendour of his descriptions, and the wonderful powers and apparent facility with which he enters into the genius of the times of which he writes, and the very soul of Homer. He was, as will be readily imagined, a most excellent Greek scholar. With the writers of Greece; poets, historians, and philosophers, he was familiarly acquainted, and could not only describe, but even imitate, the distinguishing turn or manner of each. His *Fables* possess both aptness and a beautiful simplicity. As to his *Dream*, he might be praised for the felicity with which he has imitated Spenser, if an imitation of Spenser had not been, as observed by Mr. Hume, in his *History of England*, so easy a matter.*

* "Several writers of late have amused themselves in copying the style of Spenser, and no imitation has been so indifferent as not to bear a great resemblance to the original. His manner is so peculiar, that it is almost impossible not to transfer some portion of it into the copy."—*Hist. of England*, chap. xlv. Appendix.

Dr. Wilkie was once urged by a friend,* (who thought that the rare admixture of a genius for poetry and philosophy, in him united, qualified him in a singular manner for such an undertaking,) to write a didactic poem. This, however, he declined, saying, that he did not know of any one who had succeeded in that species of composition. His friend mentioned, as an instance of success, Lucretius:—"Lucretius," said Dr. Wilkie, "reminds me of a cobbler I once knew, who would now and then take up his fiddle and play himself a tune, but soon throw it aside, and fell a-hammering again on his last."

There were circumstances in Dr. Wilkie's life which had a tendency to nourish, if not originally to implant in his mind, a turn and faculty for poetry. He was not born or bred in a crowded city, nor confined to one occupation or pursuit, nor to one set or circle in society; but in a village, or rather hamlet; bred at a parochial school in the country; and after an university education, and while he was occasionally employed as a preacher of the Gospel, engaged in the business of a farmer: and all this in a finely variegated, pleasant, and picturesque part of the country. One who is born, and bred, and lives chiefly in the country, possesses

many important advantages over the native and constant inhabitant of a town or city. He acquires, without any effort or study, a great deal of knowledge in natural history, and of the manners and ways of men in a state more similar to those of simple and heroic times. Wilkie throughout the whole of his life was placed in situations that gave him opportunities of mingling study, with actual observation on the course of nature, both physical and moral. He was not cramped by the monotony of one employment, or of one class of men. His occupations and acquaintance were finely and fortunately diversified. By this variety his mind was enriched and expanded, as well as invigorated.

The advantages arising from the establishment of parochial schools in Scotland are many and various. And among these, it is none of the least, that in many places a boy may receive a Latin, or what in England is called a classical education, by going to the parish-school in the morning, and returning after school-hours to his father's house. Thus parental affection, and filial respect, unavoidably weakened by the separation required by boarding-schools, or grammar-schools in towns, are nourished and strengthened; modesty is preserved; health is promoted; the face of nature, the vicissitudes of the seasons, the

* The reverend Mr. John Playfair, professor of natural philosophy in the university of Edinburgh. Mr. Playfair attracted the notice, and conciliated the esteem of Wilkie, by the appearances he made on the examinations in the natural philosophy class, when he was a student there. And when he afterwards became a student of divinity, he was in the habit of teaching his class for him, when he was indisposed, as he sometimes was. Mr. Playfair was first led into the paths of just philosophy, that chaste, severe, and sure method of philosophizing, for which he is so justly distinguished, by professor Wilkie. Though Mr. Playfair was then a very young man, there was no one among all the numerous friends of Dr. Wilkie, who enjoyed more of his intimacy, or possessed more of his confidence.

growth and decay of vegetables, grasses, herbs, plants, and trees, and the habits and economy of animals, reptiles, insects, fishes, birds, and beasts, ever present to the view of a youth of sensibility and genius, solicit his mind to mount up from such various and interesting effects, to causes, and to the grand first Cause—from nature to the God of nature: an eternal and all-ruling Mind. His soul is roused, harmonized, and disposed to contemplation, and a pursuit of knowledge.—Such a youth was William Wilkie; and such the circumstances in which he received the rudiments of his education, and his mind was formed.

Having learned the Latin tongue at the parish-school of Dalmeny in West Lothian, in which parish he was born in 1721; he was, at the age of fourteen, sent to the university of Edinburgh: where, in the usual space of three years, he went through the accustomed course of philosophy; and, in the year thereafter, entered his name in the hall, as a student in divinity. During the recess, or vacation of the philosophy college, which took up from five to six months in the year, and the still longer vacation of the divinity college, he lived, of course, in the family of his father, who was a respectable farmer, and was much employed in superintending agricultural concerns; which at length devolved on him wholly on the death of his father: which happened nearly at the time when Wilkie, having attended for the usual time the divinity-hall, was ordained by the presbytery of Linlithgow a preacher of the Gospel. Preachers of the Gospel, otherwise

called *probationers*, are not attached to any particular kirk or congregation, nor yet do they administer the sacraments. They are employed, occasionally, in preaching, catechising, visiting and exhorting families, and frequently retained by ministers of parishes as their assistants.

Mr. Wilkie had remained for ten years in this situation; in which it was that he composed the *Epigoniad*, carefully attending at the same time to the business of the farm, on which his mother and sisters, as well as himself, depended for support; when it was his good fortune to be called to perform divine service one Sunday, the kirk being vacant through the death of the minister, at Ratho. In this parish lies Hatton, the seat of the late earl of Lauderdale, who, with his family, was in the habit of attending the church regularly. This noble and truly respectable family, had waited a long time in the gallery appropriated to their use in the church, of which they were the patrons, and still there was no appearance of any clergyman. The earl at last said to the countess, "My dear, I think we had better go home." But the beadle, who had learned what his lordship was thinking of, came up to him, and said, "O my lord, I see the minister coming. There he is! your lordship may see him from the window." Here it is necessary to observe, that Wilkie was a very great sloven in his dress. His wig sat always awry. His coat was any thing, at that time, but fashionable. He wore large coarse stockings instead of boots. He had a stick in his hand instead of a whip.

He rode on an old cart-horse, with a long draggling tail, and his appearance was altogether grotesque and ludicrous.—“It is not possible,” said lord Lauderdale, “that that *cheeld** can be a minister!” “O, yes!” the beadle replied, “it is Mr. Wilkie.” After psalms and a prayer, the preacher read a portion of the New Testament; and, according to the custom of the church of Scotland, explained it by a comment and paraphrase. Lord Lauderdale was equally surprised and delighted with the extent of his knowledge applied not ostentatiously, (for Wilkie was simplicity itself,) but in the most apt and natural manner, the originality of his sentiments and observations, and the copious flow of his varied eloquence. It was fortunate for Mr. Wilkie that he had among his hearers a man of such sound taste and judgment, as lord Lauderdale, and as much disposed to reward, as he was capable of appreciating merit. After the service of the day was over, the earl, as is usual with families of distinction in Scotland, invited Mr. Wilkie to dine with him, and to stay all night at Hatton. If he was delighted with both his lecture and sermon, he was still more charmed with his conversation. He presented him to the kirk of Ratho, of which he was ordained minister in 1753, where he remained till 1759, when he was chosen professor of philosophy in the university of St. Andrews. He took a moderate farm in the parish, and was accounted by all the farmers around, of which there was a

monthly club, in which Wilkie was a member, the most judicious and successful cultivator in the country. His attention was particularly drawn to the advantages to be derived from the culture of potatoes, of which he raised immense quantities. The common people in the neighbouring parishes, who have a great detestation of ministers becoming farmers, called him the “Potatoo minister.”

He was a frequent visitor at Hatton, but never so frequent as lord Lauderdale, and all the family wished him to be ———. No man could possibly be freer from all whimsies, or the affectation of singularity, than Wilkie. Yet it will generally be considered as a strange conceit, that he should prefer the use of soiled, to that of clean linen. When lady Lauderdale would kindly press him to stay all night, he would, after some hesitation, say, “Yes, my lady, if you will give me foul sheets to my bed.”

The earl of Lauderdale, who, with the most excellent qualities of both head and heart, united a degree of humour, would sometimes amuse himself with a little gentle teasing of Wilkie. One day, after dinner, the earl led on the conversation to the subject of the most proper pursuits in life; the best or most worthy objects of ambition; of which a capital one, in his lordship’s judgment, was the establishment of a family in independent and affluent circumstances. And, he observed, that the great reward held out in the Old Testament, to

* *Cheeld*, in the Scottish dialect, is nearly of the same import with *fellow*, used in its best sense, that is, when it is meant to express rather kindness than contempt; but certainly not to express any degree of contempt or aversion.

the

the people of God, was, that "they should see their children's children, and that their seed should inherit the earth." As to authorship, or the making of books, he had observed, he said, that it was generally light-headed, or hair-brained people that gave themselves up to writing. Men of sound sense, and a right way of thinking, he said, sought after something more substantially good than the reputation of authorship.

In order to enter into the humour of the observations made to Wilkie, about the reward held out in the Old Testament, to the people of God, it is necessary to know, that he was not only a bachelor, but that though a poet, passionately fond of music, and no bad performer on the violin, he was never known to betray the smallest symptom of being in love. Mr. Wilkie did not make any reply to what had been said of the blessing of seeing one's children's children, and the assurance of his seed's being multiplied and inheriting the earth, but fixed on the allegation, that it was only hair-brained people that became writers of books. "Ca' [call] ye lord Bacon a light-headed, or hair-brained man, my lord?" He then went on expatiating on the glorious and successful pursuits of that great ornament and benefactor of human nature; and contrasted his literary and philosophical labours with the pursuits of vulgar ambition, in a strain of irony worthy of Socrates*.

Though Wilkie was never known to be in love, he liked to converse with sensible and accom-

plished women; and was very far from being backward or niggardly in his praises of female beauty, and other attractions. He was very happy when any of the ladies who visited his sisters, who lived with him in his house till his death, expressed any satisfaction with his performances on the violin; and would very readily give a tune on the fiddle, in exchange for a song.

The Baconian, or in other words, the just and legitimate mode of philosophizing on all subjects, was not perhaps first introduced into the university of St. Andrews in 1759, but it was then that it was first seriously attended to. The principles of that philosophy had never been so well understood in that seminary, and so well explained and inculcated as they were by Dr. Wilkie, who so worthily filled the chair of natural philosophy. At the same time, Dr. Watson, afterwards principal, through whose means chiefly Wilkie was introduced into the university, in his course of logic, applied with great ability as well as zeal, the just laws of investigation to the operations of the human mind, and the nature of the evidence of truth or knowledge.

A very shining part of Dr. Wilkie's character, as above hinted, was his talent for conversation. To this, all who were acquainted with him looked back, and of these, they who survived him still look back with admiration. Of this they all talked, or still talk, in terms of the highest praise.

It is well known, that there are men who, on the strength of their

* These, and many other anecdotes of Wilkie, the writer of this article heard from lord Lauderdale himself.

being authors, conceive that every one is gaping to hear what will fall from them in conversation; in which, therefore, they labour to make a figure. They study a topic beforehand, come primed and loaded with as much as they can carry of what has been said by others, to their club or dinner, force the subject of their lesson into conversation, and disgorge all they know on the company. It is thus easy, by taking the lead in conversation, to appear very learned, very clever, and very eloquent. The true, the agreeable, and most accomplished companion, is he who does not lead but follow the course of conversation. Dr. Wilkie had no need to study a discourse beforehand, in order to make a brilliant figure in the most learned, ingenious, and refined society: nor would such a stratagem have occurred to a mind like his, if he had needed it. He was as well pleased to listen to others as to speak his own sentiments. He had even a curiosity to know the sentiments of those with whom he conversed—even the way of thinking of the very lowest classes—on all subjects. His own conversation was a series of the most original thought, and most ingenious reasoning, clothed in the most nervous and poetical language. Every object was painted to the life, and placed before you in the most striking attitude; and all this was accompanied with great wit. Very seldom, it is presumed, has there been found so much wit, poetry, and philosophy, blended together in any individual. He was not only, both a natural and moral philosopher of the first class, but a man of wit, a poet of great powers, singularly eloquent, and a lover of all the arts. His elo-

quence, however, was different from what professors of rhetoric and most critics would applaud. No studied rotundity of periods; no pomp of words. At the same time that it was very poetical, and full of the noblest images, it was perfectly simple and perspicuous.

Dr. Wilkie was particularly happy in transferring into his literary or philosophical conversation, the terms and phrases of common life, and of the arts, particularly of agriculture. The habit of conversing with his parishioners and neighbours, while he lived in the country, had enabled him to adapt his conversation to their comprehension; at the same time that it had furnished him with many strong and figurative, though, perhaps, not always elegant expressions. He lived, during the earlier part of his life, alternately with the literary men about the university of Edinburgh, and the farmers in his own neighbourhood. There was, therefore, a versatility, as it were, in his eloquence, which would have enabled him to shine amidst a company of peasants, of poets, or philosophers.

His observations on human nature were profound; and he excelled in unfolding the motives of action, and in exposing the ridicule and absurdity of vice or folly. Another subject on which his conversation was always very entertaining and instructive, was criticism. He was furnished with the most frequent subjects of his remarks, from having read both the Latin and Greek classics, as already observed, repeatedly, with the utmost attention. But the favourite subject of his literary conversation was, the philosophy of
lord

lord Bacon. The great and sublime ideas of that philosophy were wonderfully congenial with his mind; and he had penetrated deeply into those branches of metaphysics which serve as the basis of mathematics and natural philosophy. The maxims laid down by lord Bacon, in the *Novum Organum*, and the scale or appreciation of experiments, which form the second part of that work, he used to illustrate with great powers of eloquence and ingeniousness. It was here, more than any where, that he was thought to rise above the level of even his own conversation. A very favourite author with Dr. Wilkie, was Cervantes. Accustomed to take the most extensive view of every object, he saw in *Don Quixote* the most perfect picture of enthusiasm of every denomination. "It was a book, (he said,) written with a learned insight into enthusiasm of every kind."—Here, too, he seems to have had an eye to his great guide in philosophy, who, among the subjects of investigation which he recommends, for illustrating the connexion between mind and matter, (*i. e.* the laws which regulate this connexion) enumerates the history of the power and influence of the imagination; and that also of the several species of enthusiasm.

On the philosophical productions of lord Bacon, he was wont to dwell with peculiar pleasure. And he would often repeat with rapture the following, which has been so fully verified: "That when physics shall be grounded on experiment, their effects will as far excel the pretended powers of magic, as the actions of Cæsar or Alexander surpassed the fabulous

achievements of Arthur, of Britain, or Amadis, of Gaul."

In the particular doctrines of natural philosophy, he was most delighted with that of gravitation. And he used to say, "That human reason had seldom been so well employed as when it inquired into the effects, and seldom so ill as when it inquired into the cause, of gravitation. No part of pure mathematics gave him so much pleasure as the doctrine of fluxions. Having never applied very seriously to the deeper parts of mathematics, till his appointment to the natural philosophy chair at St. Andrews, he never acquired great facility in the fluxionary calculus. But there was never any man who understood the principles of that calculus more thoroughly. He used to say, that the advantage of fluxions consists in giving at once the result of an infinite series of approximations." He was the first, and probably the only poet, that has been initiated in the mysteries of this difficult science.

As a teacher of natural philosophy, Dr. Wilkie has rarely been excelled. He carried along with him into his school, the same clearness, simplicity, and force of expression, which accompanied him on all other occasions. His course was very happily arranged, and contained many uncommon views of nature, and many new and excellent demonstrations. He was, withal, very close or strict in his reasoning; and, on that account, by those who came to his lectures, without a sufficient preparation of geometry, and a sufficient command of their attention, was sometimes supposed to be obscure.

From that absence of mind, from which

which men who think deeply are rarely exempted, Dr. Wilkie would now and then lose the thread of his demonstration altogether. On such occasions he would immediately stop short; being wholly superior to the artifice of amusing his students for an instant, with words, which, if they did not understand, their modesty might lead them to blame themselves, rather than their master. He would not hesitate, after a short pause, to say, "I have been bewildered—I have been speaking nonsense;"—and, having thus recollected himself, would proceed with a new demonstration. Indeed, Dr. Wilkie possessed that entire simplicity of character, so rarely to be found, by means of which a man puts himself altogether out of the question, and fixes his eye only on what is true, or what is right.

It may readily be supposed that a man who possessed such literary accomplishments, and at the same time such talents for conversation, as Dr. Wilkie, would form a very distinguished member of a literary society or club. So he did. When he was a young man, a student at Edinburgh, and afterwards a preacher in the vicinity, the Scottish metropolis had begun to be distinguished by ardour and enterprise in every walk of literature and science. And a literary society was formed, which not only discussed questions among themselves, but maintained a correspondence with several eminent literati and philosophers in different places. In that society there was not one whose arguments or course of reasoning, in the dispute or debate, made generally so deep an impression, and carried so much conviction

to the minds of all present, as Wilkie's. In this was exhibited a striking proof and example of the connection between eloquence and a candid and sincere disposition. The unrivalled success of Wilkie in debate arose not more from his fine genius and extensive learning, than the sincerity and simplicity of his moral character. It was to this chiefly that he himself attributed his success in literary disputation. When he was complimented on this, he would say, "When men of equal powers take opposite sides of a question, the balance is naturally cast in favour of him who takes the right one. I find that men of bright parts are very apt to take the weak or wrong side of a question, that they may display their reasoning powers. I always deliver my sincere sentiments, which I can unfold and maintain more easily than I should any others."

Among the members of that club, and the particular friends of Wilkie, were the late sir Gilbert Elliot, father of the present lord Minto, lord Elibank, Principal Robertson, Dr. Adam Smith, Mr. J. Hume, professor Ferguson, Mr. Alexander Wedderburn, afterwards lord Loughborough, and others, who attained to great distinction in both the law and literature. Though many of these had been more fortunate than he in the pursuit of literary fame, he never spoke of any of them with the smallest degree of chagrin or envy. On the contrary, he was fond of telling anecdotes of them in a good-natured and friendly way, and describing the peculiarities of their genius, turns, and habits. Indeed the most perfect candour,

dour, and the most sincere love of truth and justice, formed the basis of his character.

Dr. Wilkie was an excellent farmer, but paid very little attention to theories of agriculture. He read few books on that subject. One maxim of his deserves to be recorded; "I never draw any conclusion, (said he,) in matters of husbandry, but from direct experiment; and I never reason from analogy." The example he set of an excellent method of husbandry, was of great use in that part of the country, where he spent the last years of his life. The people in the neighbourhood of St. Andrews were astonished to find a professor who could talk to them in their own language, and teach them how to raise excellent crops of turnips and potatoes.

He was, as above observed, a great sloven in his dress, and regardless of all gentility and elegance of every kind. He was frequently to be seen hastening through the streets of St. Andrews, with a shabby great-coat, his wig, as usual, awry, and his hoes on his shoulder, to work in his fields. He was parsimonious, and fond of money: yet he was in the habit of sending very considerable sums to housekeepers in St. Andrews, whom he knew to be struggling hard under poverty, not only to escape being burthensome, but to maintain a decent appearance in society. This, as was conjectured before, but not fully known till after his death, he did in the most secret manner, exacting as a condition, profound secrecy from the parties relieved by his bounty.

The following anecdote, however trivial in appearance, is well calcu-

lated to give an idea of Dr. Wilkie's genius, habits, and manner in society. In musing on any subject, when a ludicrous idea occurred to him, which often happened, he would, without saying a word, burst into a fit of laughter, and then give an account of the subject that had moved it. Among the professors of St. Andrews, cotemporary with Dr. Wilkie, was Mr. Morton, professor of humanity, and afterwards of Greek, who was in many, nay, most respects, the very opposite of Dr. Wilkie. He was not a man of genius, nor yet of very great learning: though well enough qualified to teach languages, and give lectures in philology, and remarkably careful and diligent in the discharge of his professional duty. Having acted as private tutor, and travelling governor to several young gentlemen and noblemen, he was completely fashioned to the world; and to dress and all the exterior decencies of life, most punctiliously attentive. Having no children, and being of a liberal and gentleman-like turn of mind, he was withal wholly indifferent about money beyond what was necessary. One day Dr. Wilkie, when it was his turn to be hepdomader, and preside at the college-table, after a silence for a few minutes, without a word by way of preamble, gave way to a hearty fit of laughter. "I have been thinking, (said he,) that Mr. Morton would not have one hair of his wig out of its proper place for a guinea!" This single stroke was highly descriptive, not only of him who was the subject of it, but of him who made it.

Dr. Wilkie was not insensible of the defects of his own character.

"The

"The difficulties, (he would often say,) in which I, with my sisters on my hand, was early involved, strongly impressed on my mind the value of independence; and I fear that I am still too much attached to the means of securing it." The candour of this acknowledgment, is, perhaps, the best apology that can be made for the failing that gave rise to it. And, it may even be added, that there was greater merit in bestowing charities, which he did secretly, and with no sparing hand, when in conferring them, he had to make an effort against his habitual love of money. It may be farther observed, that virtue has a surer foundation when it is founded on a principle of the understanding enforcing a conviction of duty, than when it rests merely on some effusion of kind affection, which the school of lord SHAFTESBURY analyses into something analogous to sensation or sense. In truth this school, by moving duty from the basis of the understanding and the will of God, to the fluctuating tide of sentiment and affection, has opened a door to great laxity of both sentiment and conduct, on this subject. The licentious Sterne, and his admirers, see no great turpitude in vice or immorality, provided that a transgression has in it a tincture of amiableness.

Dr. Wilkie was a firm believer in the existence of one supreme and all-ruling Mind; conceiving this to be the easiest, most natural, and most complete solution of the phenomena of the universal world. For the Christian religion, the sublime purity of its moral doctrines, the unparalleled moral excellence and perfection of Jesus Christ, and

the disinterested and glorious zeal of the apostles, he entertained the most respect and veneration: but he confessed to his most intimate friends, that he had, at times, doubts as to the truth of its great and consolatory doctrine: resurrection from the grave, and immortal life in a future, more perfect, and far happier state of existence. The intrusion of these doubts he deeply lamented and deplored. "Oh! (he would say,) if I could believe firmly and steadily these doctrines, how insignificant should I consider every pursuit, besides that of a life pure, holy, and acceptable to God!" Yet he never suffered his doubts to produce any relaxation in the observance of all the Christian ordinance. The same custom of family worship, which he had kept up, of course, when he was a minister of the church of Scotland; he continued after he was a professor in a university. Some young noblemen and gentlemen, who boarded in his house, were attended by their tutors, who were preachers of the Gospel. With these gentlemen Dr. Wilkie took his turn in family-prayer every evening. In all his exercises of devotion, even in the graces he said before and after meals, there was great variety and originality. For example, one of his graces, at the college-table, began thus:—"O Lord, thou art the author of ALL OUR WANTS, and thou suppliest them all from the inexhaustible stores of thy paternal goodness." Dr. Wilkie had, almost all his life, been subject to agues. To keep up a perspiration he lay in bed under loads of blankets on blankets, heavier and heavier. And, when he went out to his class, or elsewhere,

where, he had waistcoat on waistcoat, and over his coat and greatcoat, his gown; which gave him a strange appearance. By this means his frame was gradually relaxed and shaken; an effect to which he contributed, by the immoderate use of tobacco, which was never out of his mouth. He confessed that he was too much addicted to the use of this narcotic. But, said he, with his usual simplicity and candour, "If I had not taken to tobacco, I believe I should have been a great drunkard." He died at St. Andrews in October 1772. Contemporary with Dr. Wilkie, at St. Andrews, where several other professors of great eminence: Mr. David Gregory, professor of mathematics; Dr. Simpson, professor of medicine; Mr. Wilson, professor of Greek; and Dr. Watson, above mentioned; and above all these in talents, and celebrity, the reverend principal of the philosophy college, the reverend Mr. Tulideph. The condition and character of the university of St. Andrews, at the period of Dr. Wilkie's death, and for many years thereafter, down to the death of the chancellor, the earl of Kinnoull, excite deep regret when compared with the state into which it is now fallen.

Characteristical Anecdotes of the Russian Field-Marshal Suwarrow. Translated, and extracted from the original French of a Work intituled "Précis Historique sur le célèbre Feld-Maréchal Comte Suwarrow Rymnikski, Prince Italikski; par M. de Guillaumanches-Du-

boscage, Lieutenant-Colonel des Dragons de Kinbourne, et Officier de l'Etat-Major de l'Armée du Feld-Maréchal Suwarrow, en 1794, 1795, 1796.

THE name of Field-marshal Suwarrow is of sufficient celebrity to excite a general interest and attention to an account of his life and character. And that interest will be heightened, when it is considered that the memoirs we now lay before our readers, were written by a person, whose situation afforded him the most favourable opportunities for drawing a faithful portrait of the manners, habits, and eccentricities of that extraordinary man.

Suwarrow was born in 1730, at Moscow, of a Swedish family, whose circumstances were but indifferent. He entered the service in 1742, as a private soldier, and languished many years a subaltern. It was during this time that, feeling the superiority of his own resources, and the insufficiency of those of his commanders, whose faults he beheld, and judged, he resolved to free himself from a state of obedience, and assumed for this purpose that singularity of conduct which afterwards was strengthened, as it were, into a second nature, and gave a stamp of peculiarity to his whole character. His plan however succeeded. In a short time he was remarked, and the shoots of his genius pierced through the obscurity of the subordinate situation in which he had vegetated the first years. From 1749 his advancement was rapid, and ten years afterwards, at the age of 29, he became a lieutenant-colonel. In the mean while, the higher

higher he advanced in rank, the more odd, and singular did he affect to become. This mode of acting, at last made such an impression on his mind, that all obedience was impossible, and he would have refused to command the armies of his sovereign, had she attempted to mark out the plan of his campaign; or constrain him in his choice of operations. "When my sovereign does me the honour," said he on this head, "to give me the command of her armies, she supposes me capable of guiding them to victory; and how can she pretend to know better than an old soldier like myself, who am on the spot, the road which leads to it? So, whenever her orders are in contradiction to her true interests, I take it for granted, they are suggested by the enmity of her courtiers, and I act in conformity to what appears to me most serviceable to her glory." On many occasions the genius of Suwarrow broke through the limits of his orders; and guided him with sure, steadfast step to conquest; as for instance:

During the campaign of 1771, which he made as major-general, he hears that the grand marshal of Lithuania is assembling the Poles at Halowitz. He immediately informs marshal Boutourlin, the Russian commander-in-chief, (a man of remarkable coolness and circumspection) and demands leave to attack them. He, knowing that Suwarrow had with him only a few hundred men, forbids him formally to attempt any thing. But, Suwarrow hearing at the moment that the Poles have just beat the regiment of Petersbourg, and that their numbers amount to five thou-

sand men, and are daily increasing, thinks only of crushing them in the bud: he assembles his little army and goes to meet the enemy with one thousand men. The danger doubles his exertions. He marches fifty leagues in four days; surprises the Poles at midnight, beats and disperses them; takes the town of Halowitz and twelve pieces of cannon. In the morning he pursues his victory, and destroys what had escaped in the evening. He then sends general Boutourlin an account of his daring enterprise, and subjoins these words; "As a soldier I have disobeyed; I ought to be punished, and have sent you my sword; but as a Russian, I have done my duty in destroying the confederate forces, which we could not have resisted, had they had time to unite." Boutourlin astonished, and at a loss what conduct to keep towards Suwarrow, sends to the Empress for orders. Catharine immediately writes to the victorious general: "As your commander, marshal Boutourlin ought, to put you under arrest, to punish military insubordination; but as your sovereign, I reserve to myself the pleasure of rewarding a faithful subject, who by a brilliant action has well served his country." She sent him the order of St. Alexander.

In 1790, the empress had given an express order for the taking of Ismailoff, of which the siege had already been twice raised. Potemkin, who commanded the Russian army, fearing to disobey Catharine the third time, communicates his orders to Suwarrow, proposing that he should recommence the siege, and charging him with the command of it. However dangerous the

the enterprise, which had already failed twice, Suwarrow, ever confident in his own resources, undertakes it, with these words; "The empress wills it, we must obey." Having assembled his troops, four days of forced marching bring him to Ismailoff. Some days are spent in the preparation of fascines, scaling ladders, and other necessities for an assault; in the mean while he has a fort constructed in a retired spot, where the soldiers are practised at mounting to an assault: and at the same time, the better to deceive the enemy, he opens a trench at the distance of 30 or 40 toises, as if he intended to besiege the place in form. "Every thing," says the author, "was disposed for the assault; orders were given; the columns were on their march at midnight; when an officer arrives, bringing dispatches from prince Potemkin. Suwarrow guesses that the dispatches contain either an order for his retreat, or some secret snare. In fact, Potemkin could not forbear trembling at the uncertainty of such an enterprise; undertaken in the midst of a severe winter, against a fortification furnished with 230 pieces of cannon, and defended by 43,000 men; nor did it lessen his apprehensions, when he considered that the half of this garrison was composed of Janissaries, commanded by Scoen Pachas; while Suwarrow, to oppose these difficulties, had only 28,000 men, the half of whom were Cossacks. In order therefore to cast all the blame and disgrace of a check upon him, he ordered him not to risk the assault, without being sure of taking the place. Suwarrow mistrusting the contents of

this letter, bids his aid-de-camp have a horse held at the door of his tent, so as to mask the entrance of it; telling him at the same time to make the courier wait till he should go and receive his message. Presently he goes out, pretends not to see the officer with the dispatches; springs on his horse, and joins his troops at full gallop.

The Russians gallantly scale the fortifications; the Turks make a vigorous resistance, but the works are carried: the combat is still maintained in the town, but a few hours of assault and carnage secure the victory to the Russians.

The victorious Suwarrow, while receiving the congratulations of his officers, perceives the messenger of Potemkin. "Who are you, brother," says he to him. "It is I," answered the officer, "who brought the dispatches from prince Potemkin, yesterday evening." "What!" says Suwarrow, pretending great passion, "you bring me news from my sovereign—you are here since yesterday, and have never given them to me." Then threatening the officer with severe chastisement, he gives the letter to one of his generals to read aloud.

After it was read, Suwarrow turns to his officers with a smile; "Thank God," says he, crossing himself, "Ismail is taken, or I should have been undone." And truly, adds the historian, this letter was a snare; for what general would venture to ensure the success of such an assault? To retire without fighting, to fight without succeeding, was equally hazardous. But Suwarrow, by not receiving these treacherous orders till after the event of his undertaking, eluded them, whatever they might be, and

and thus left himself full scope for his courage and talents—and Ismail was taken. The answer he sent to prince Potemkin, on the field, deserves to be related for its heroic brevity :

“ The Russian flag, flies on the ramparts of Ismailoff.

SUWARROW.”

He gave this letter to the courier to take immediately.

The exterior of marshal Suwarrow, was of a piece with the oddity of his character. He was a little man of about five feet and an inch in height. His mouth was large, and his features all together nothing prepossessing ; but his look was full of fire, lively, and particularly penetrating.

No where could one see a brow more wrinkled, no where wrinkles more expressive than his. Old age and fatigues of war, had left him but few grey hairs at 64.

Though his form appeared delicate and feeble, he was gifted with a strong and hardy constitution, fortified by sobriety, toil, and activity. Scarcely ever ailing, he supported fatigue, perhaps better than a man of a more robust frame : so great however was the weakness of his physical powers, that at the age I have just mentioned, he bent beneath the mere weight of his sabre. “ Thus,” observes the author, “ not only was this weak and fragile frame unyielding to fatigue, but it enclosed a spirit capable of mastering circumstances and overcoming fortune.”

The character of Suwarrow was animated, and impetuous. When greatly moved, his look became severe, imposing, and even terrible. He followed the feelings of his heart : but these movements were

rare, and the occasion of them must have been weighty.

In one point did this old warrior appear weak—it was his age. He could not bear to be reminded of it either by others or himself ; and for this reason every looking-glass in his house was either covered up or removed. Nothing was more comic than to see him walking by a looking-glass ; as soon as ever he perceived it, he began running, shutting his eyes, and making all sorts of faces till he got out of the room. “ We should be wrong,” says M. de Guillaumanches, “ to suppose that this oddity was the effect of any antiquated pretensions. The marshal would often joke on his own appearance ; and as to his aversion for looking-glasses, I have frequently heard him say that he never looked in them, that he might not perceive the ravages of time to have disabled him from the military enterprises of his youth. Accordingly,” adds he, “ if a chair happened to be in his way, he used to jump over it, to shew that he still retained his agility. For the same reason it was a rarity to see him walk ; he always ran, particularly at going in, and coming out of his room. The largest circle never embarrassed him ; he even redoubled his drolleries in the presence of strangers of rank, to shew them that he could support the fatigues of war with all the vivacity of youth.”

Marshal Suwarrow was in the habit of rising all the year round at 4 o'clock in the morning, and sometimes at midnight. As soon as he was up, he went out of his tent naked, to be drenched with pails of cold water. Neither his advanced age, nor the rigour of the season,

season, could ever induce him to relax this extraordinary custom. He commonly dined at eight o'clock in the morning in winter, and seven in the summer. Dinner was his chief meal. It was the hour of his recreation, which he sometimes prolonged beyond his own wishes. He never sat down nor rose from table without saying a blessing and grace: sometimes he added a short benediction to his guests, and if they did not answer "amen;" "those," says he, smiling, "who have not said 'amen,' shall have no *eau de vie*." Though fond of wine and liquors, he was never seen drunk. He ate and drank a great deal, because he had naturally a great appetite, and dinner was his only meal. The rest of the day, he took nothing but a few cups of tea or coffee. He followed the Russian custom of sleeping an hour or two after dinner. His cookery was any thing but delicate, generally ill dressed Cossack ragouts, which nobody dared find fault with. Each dish was sent round; and contained as many messes as there were guests.

As Suwarrow was like nobody, so he dressed like nobody. Whole boots, slouched, and falling about his heels, breeches of white dimity, a waistcoat of the same kind, with lining and collar of green cloth, a little helmet of felt, ornamented with green fringe; this was his military dress throughout the year; nor did it take from the oddity of his appearance that he frequently booted but one leg, leaving his garter and stocking hanging loose on the other, which had been disabled by an old wound; his large sabre dragged along the ground, while his thin dress scarcely seemed to hang

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to his meagre and sickly body: when the cold was excessive, he wore a vestment of white cloth like the dimity one he had left off: but this happened rarely. It was in this singular equipment that Suwarrow commanded, reviewed, bargained and encamped his soldiers on the frozen plains of Russia. His numerous victories had been rewarded with many diamond ornaments. On great occasions he was covered with them, and then only he appeared in his superb dress of field-marshal: at other times he wore only the chain of the order of St. Andrew. Let not any one suppose the extreme simplicity of Suwarrow's exterior was the effect of avarice; on the contrary his contempt of money was even stoical: whenever he spoke of it, which was but seldom, one would have supposed he had entirely forgot its worth. He carried none with him, knew the price of nothing, and paid for nothing himself. An old soldier named Tichinka, who had saved his life, and whom he had made his *aid-de-camp*, was at once his major-domo, his supervisor, his *maitre-d'hotel*, and had the sole charge of his expences. He carried neither watch nor jewels with him, except on those occasions of ceremony when he displayed the rewards of his victories, and the munificence of his sovereign. But it was only when he considered them as records of his glory that the finest diamonds obtained any value in his eyes, and then he would show them to any stranger who might be by, and pointing out his ornaments one by one, "At such an action (would he say) I gained this order; at such a one, this;" &c. a pardonable vanity, when we consider that

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that this was the sole pleasure he derived from the sight of all his treasures.

The author quotes many anecdotes in proof of his disinterestedness, which do equal honour to his principles and loyalty : I shall relate the following :

An officer of his staff lost 60 thousand roubles at play, belonging to the military chest : Suwarrow sent for the officer, punished him, and wrote to the empress ; " An officer has spent 60 thousand roubles belonging to the army : but when your majesty receives this letter, I shall have made it good, at my own expence. It is right I should be answerable for the officers I employ."

Suwarrow was always fond of keeping up the manners of a soldier. When he saluted any body, he stooped, turned out his toes, squared his position, drew back his shoulders, and put his right hand to his little helmet like a soldier saluting his officer. When he had a mind to shew great respect, he bent very low, with a very ill grace, and without changing the posture of his feet and arms.

His simplicity was not confined to dress, but extended to his diet, his lodging, and to his whole way of life.

" He always preferred, (says the author) the plainest apartment, so that no article of luxury was left where he lodged : he seldom slept in a house when his army was encamped. His tent was pitched at the head quarters in a corner of the garden : he remained there the night and greater part of the day, and never entered the house allotted to his staff except at dinner time. Throughout his military career he

had never passed a whole night in bed, a few bundles of hay formed his only (and to him luxurious) couch, whether in the camp, or the palace of the empress. He had no equipage, no horses, no attendants. He kept one servant about his person, and took as many soldiers, or cossacks, as he wanted for the service of his house. His chariot, a plain kibitka was drawn by post or hired horses. For his reviews, and in battle, he mounted the first horse at hand, sometimes a cossack's, but generally his aid-de-camp Tichinka lent him a horse ; altogether, a more moderate expence and equipage cannot be imagined."

M. de Guillaumanches assures us, that of all the qualities of marshal Suwarrow the most conspicuous was a real and invariable goodness of heart ; he never met children, says he, without embracing and blessing them. He was ever a kind relation, a sincere friend, a good father ; but he esteemed it the duty of a warrior to bestow that time only on social feelings, which could not be dedicated to the pursuit of glory. These principles were the invariable rule of his conduct : as a proof :

He was on his way to the army ; and uncertain how long he might be detained there, when he was seized with a desire to embrace his children. At once to satisfy his glory and affection, he turned out of his way, and rested neither day nor night till he arrived at his house in Moscow. All his people were abed. Alighting quickly from his chariot, he knocked gently for admittance, and on entering stole softly to his children's bed-room. With a candle in his hand he gently drew their curtains, and after contemplating

plating with emotion the objects of his tenderness, blessed and embraced them; then mounted his carriage and set off without having awakened them. He had seen, embraced, and blest all he held dear: to awake them would have been to hazard a painful adieu, and to have made them sharers in his feelings. In this way the eccentricity of his character held sway over the tenderest emotions of his soul: he seemed to steal from glory what his affection prompted him to yield to nature.

Suwarrow remained ever insensible to the charms of love. He regarded a connexion with the sex as baneful to the courage, the morals, and the health of a soldier. In company, when he found himself accidentally seated near ladies, he avoided looking at, or touching them, in a manner truly original. Though married, he knew for his wife no other sentiment than friendship. His ideas of chastity, which he held to be one of the cardinal virtues, were of a piece with his other eccentricities. After having passed a part of the night with his wife, which was a great rarity for him, he would jump up, and have pails of water thrown over him to purify him.

M. de Guillaumanches informs us that the character of the marshal was remarkable for an unalterable freedom of sentiment, which created in him an utter dislike to those equivocal phrases, which are the usual resource of flattery, fear, or meanness: whenever an officer answered him in that manner, he was for ever lost in his opinion. He called such people *miesnaion*, a Russian word which answers to our

"don't know," "possibly," "may be." He not only considered such sort of equivocation a species of cowardice, but used to think it betrayed a want of characteristic energy; in his eyes a capital defect.

When he would discover if any one possessed firmness of mind, he would divert himself by asking him publicly all kinds of ridiculous questions. He thought little of those who appeared abashed or daunted on the occasion, but sharp and lively repartees won his esteem: "He, (says he,) who is disconcerted by a simple question, will be much more so by a sudden attack of the enemy." In Suwarrow, the qualities of activity and penetration seemed catching. He electrified all who came near him. The words "I don't know," "I cannot," "impossible," were erased from his dictionary, and supplied by "learn," "set about it," "try."

We may easily suppose Suwarrow had a great antipathy to courtiers. Under the appellation of *neisnaion*, they were the objects of his bitterest satire. Neither the presence of his sovereign, nor of the parties concerned, could tempt him to disguise the freedom of his sentiments. No wonder then he had many enemies at court. In fact he was hated there, and, in the midst of the camp, intrigue and faction sought him out for their prey.

Suwarrow was always a strict disciplinarian; the least neglect of subordination was severely punished: and with all the originality of his character, he would be as well the model, as the enforcer of military obedience.

"He bade Tichinka order him from table whenever he was un-

awares exceeding his usual appetite. He would then turn round with an air of pleasing gravity, and ask, "At whose order?" Marshal Suwarrow's. "He must be obeyed," said he smiling; and immediately rose. It was the same when his business kept him too long sedentary. Tichinka bade him go out; he asked the same question; his aid de camp gave the same answer, and he would go and walk.—This old warrior was very religious: his first business on getting up was to say his prayers. He said a very long one before going to bed. Like all the Russians he had great faith in St. Nicholas. He carefully attended divine worship: chanting the service with the priests, and accompanying the chaunt with all kind of grimaces. During his exile at Novorogod, at the age of 70, a pious whim induced him to exercise his indomitable activity on the bells of the village, of which he was made churchwarden. Every night and morning he toll'd the service, which he afterwards sung in company with the priest and peasantry of the place. Priests had ever a peculiar claim to his respect: he would often stop a priest for his benediction, and never missed a bishop. The blessing he had thus obtained, he generally transmitted again to his officers. Notwithstanding however his respect for the clergy, he could well distinguish the priest from the man. One day on his entering a village he saw the curate, and hastily dismounted to beg his blessing; presently afterwards, upon some complaints, he ordered the same curate 50 strokes of a cudgel.

Suwarrow, his biographer informs us, had a great fund of his-

torical knowledge, as well ancient as modern, and knew by heart the lives of the most illustrious commanders who had gone before him. He spoke eight languages. His French had all the correctness of a native. His style and speech bore the stamp of his character; brief, energetic, lively, and to strangers almost enigmatical. But he had an aversion to writing, and avoided such transactions as required the assistance of the pen; "a weapon," (said he,) which sits ill in the hands of a soldier." For this reason few letters of his own writing are extant. The following is what he wrote to field-marshal Romanzoff to announce to him the taking of Tourtougaya:

Slawo Bogou, Slawo bowam;
Glory to God, glory to you;
Tourtourkaya aviala, ia tam.
Tourtougaya is taken, here am I.

His compositions had all the same characteristic energy, and brevity. But he commonly gave the substance of his dispatches to one of his officers, and signed them after they were written.

He was wont often to harangue his soldiers; and on this occasion his usual excellence of brevity would fail him. His harangues lasted an hour, and sometimes two, in the depth of winter. "I remember," (says M. de Guillaumanches,) that one day in the month of January he took it into his head to harangue a body of 10,000 men drawn up on the parade at Varsovia. It was bitter cold, and a freezing hoar frost came down from the sky. The marshal in a waistcoat of white dimity began his usual harangue. He soon found that the coldness of the

the weather made it seem long ; accordingly he stretched it to two hours. Almost all the generals, officers, and soldiers caught cold. The marshal was none the worse, or even gayer than usual. His quarters rung with continual fits of coughing ; and he seemed to enjoy hearing it. He had the satisfaction to think he taught his army to disregard fatigue, winter, and all its frosts."

Portrait of Lewis XVI. From the second volume of Picturesque Travels in Greece, by the Count Choiseul - Gouffier. Translated from the Original French.

I WAS once drawn to Greece by my passion for antiquities. Several years thereafter I returned thither in discharge of my duty. In 1784 the king appointed me ambassador to Constantinople. With the greatest goodness and affability he gave me every encouragement, and all manner of advice and instruction that might be of the greatest utility. How much was I struck with that enlightened ardour for the advancement of science, that solidity of judgment, and various as well as authentic information, which would have appeared extraordinary even in a private individual. But such, at this time, was the wild prejudice of the public, that every one made a merit of detracting from that of the king, and denying that he possessed any qualities at all meritorious or excellent. On the first throne in the world he was the only king that had not a flatterer : the only one that had not even

strict justice done him. He was so injuriously treated that he came to have too humble an idea, and did not do justice to himself ; thus doing homage, like the rest of the nation, to the empire of opinion. How melancholy the presage formed by his disposition in the public mind ! By this, the first epoch of error and frenzy, when the throne had lost that magical but happy power which renders even good intentions, on the part of sovereign princes, objects of applause and acclamation ! and when men did not, or would not observe and recognize in the person of the king, qualities that would have been held dear and venerable in the humblest of his subjects.

The Character of the English and French compared ; by a Dane ; in 1727. Translated from Baron Hollberg.

THE English are neither angels nor devils, and yet this nation scarcely ever observes a medium in any thing. Among them the virtues are carried to the highest pitch as well as the vices. There is no comparison between the virtues and vices of the English. No kingdom affords so many examples of heroic and perfect virtue, nor more of scandalous acts of treachery, than England. Sometimes the parliament do every thing that can possibly promote the welfare of the nation, and sometimes they betray it altogether.

Religion, superstition, zeal, licentiousness, learning, ignorance, industry, sloth, vice, and virtue, are carried to an extreme in this

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country ;

country ; all are cultivated to their perfect maturity, and while, on the one hand, one cannot sufficiently praise some noble natures ; on the other, there are characters so base that no censure can reach them. There is no nation at once so idle and careless, and there is no nation at the same time so laborious. But those among the English, who are really idle, cannot be brought to labour neither by hunger nor any other punishment ; nothing can move them to set a foot out of the house when they are determined to indulge their indolence. Here it is common to see artists and mechanics in great poverty, and even in the public prisons, who might not only pay their creditors, but obtain a handsome livelihood, could they once be brought to exert themselves.

On the other hand, the industrious among them will suffer no obstacle to oppose their endeavours—they spare neither pains nor labour—they expose themselves to the greatest dangers by sea—they visit foreign kingdoms and states, and penetrate into the most distant quarters of the earth—they equally attempt the possible and the impossible—in fact, they bring such things about that no other people would ever think of attempting ; and all either to satisfy their curiosity or increase their fortunes. On this account it has been said of the English, that they either perish through idleness, or kill themselves with excessive labour.

Even in the sciences they know of no medium. They either renounce books and learning altogether, or pursue their studies to such a degree of zeal, that often, in endeavouring to refine their un-

derstanding too much, they lose it entirely. There is perhaps no country in the world where there are so many very learned and very ignorant clergymen as in England. As for religion, they either receive it with the utmost sincerity of heart, or contend against it with extreme bitterness. Superstition, ~~infidelity~~, fanaticism, and even scepticism, all rule by turns in England. The English either believe nothing at all, or else they believe too much. The unbelievers among the English, however, are generally good naturalists ; but the English Roman-Catholics, are much more bigoted than the Spaniards and Italians. There are those among the former who make no scruple in risking their lives, their fortunes, their honour, nor even to betray their country, for the pope of Rome. There are others again, who always set the pope and the devil in the same class ; so that with these people there are no bounds to the love and hatred of the same person. The furious zeal on one side, and the laxity on the other, is also the occasion that religion, or the want of it, are no where more violently attacked, nor more obstinately defended, than in England.

It is therefore manifest how much those writers have erred, who, in the picture they have drawn of the English, have attributed those virtues and vices to the whole nation, that properly belong to a part only. The English may be said at once to be the best and worst of all nations. Other nations have their virtues and vices as well as the English, but the latter are more in proportion with each other than they are among the former, and never do they rise to such extremes.

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However, there are some characteristic traits that properly belong to the English nation altogether.— They in general possess that degree of self-sufficiency which leads them to despise every thing which they deem foreign or outlandish ; but we may very readily forgive them for this high opinion of themselves, when we consider what a degree of happiness natural riches, fruitfulness, and other glorious privileges, are the endowments of this country. The men, generally speaking, are intrepid, the women handsome ; the men govern *out* of the house, and the women govern *in* the house. The English, who have endeavoured to subdue foreign nations, are at home governed by their wives ; so far they resemble the lion, the terror of all beasts, but who, at the same time, is in his turn terrified at a mouse. We have lately seen a duke here, whose bare name made all Europe tremble, but who was in every respect, as to his domestic concerns, governed by his duchess ; and this is by no means a solitary instance.

The English are far from being so quick in their apprehensions of any thing as the French, but their judgment has more solidity. They speak but little, but that little is generally maturely considered. Eloquence they seem to have brought to perfection ; and among all the nations of Europe, they appear to be the only people who most successfully imitate and equal the ancient Greeks and Romans. Orations in other countries may be highly florid, and well composed, still they are without pith and energy : for, as the orators are destitute of the enjoyment of real freedom of speech, their speeches can have no

thing but their ornaments to recommend them. But the speeches of the members of the British parliament are certainly the most perfect models of the ancient Greeks and Romans. Like them they generally turn upon the most important affairs of the state. The English speakers are by no means declaimers ; trifling points, epigrammatic turns, or far-fetched expressions, have any place among them, nor have they any necessity for any thing of this nature ; their matter is sufficiently copious without any extrinsic embellishments. The orators in England are orators in reality. It is also the freedom of speaking and writing in England which causes the English to excel others in such writings : likewise which concern religion and morality. The French, however, are supposed to be better historians : for though the English never conceal the truth through fear, they do not confine themselves to that regularity and order which the French attend to ; their histories of course resemble chronicles, or annals, rather than a well digested collection of facts ; and as all kinds of parties prevail by turns in England, the truth is very often suppressed.

The English language, as it is borrowed from several others, is copious in the highest degree ; it is to this copiousness, and the exalted manner of thinking in this country, that we owe those excellent epic poems which it has produced. Since the age of Homer and Virgil, no writers have carried the art of epic poetry to greater perfection than Milton and Pope. In comedy the English taste is so peculiar to itself, that to other nations it appears

pears unpleasant. For a trial, I some time since translated some English comedies into the Danish language, and brought them forward at Copenhagen, but they were not relished. Neither humour, nor striking incidents were wanting in these pieces ; but that sprightliness, which is the soul of a good drama, was certainly deficient.

The English are such deep thinkers in general, that the whole country might be called a school of philosophers ; and their philosophers are equally as respectable in their lives as in their learning. Indeed, they are only to be distinguished from the ancients by this, viz. that they neither imitate them in their pride, their externals, or their ridiculous behaviour. Of England it may be said, that philosophers are there always to be met, but without long cloaks or beards. The progress the English have made in mathematical learning is equal to their advancement of moral science ; and England cannot be denied the credit of producing distinguished heroes and genuine philosophers.

The taste of the English in literature has often varied. Sir Richard Blackmore says, " Formerly, my countrymen read the most extravagant fables of giants, monsters, and knights-errant, with the greatest avidity." Pun and banter came next into use, even in sermons. A more free and figurative mode of expression followed next, in which the use of similitudes and the antithesis was carried so far as to make the whole unnatural. A style, however, chaste and sober, has, at length, generally succeeded, and every kind of meretricious ornament is no sooner perceived here,

than it is exposed to censure and ridicule. It is by no means strange, that authors in England have had this power in changing the language of the country, and promoting the sciences, when it is considered that their diligence is rewarded both by wealth and honour.

Ministers of state, generals, and even kings themselves, have not thought it beneath them to publish books, and thus increase the number of writers. It is but a short time since the celebrated sir Isaac Newton was interred with a degree of royal splendour, as some of the principal persons in the kingdom attended his funeral. And when bishop Burnet completed his history of the reformation, he received the thanks of the house of commons in the usual form. Where the sciences are thus honoured, it cannot be surprising that the people should claim the privilege of being at the head of their rivals ; for, of Great-Britain, it may be said, that the arts and sciences have made it their residence. With respect to prejudice in general, no nation is more devoid of it than they ; the understanding of an Englishman may be compared to a clean smooth tablet, which easily receives upon its surface every impression made by sound reason ; while custom and precedent is commonly so strong among other nations, that one might imagine they were a different race. If one would convince a Spaniard, for instance, of the truth of anything with which he is unacquainted, you must first remove all his prejudices ; and thus the labour is doubled in extracting the old error, and implanting the new truth. On the contrary, tell an Englishman
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any thing to which he has been unaccustomed, he will hear you, and examine with candour. If he approves it, he will adopt and acknowledge it without scruple. The English are not inclined to believe any thing they do not thoroughly comprehend; but what they really believe, they are not backward to acknowledge; and since free-thinking is carried to a great extent in this country, from the nature of the constitution, so we meet with as many sceptics here as there are hypocrites in other places. But though in Italy the number of atheists and sceptics seem to be very small, they are, in reality, more than elsewhere, because most of them wear the mask of religion through fear. In England, generally speaking, it is very easy to distinguish characters; the religious, of course, is commonly what he appears to be. This is the general result of English liberty, which, with some inconveniences, is productive of much more good than evil, and a superiority of benefits to the people at large.

The English have a great deal of charity for the unfortunate, and they do not absolutely hate those who are guilty of trivial failings in their conduct, and tolerate Jews, Turks, and Pagans; yet, when their own country-men differ from them in religious opinions, or in matters really indifferent, their hatred and persecution frequently knows no bounds; so that in England, if a man wishes to live in peace, he must, of course, be esteemed perfectly orthodox, or perfectly heterodox. A stranger among them must believe all or nothing; but in this religious antipathy

they are not singular; a Turk hates a Persian much more than he hates a Christian; a Catholic hates a Jansenist worse than a Calvinist.

The clergy in England are not so reserved in their manner of living as in many other countries. They do not deem it indecent to be seen at a playhouse, and even in the coffeehouses. However, their conduct and behaviour in the pulpit is serious and edifying. They generally stand up in their preaching as still as stocks or stones, and, with downcast eyes, explain their texts with method and perspicuity. In this respect they are quite the reverse of the preachers on this side of the water, whose theatrical and extravagant action, stamping, turning, and twisting about, is more adapted to excite the smiles than the sighs of their hearers. Some people censure the English divines because they read their sermons; but they forget this advantage, viz. that their discourses are connected, and without tautology. My ears, I confess, were not a little offended by the first sermon I heard after my return from England. I had not been used to desultory declamation, but in this instance I was witness to so many repetitions that I was convinced the whole sermon, which took up an hour, might have been delivered in a quarter of the time.

Between the English and French I have made the following comparison:—"The French reason, but the English think most. The French have the most wit, but the English the best judgment. The French are showy in their clothing, the English are plain. The French eat most bread, the English

English, most meat. Both are warm, but the heat of the French is in the blood, that of the English is in the gall; hence the anger of a Frenchman is greater than the anger of the English, while the hatred of the English is of longer duration than a Frenchman's. A Frenchman spends his means in decking his person; an Englishman thinks of nothing so much as his belly. A Frenchman is governed by the fashion; an Englishman by his fancy. A Frenchman always goes with the stream; an Englishman against it. A Frenchman soon makes a friend, and soon dispenses with him; an Englishman is a long while making a friend, and keeps him long when he is made: the Englishman loses his friend by degrees; the Frenchman breaks with his friend all at once. The French honour their superiors; the English pay the most respect to themselves. The French are the best citizens; the English the best men: The French have the greatest latitude in their faculties, but the English excel them in the mind's gifts: both of them frequently perform heroic actions; the French for the love of fame, the English for the love of virtue. The French seek reward in the approbation of their countrymen, the English in the act itself. The French, in common with other people, transgress the laws with the hope of escaping punishment; the English frequently transgress when they know that an escape is impossible. When a Frenchman says, "I would willingly do so and so, if it were not for the law;" the Englishman says, "I would never have done this or that, if there

had not been a law against it." The Frenchman denies himself little; the Englishman still less. In his meat the Frenchman regards quality; quantity is the Englishman's principal object. In his cookery, the Frenchman follows his fancy; the Englishman his palate. The French drink to quench thirst, or raise their spirits; the English for drinking-sake. The Frenchman believes previously to examination; the Englishman examines all before he believes any. The French women are very free in their manners, though their husbands are never jealous; the English women are still more free than the French women, though their husbands are mad with jealousy. The imagination in the French and English is extremely fruitful; but more orderly in the French than in the English, which frequently exceeds all bounds. The French mostly live cheerfully in care, want, and misery; the English have every thing in abundance, and yet seem to despise life. They need not be forced to go to the place of execution; their criminals go there laughing, singing, or jesting; and, if an executioner is not to be found, will hang themselves.

Hence it is not strange that a great degree of hatred should subsist between two nations, whose minds and manners are so discordant. The peculiarity of the English character is manifest from this representation of circumstances not to be found elsewhere. But should any one object that I have exaggerated the virtues and vices of the English, I reply that, in respect to a nation that observes no medium itself,

itself, it must be very difficult indeed for a writer to adopt a medium in describing their manners.

State of Religious Sects and Observances, in various parts of the World. [Extracted from the Journals of the Missionaries.]

Present State of Otaheite.

Otaheite, Dec. 12, 1804.

THE inhabitants are diminishing every year, through the still-prevailing causes, frequently noticed. Civilization appears to be making but small advances; perhaps it would be wrong to say it is making none. The chiefs are in general very dissolute; and the common people lovers of ease; and both so much attached to their own ways of doing things, and have so little intercourse with foreigners, that they do not plainly see the value of improvement, nor do they apply themselves with much diligence to it.

Since the death of Pomarre, Otoo has maintained his authority without opposition. For the past seven months he has been residing at Eimeo: his return to Taheite is uncertain. His family has lately sustained another loss in Pa-ecte, who died in Eimeo a few weeks back: others of his near relations are on the decline. An addition is making to the number of fire-arms that are in the hands of the natives, by almost every vessel that calls here. The Harrington has been keeping up a constant barter for hogs, with muskets and powder; so that now there is scarcely a petty

ratteras who has not one in his possession. The natives are as desirous as ever after such articles, and frequently give hogs to the value of between thirty and forty pounds, for a musket not worth ten shillings. We suppose that this kind of traffic is not for nought; and expect to see, sooner or later, some fatal consequences attending it. That our personal safety is more endangered by such an influx of fire-arms, must be obvious to every one who considers our peculiar situation.

While the king has been at Eimeo, he has, by gifts and force, got the greater part of the muskets that were in the hands of the *ratteras* there, into his own possession. It is rumoured that he expects to do the same in Taheite, when he returns; but it is also said, that those who have them, are determined not to give them up to him, but with loss of life. If the king is resolved on the matter, war we think will undoubtedly follow. If it should please the Lord to remove Otoo, as he has Pomarre, we apprehend there would be very serious times on this island, as there is no one who seems to possess sufficient authority to take the government, and many would be aspiring to superiority.

We have a vessel of about fifty tons in building for the king, which will not be finished for some months.

The Harrington, since her stay at Oparre, has bartered away between three and four hundred weight of powder, thirteen or fourteen muskets, and some pistols. The seamen expended near 700*l.* worth of property upon the women they had. They were constantly taking

taking up clothing from the captain.

The wife of the deceased chief of Hapyano arrived in the district, in her way to Hapyano. She has got the disease which proves so fatal to her countrymen, and which it is probable will carry her off in a short time. When the Duff first arrived here, she was the comeliest woman on the island, and we have always found her one of the kindest and best behaved. Besides her husband, she has, within two years, lost her mother and two brothers.

A few days back, the wife of a priest in Opeimanno was given out to be dead, and so continued two days; when, to the surprise of her husband and neighbours, she unexpectedly revived again. She has given a long and nonsensical account of the Po, or other world; which, notwithstanding its absurdity, her deluded countrymen seem to receive with a strong persuasion of its reality. Many, from all parts of the district, have gone to gaze on this supposed wonderful personage, and to hear her story. About eight months back, a similar matter was transacted in Ewkaa, by the wife of a great priest there.

The natives continue their disposition of thieving, and plunder all they lay their hands on.

Egyptian Apis in India.

Coromandel Coast, Jan: 11, 1806.

—This day a great feast, called Wamavataumit, began, which is to last for several days.

12th.—Much annoyed by the noise of the heathen celebrating their festival. The whole town filled with men leading bullocks decorated with flowers, from house

to house. The owners of these animals obtain large sums of money from the people for the privilege of worshipping them!

13th.—This morning the bramin who instructs us in their native language, came to ask leave of absence for the day, that he might join in celebrating the feast. All expostulations with him on the folly of these things, seem at present to have but little effect. With many others he acknowledges that they are wrong, but pleads the custom of his forefathers as the most powerful motive for attending them.

30th.—We were visited this morning by a large family of Hindoos, who had come two or three days' journey to the celebration of the late Moorish festival, by which we have been kept awake for several nights past. A very old grey-headed man led the group, followed by his children and grand-children. They appeared greatly surprised when reviewing the house, furniture, &c. as if it had been the first time they had seen a European face, or had an opportunity of beholding European manners. We were greatly delighted with their simplicity.

Remarkable Sect in India.

Tuttacoryn.—The Sanaers, are a sect of people more robust than other Indians, very dark in complexion, their features completely European, their ears protracted to their shoulders by weighty ornaments of lead. They divide themselves into five families, one of which exclusively ascends the trees; from which practice their hands and feet acquire a peculiarly clumsy shape. Their religion is not Braminical, but con-

consists in the worship of one Mandaa, formerly a washerman. Their habits of life are extremely simple. They are quarrelsome, avaricious, and deceitful.

The tribe of Sanaers is very numerous both here and in Travancore. In the latter country they are called Teers, and I do not know if these resemble in all respects our Sanaers. In this district I compute them to be at least fifty thousand in number, of which, perhaps five thousand belong to our protestant church, and constitute from forty to fifty congregations, under the care of about thirty native teachers. A few of the latter (perhaps eight or ten) are rather respectable servants of God, as far as their knowledge goes. But the greater part have been enlisted in a hurry from among the Sanaers themselves, reading and writing being the only qualifications required. From these catechists, and their base, deceitful, and unworthy conduct, my worst troubles arise. But, till a seminary for forming better ones is established in these parts, the evil must be borne with, and the only thing I can do is to keep them in awe. It is also to be lamented, that many of them receive too little wages. If they have families, they can scarcely afford to buy a little palmyra sugar to satisfy the cravings of nature. My heart bleeds for them in this respect, for this extreme poverty often prompts them to take bribes and presents, to do what they should not.

State of Roman-Catholics in India:

May 1st.—Set off for Anjengo; the most ancient English possession

in Travancore. I was struck with the number of handsome Romish churches along the beach; at every thousand yards there is a church, and there were formerly still more. They are mostly built by private persons in consequence of some vow or other: but no inference is to be drawn from the number of these churches with regard to the flourishing state of religion. In most of them, mass is performed only once in two years.

I will take this opportunity to give my opinion on the number of Roman-catholics in the peninsula of India. I know, from good authority, that there are, beyond a thousand missionaries dispersed over the country. If we allow each of them a nominal influence on two or three thousand souls, as is not improbable, it brings the number of Roman-catholics to between two and three millions. Those that are well-informed, think my calculation falls short of the truth. This is the work of three centuries. Could we suppose their religion will go on to spread in the same ratio, we might fix the period, humanly speaking, when India would be a Roman-catholic country! It is true, that at the outset the missionaries were abundantly zealous, and powerfully seconded by government; the archbishop of Goa was governor-general of the Portuguese possessions; money was sent from Europe in considerable sums. Circumstances are now altered, but the resources of the Romish priests in this country are still considerable: fines, indulgences, fees, presents, masses for the dead, are inexhaustible sources.

At Anjengo I was introduced to the acquaintance of father Raymond, a Piedmontese, and vicar-general

general of Veraples. He is a man of uncommonly liberal principles, and what I learned from him amounts to this—At Veraples they have two numerous seminaries; one for the Latin, the other for the Syriac students. So late as in April, the bishop of ——— came down to Veraples (the vicar-general's confirmation to the bishopric having not yet arrived from Rome, the French having taken the ship in which it was coming, he cannot ordain) in order to lay hands on a number of young priests, no less than 63; besides whom, 206 missionaries of different degrees were ordained in the course of that month! Under Father Raymond's care are fifty thousand Syriac Christians, and sixty thousand of the Latin church. There are, besides the archbishop at Goa, four Romish bishops on this coast. The united Syriacs differ in nothing but the language made use of in public worship from the church of Rome. They were originally brought into that communion by compulsive measures. A few churches, of which more hereafter, resisted unto blood. The inquisition at Goa, of course is now very mild. Father Raymond enjoys great regard from government, on account of his vast influence. The subsidies they draw from the *congregatio de propagandâ fide*, at Rome, amounts only to twelve hundred rupees per annum.

During my stay at Molgaut, the island where colonel ——— resides, I had an opportunity of seeing a dignitary of the Syriac church. His dress consisted of a plain long frock, of black silk; a small blue bonnet, and a long bishop's staff in his hand. His

physiognomy differed much from that which characterizes the Indian; austerity, firmness, acumen, and integrity, seemed to form its character. He looked like a man. The Syriacs came into India, he said, more than a thousand years ago. Their tenets were those held by the Nestorians, who during their severe persecutions (the storms that scatter the seeds of opinion) spread all over the East. The Syriacs, numerous at present, go by the name *Nosrims* or *Nazarenes*. They are an industrious, moral, and wealthy branch of the community, and are greatly respected in all commercial intercourse for their integrity. The greater part of them have been induced, by compulsion, to join the pale of the church of Rome. They are quite Roman-catholics, with this exception, that mass is performed among them in Syriac instead of Latin. They have the New Testament in Syriac, and a seminary of their own at Veraples, near Cochin. Two branches of the Syriac church, however, create a schism; first, those in the hills to the north, forming about thirty-two churches, who braved the persecutions of the Portuguese, adhere to their old heterodox tenets concerning the two natures in Christ, and receive the sacrament in both kinds. Secondly, about fifty-two churches in the south fell off again from the Romish church when the persecution ceased, retaining, however, most of the peculiarities of the catholic worship. On what principle they split, I cannot learn. All these churches worship saints, and especially the Virgin Mary.

In the evening I saw an instance of Roman-catholic church discipline.

pline. Taking a walk with a gentleman, we heard a woman cry very much, as if under a severe flogging. Having followed these sounds, we perceived, in front of a church, a young woman tied to a cocoa-nut tree, and a stout fellow (the church clerk) inflicting this severe discipline whilst the native priest stood by to see that justice was done.

State of the Jews at Cochin.

The synagogue of the Jews, in one of the suburbs of Cochin, consists at present of about a thousand souls, five hundred of which are the descendants of white Jews; the rest are black. Mr. Alex. Jacob Levy, a Jew born in London, officiates as presiding rabbin. He told me they had a tradition that these Jews were of the tribe of Benjamin, who, after the conquest of Jerusalem by Titus, escaped with the silver trumpets, and other implements, from the temple, and settled in Arabia, from whence they came gradually down the coast to Cranganore and other places, till a persecution by the Portuguese took place, in which their antiquities, documents, &c. were all destroyed, when they took refuge in the dominions of the king of Cochin. They were formerly more rich and numerous; but since the last war, reduced to poverty, they now subsist by the produce of their cocoa-nut garden. This tradition, as to their emigration from Jerusalem, is obviously involved in uncertainty.

The synagogue is a snug little building, in the style of a Dutch synagogue, illuminated by sixteen massy lustres of silver.

Cochin, once a fine compact town, presents now a ruinous aspect. The fortifications have been blown up, as have all the public buildings. The inhabitants languish, as there are no schools, no public worship, and no trade.

Marriage Ceremonies in India.

Sept. 11, 1807. This evening, attended the marriage of my servant at the mission church, Vepery, in which the late rev. Mr. Gerrie used to preach. The service was in Tamul. The bride and bridegroom were dressed in the most gorgeous manner. The bride was so covered with jewels and flowers, that I could not discern her features. When they came out of church, the bridegroom mounted a fine horse richly decorated, attended by a number of men and boys carrying torches and flags. The bride followed in a grand open palankeen, and some of their young relations followed in another, with a number of attendants, preceded by a Malabar drum and other music. This procession paraded through the streets of Vepery about an hour, and then returned home. Their house was grandly illuminated, and adorned according to the fashion of the country. The bride and bridegroom were seated upon a sort of throne, and other jewels and flowers were placed on the neck and head of the bride. The bridegroom's foot was washed with milk by a young relation, who put a silver ring on his toe, and he, in return, put a gold ring on his finger. A short prayer, by one of the catechists, was offered in Malabar. They then had flowers strewed over their

their heads by several of their friends, each of whom pronounced a blessing over them. The whole company anointed themselves with a liquor made from sandal-wood. The whole was accompanied with music and singing, at the close of which they distributed beetle-nut, and the company broke up. The ceremony lasted about four hours. They are to have a great feast to-morrow.

Religious Ceremony of Swinging,

At *Rorapettam*, a short distance from Madras. Aug. 3, 1806.

The scene of this ceremony was a plain in the front of a Hindoo pagoda, and it passed in the presence of an immense multitude of people: In the middle of this plain a large pole was erected, about 50 feet high, on the top of which was a swivel, and a roller; over this swivel was another pole transversely fixed, about the same length; to each end of this transverse beam a long rope was suspended. Near one end of this beam a small canopy was fixed, covered with red and coloured cloth, and ornamented with flowers. Under this canopy the victim was fastened by a short rope tied to two hooks, which were fixed on each side of his back-bone, a little below the shoulder-blade, though not to touch the bone. A small scaffold was erected about six feet high, upon which he ascended to be fastened to this horrid machine. Whilst they were fixing the rope, he harangued the people with great apparent earnestness. They attempted to tie his feet to the beam, which would have eased him much, but this he refused. When all was ready, a sig-

nal was given, and he was gradually raised from the scaffold, by means of the opposite rope, to the above-mentioned height, when the beam was gently drawn round three times, describing a circle of about 50 feet in diameter. During the time he was suspended, the whole weight of his body hung by the skin of his back. He had a small Malabar drum in his hand called *tom tom*, which he beat as he swung. His head was ornamented with flowers, which he threw down to the people; and these being considered very sacred, they were eagerly caught by them. He continued suspended in the air about ten minutes, during which time he appeared to exhort the people, making a great noise, and beating the drum. When he was let down, I saw some blood on his back, though not so much as I expected, as the hooks were fixed in holes made before; for I understood this was the third time he had performed this dreadful penance! Previous to his being suspended, three of their gods were carried in procession round the plain, and placed opposite the scaffold. The whole was accompanied with music and loud acclamations of the spectators.

State of the Mission in Tartary.

The latest accounts received by the Edinburgh Missionary Society from their missionaries at *Karas*, are dated July 15th. They were then in good health, and had begun to print the New Testament in Turkish. The first sheet has been sent over as a specimen of the work. *Kategory*, the young sultan, who has been so often mentioned in their letters, has been baptised at

his own earnest request. It is now a considerable time since he renounced Mohammedanism, and made a public profession of Christianity. Since that time he has been not only steadfast in his attachment to the Gospel, but zealous in his endeavours to spread the knowledge of it among his countrymen. On this account he has suffered great persecution, both from his own relations and the neighbouring chiefs. But all their efforts have been in vain. He not only continues firm in his profession, but discovers the greatest anxiety for the conversion of his countrymen. He is lineally descended from the Khans of the Crimea, and is allied to several of the greatest families in the East. He is a very fine looking young man, and possesses very superior abilities. He is rather too high spirited, and is bold and resolute. Owing to the war betwixt the Turks and Russians, the state of the country is extremely dangerous. Several of the Circassian beys have been influenced to go to war with the latter, and the Kabardians are daily committing dreadful excesses.

State of Esquimaux Converts in North America.

The converted Esquimaux continue in general to afford much satisfaction to the missionaries by their christian walk and conversation; and the schools, which have been diligently attended, not only by the children but by many of the adults, especially the women, have been productive of great and abiding benefit. About twenty persons have been baptized at the different settlements during the win-

ter of 1805-6, and about twenty more admitted candidates for baptism. We subjoin a few extracts from the letters of the Missionaries.

September 1st. After the morning service, we had a conversation with some heathen families, who arrived here in the foregoing week, and expressed a wish to dwell with the believers, and to be converted to Jesus. As soon as it was known that these poor heathens had obtained leave to stay, there arose among our Esquimaux such a spirit of joy and gladness, that it was truly affecting to witness it. Since their arrival here, our people had not failed to speak of the mercy the Lord had shown in their own conversion, and to preach Jesus to them as the only Saviour, who alone could make them happy both here and hereafter; and now, on perceiving that they were to be inhabitants of this place, they hardly knew how to contain themselves for joy. Young and old ran to help them with their baggage, and to settle their little affairs. The new-comers were quite humbled and amazed by such proofs of love and attention in their Christian countrymen, and declared, that for the first time in their lives they had found people who loved them with disinterested sincerity.

Esquimaux Sorcerer.—Last summer, a young man, a son of the noted sorcerer Uiverunna, moved hither. His name is Angukualak. He is seriously awakened, and came to acquaint us with his whole former course of life, which he did with a mind greatly agitated. The recital was a string of the most abominable practices in the service of every vice. His parents had instructed him in the art of sorcery

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His account was nearly in the following words:—My parents told me, that their familiar spirit or *Torngak*, lived in the water. If I wished to consult him, I must call upon him, as the spirit of my parents, to come forth out of the water, and remember this token, that I should observe in some part of the house a vapour ascending, soon after which the spirit would appear, and grant what I asked. Some years ago, when my little brother was very ill, I tried this method for the first time, and called upon the *Torngak*, when I really thought I perceived a small vapour arising, and shortly after the appearance of a man in a watery habit stood before me. I was filled with horror, my whole body shook with fear, and I covered my face with my hands. Some time after my brother's recovery, I had a very terrible dream, which overwhomed me with anguish and terror. I thought I saw a very deep dark cavern, the descent to which was a narrow steep chasm. In this horrible place I discovered my mother, my relations, and many others whom I had known, and who had led a very wicked life on earth, sitting in great torment, and exhibiting a dreadful appearance. I was already with my feet slipping down the chasm; and it seemed as if somebody said to me,—“Into that dark place thou must likewise soon depart.” From that moment I found no rest any where, but having heard that true believers lived at *Hôpedale*, I resolved to come hither, and, with my whole family, to be converted to Jesus, that I may not likewise descend into the place of torment, and be lost for ever.

Hottentot Devotion in South Africa.

DECEMBER 24th; being Christmas-eve, many Christians, *Hottentots*, and slaves, came hither, and joined our congregation in celebrating Christmas with us. Of the latter, most had returned from the harvest. Our church was crowded with attentive hearers, who, with us, adored our incarnate God and Saviour, praising him with heart and voice, that he came into the world to save sinners. On Christmas-day a great number arrived from all parts; and it was a true festival-day to us all, on which we could with cheerfulness proclaim the glad tidings, that unto us is born a Saviour, which is Christ the Lord, both to Christians and heathen. The congregation of believing *Hottentots* at *Bavianskloof* consists of 496 persons. The inhabitants of the settlement are nearly the same in number as last year, as far as we have been able to ascertain; 186 men, 306 women, and 601 children. In all, about 1093.

Most prominent Features in the Character of both the Invaders and Invaded in Spanish America. [From the 3d Edition, greatly enlarged, of the Reign of Philip III. King of Spain; by Principal Watson, of the University of St. Andrew's.]

IT is this undaunted and persevering resolution on the part of the Spaniards, together with the intrepidity and contempt of danger and pain, exhibited by the more warlike tribes or nations of Indians, that appear as the most prominent objects, the great outlines in the history of the Spanish conquests and colonization

colonization in both North and South America: if, indeed, we are not as much struck with the general character of the Indians, in which is combined the most profound ignorance and perfect simplicity with the highest degree of artifice in war, sloth with toil, and propensity to revelry and all manner of sensual pleasure, with a firmness and strength of mind far exceeding what was ever displayed, in fact, by the school of Zeno, and even surpassing any thing that they could have really believed to be practicable.

Manners of the original Inhabitants of Chili.

[*From the Same.*]

THE manners of the original inhabitants of Chili bear a greater resemblance to the savages of North America, than to those of their neighbours the Peruvians. They are fiercer, and more determined and daring in war than the North Americans; and in the faculties of the mind still more above them. They are a noble race of savages. And, if ever Chili should become the seat of equal law, liberty, arts, and sciences, the human species would be seen there in as fine and dignified a form as that which was exhibited, by a combination of physical and moral causes, in ancient Greece.

When they go to war, they carry nothing with them. The same trees from which they gather their food, supply them with bows, spears, and darts. These are their offensive weapons. For defence, they have only head-pieces, or helmets, made of the skins of seals. As they are sure of finding in one place what

they had in another, they resign, without much reluctance, any country that they are unable to defend; but not without a firm resolution to seize the first favourable opportunity of returning, and attacking the invaders, whom they study to amuse by negotiations and treaties of peace, in the breach of which they think that there is not any thing morally wrong, base, or shameful. In their various stratagems of war, there is more depth, a greater complication of ideas, and comprehension of views, than is common among savages, or even semi-barbarous nations. They march, like other savages, with astonishing celerity, and as much as possible in the night. The surprising resolution with which they meet death, seems to flow from the strength of their revenge, which fully compensates to them the loss of life; on which, indeed, they do not appear to set any great value. War is determined on in a junta of Caciques, with each a number of his principal followers and friends, at a feast, continued sometimes for several days and nights: in which feasts they make no great account of what or how much there is to eat, provided that they have abundance of intoxicating liquor to drink. When the fury of war is kindled in their breast by drinking, and the harangues, or arguments*, of their chiefs, the general, who is chosen by the other chiefs to command, like another Agamemnon, the confederate army, makes a speech to the whole, in which he recounts the motives that urge them to the field, the end in view, and the general plan of operations; reserving, however, in his

* The word used by all the Spanish historians is *raconamiento*.

own breast, any thing he may not think fit to communicate, until the proper moment for execution : and, in correspondence with this reserve, strongly inculcating as ready an obedience to the orders of the general, in the time of action, as an inflexible resolution in resisting, confounding, and destroying the enemy. After the conclusion of the general's speech, a live deer, on all occasions of great and peculiar importance, is sacrificed : the palpitating heart is taken out ; and the general tears it in pieces with his teeth, and devours part of it, signifying, by this overt act, the rage with which he is animated, and the manner in which he intends to treat the common foe.

Indians of the Island of St. Catalina.
[From the Same.]

AT this island the Spaniards were received with infinite kindness by the inhabitants. Old men and young, women and children, came to them in crowds, all of them showing by their voice, countenances, and gestures, the utmost joy at their arrival. The women here were remarkable for the modesty and respectability of their appearance, a noble carriage, charming eyes, and handsome faces. The children, both boys and girls, were in their complexion fair and ruddy. Both men and women were exceedingly affable in their manners ; and their smiling countenances expressed both sensibility and goodness. Both sexes wore, about their middle, coverings made of the skins of sea-wolves and other animals. The shores swarmed with fish ; and the people had methods of catching them equally simple and ingenious. In

this island there was a temple, where the inhabitants performed their sacrifices. It was a spacious inclosure of level ground, and in the centre there was another inclosure, which was circular, where the altar stood. This circus was all over bestrewed with the feathers of birds, which they sacrificed in great numbers to their idols. Within the circus, and near the altar, stood a large image, fantastically painted with the figure of the sun on one side, and of the moon on the other. When a number of the Spanish soldiers went to see this temple, they found two crows in it, of a larger size than ordinary, which, at the approach of the Spaniards, took flight to some rocks at no great distance. The soldiers, deeming them curiosities, on account of their extraordinary size, fired at them and killed them : on which, an Indian, who accompanied the Spaniards, when he went to the rocks to bring down the birds, set up a loud lamentation. These birds are held by the people in great veneration. One of the priests belonging to the expedition, in strolling about one day, came to a place, where an Indian woman was employed in cleaning some fish for the use of her family, when he saw crows coming to her with perfect familiarity, and picking up with their beaks small fishes, or any thing she gave them out of her hand.

Indians on the Strait called the Canal of St. Barbara.
([From the Same.])

AS the armada approached the eastern entrance into this canal, a canoe, managed by four rowers, with the king, or Cazique of that

that coast, came out to meet them, making up to the Capitana. The Indians, with great alertness and expedition, sailed thrice round the Spaniard, singing all the while, and then, being invited, came on board without the least fear or hesitation. The first thing the Cazique did, was, to take three turns round the quarter-deck. After this, he made a long speech to the general and other officers, in his own language, which none of them understood. This being finished, he informed them, by the clearest signs, that he had received intelligence, by canoes from Santa Catalina, of ships having arrived there with men clothed, and having beards, very well disposed and good people, who had both regaled them with things good for eating, and made them many presents. In consequence of this intelligence, he gave them to understand, he had come to visit them, and to make an offer to them of all that his country could afford. He requested, entreated, and importuned the general to land on his territory, with all his people, promising that they should there be provided with every thing they might want. And, as he did not see any women on board, he enquired for them, by signs as natural and easily understood, as if he had spoken in the Spanish language.* The general replied, that they had not any women in the ship, and that they had not any need of them. But the Indian insisted more earnestly that the general and all his ship's company should land with him in his territory, promising that he would provide the whole with ten women a-piece: on which they all fell

a laughing. The Cazique, supposing that they laughed because they imagined that he could not perform what he had declared, promised to verify what he had said, and desired that one of the soldiers should be sent on shore in the canoe, to see if what he had promised was not in his power to fulfil, while he himself, with his son, would remain as hostages in the ship until his return. The general said, he would consult with his officers on the subject, and it was agreed, that, as it was now night, the Cazique should return home, and that, if it should be thought convenient, he would come to him, with the people of the ships, next morning. With that, the Indian, having received some presents, went back in his canoe, well contented, to make preparations for receiving and entertaining his new guests.

*Warlike Spirit and Heroism of a
Lady of Aracuo.
[From the Same.]*

THE Caziques, who had been reduced to the necessity of making a hollow peace, when they saw the Spaniards insulted by the English, united in a resolution to throw off the yoke, and prepared for the fiercest conflict, knowing well, that their treachery must provoke the highest possible degree of resentment and vindictive fury. In the mean time, Yanaquco, the heroic wife of the brave Guy Potaen, represented to her brother, Quechunturco, the miserable state of solitude in which she lived; that she could never banish from her mind the recollection of so irreparable a

* Señalando las partes de su puridad. Torquem. Mon. Inst. lib. v. cap. liii.

loss, nor the poignant regrets and sorrow with which this was accompanied; and that she lived now only for revenge. "Do not," said she, "my brother, imagine that these are only the vain wailings of a mournful widow. I will share in all your toils, be found at your side in every moment of danger, and present my bosom to receive the balls of the Christians, sooner than they shall be suffered to pierce yours. I do not wish you to give credit to my words, but to my deeds."—The generous Quechuntureo importuned his sister to keep aloof from the hardships and perils of war, and to leave revenge to him alone; in vain.—She roused her people to arms, and instructed and trained the youth in the use of them; and was seen in the midst of the captains and soldiers, with her bow and arrows in her hands, and her spear swung over her shoulders. Quechuntureo and Yanaqueo were joined in a short time by an army composed of the Puelches, and mountainous tribes, naked, painted, and making use of poisoned arrows, to the amount of 1,200 men.

*Military Maxim of the Araucani,
and Speech of their General Quin-
teaguen to his Army.*

[From the Same.]

THOUGH the Araucani used bows and arrows, and also javelins, they held it as a maxim, never to commit the fate of the day to missile weapons, when they could close with their enemy. The shot of both ordnance and musketry being altogether irresistible, they found, that in fighting at a distance the advantage lay wholly on the side

of the Spaniards. They therefore came to close quarters. "The balls," said they, "if you come near enough to them, are harmless." In the same manner, the same bold and unexpected assaults sometimes confound and discomfit, in our own times, and in European countries, the finest systems of military tactics, framed on theories concerning projectiles. The Chilian breed of horses excel, both in beauty and spirit, the famous Andalusian race, from which they sprung; and the natives of Chili are such excellent horsemen, that the Spanish historians consider one of these with his lance, on horseback, as a match for any cavalier of Spain.

The general that was chosen by the other chiefs for the approaching encounter, was the Cazique *Quintea-
guen*, who, after the usual ceremony above noticed, made a speech to the chiefs, and all within hearing, to the following purpose: "If there be in this army any one who has any information or counsel to give me, now is his time,—let him step forth. For no man, however respectable for age and experience, in the time of action, must speak one word. If any one do, I will not listen to him. It is not possible for one body to be well governed by many heads. As you have chosen me for your commander for this bout with the Christians, I expect that you will all be obedient to my orders, and that every man, in his particular station and post, will do his duty." Having said this, he formed his soldiers in order of battle, with the greatest coolness and resolution, although he was not joined by the men of Tucapel, as he had expected. Such was the army, and such the leader, that the Spaniards

Spaniards had to encounter, on the present critical occasion. A battle ensued, in which the fierce courage, and the address in the use of weapons, on the part of the Araucani, with their allies the Purenas and the Mareguani, was overcome by the more patient and persevering, though not more ardent courage of the Spaniards, and the superiority of their arms, and their skill in the art of war. General Quenteaguen fighting to the last, while his blood flowed from many wounds, and animating his men, as long as he had breath, expired in this glorious attitude, and all his army was destroyed, or put to flight.

Sufferings of the Indians of both Sexes, dragged into Captivity by the Indians of War.

[From the Same:]

THE miseries suffered by the female captives, among whom were ladies of rank, were great beyond what human nature might be thought capable of bearing, were it not known by experience, that there is no condition to which our nature will not gradually bend, and, in some measure, accommodate itself. The Spanish ladies were not stripped of their clothes, like the men; but they were soon worn out, and then they were obliged to wear the same kind of covering that was in use among the Indians. They were obliged to walk over all manner of ground, to fetch wood, or water, or other things, with their bare feet, and having for clothes, only a small piece of cloth wrapped round their waist, and the skin of some beast thrown over their shoulders. Their food was herbs and

roots, with a little boiled maize. This was the diet of ladies, accustomed to delicate fare and splendid entertainments, which was placed, not on tables, but on the bare ground, and which, thinking on former times, they mingled with their tears. It sometimes happened that whole families were led captive to the lands of the Indians. In these cases, the miseries of the parents themselves many times gave them less pain than those of their children; their children cruelly beaten, and sometimes mutilated in their presence, by their brutal master, while they ran for protection, in vain, to their screaming mothers. This was the sorrow of sorrows; in comparison with which every other affliction appeared light, and next to nothing. It is to be observed, that these poor wretched captives were not under the protection of any thing like law or government. They were wholly at the mercy of the individual who happened to take them. There was no division of spoil. Even the Cazique claimed no share whatever in the spoil taken by any individual under his command; who kept whatever he took to himself, and exercised over his captives an absolute power, a tyranny altogether uncontrouled.

Not a few of the Spaniards of both sexes, taken captive at this period, from 1559 to 1603, were alive at the time when a peace, of very short continuance, was made with the *Indians of War*, as they were called, by the marquis of Baydes, governor of Chili, A. D. 1640. On that occasion, some of the Spaniards were released from their captivity; among whom was an old lady, whom *Ovaglie* saw, and

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who

who looked as fresh and healthy, as if she had come, not out of a state of captivity, but from a state of ease and affluence. Such is the wonderful versatility of human nature! But on the other hand, there were many that bore marks of the severest bondage. A lady, for example, had wholly lost the use of one hand, by too heavy a task in grinding maize.

Maxims and Measures of the Jesuits in converting, and first Intercourse between their Missioners and the Indians.

[From the Same.]

AMONG the maxims and measures by which the Jesuits steadily pursued, and at last accomplished their great and good design, were the following:—

First, they set themselves to remove the apprehensions of the Indians, and to impress them with a belief and conviction that they had come among them from the great world beyond the ocean, through a thousand hardships and perils, purely for their good. It was not an easy thing, at first, for the missioners to get access to them. As self-preservation is the first law of nature, the first sensation produced by a new and unknown object, is fear. When the Jesuits, or other Spaniards, came to the huts of the Indians, they were frightened at the appearance of men wearing clothes. The women and children screamed, and even the men fled to the woods. It was by means of other Indians, living under the Spanish government, and converted to Christianity, at least acquainted with the existence of God, and Christ, and heaven, and hell, and

were baptized, that the missioners made their approaches to the wild Indians. The best instructed, the most adroit and discreet of the Neophytes were deputed as missioners to their countrymen. They carried with them some presents, trifling in the eyes of an European, but to the Indians, matters of great curiosity, and articles of great value. Letters of compliment to the Cazique accompanied these, which the Christian Indians had it in charge to explain. Not a word was to be said of any wish on the part of the missioners to see the Cazique. The meaning of the embassy, presents, and letters, was to be understood as nothing more than an act of good manners, an expression of a wish for peace and good neighbourhood. Any farther advance at this stage of the business would have only served to excite jealousy. The Cazique then naturally put the question, From whence the missioners came? what was their profession? what was their object in coming to the Indian country? what they were doing? and how they behaved to the Indians that were about them? Satisfactory answers being given to all these questions, two or three of the most respected Indians generally accompanied the deputies in their return to the fathers, chiefly, if not entirely, from the motive of curiosity.

If the Cazique and tribe to whom the first embassy was sent was of a lofty and proud spirit, as they frequently were, a second, and even a third embassy was necessary, to soften and incline them to a friendly intercourse. The missioner now ventured to say, through his deputy, that he had the greatest desire to pay a visit to the chief, but that he was

so much engaged in some concerns, that it was not in his power. The Cazique on this never failed to send an invitation to the missionary; and a particular month or moon, (which was designated by the name of some principal fruit of the season,) was fixed for meeting and receiving him. The missionary, accompanied by thirteen or fourteen of his Neophytes, for guides, and for carrying provisions, sets out on the journey, commonly a very long one, three or four hundred miles, or more. The provisions were soon devoured by the Indians, who are all great gluttons; and cannot refrain from eating voraciously whenever it is in their power. They had to depend afterwards on the fruit and roots they could pick up, and the fish and game they could catch; birds, monkeys, wild boars, and so on. It was generally thought prudent to have a small escort of two or three soldiers, as every one of the Indians, that was capable, bore arms. This small escort, while it could not alarm the tribe or its chief, was sufficient, as above observed, to repress any sudden sally of one, or a few individuals. Fires were lighted in the night for keeping away the tigers.

When the missionary with his suite drew near to the residence of the Cazique, a messenger was sent to announce their coming a day before their arrival. The Cazique assembled the chief people among his tribe, and was prepared to receive them in a spacious hall, open on each side to the four winds of the heavens; or rather a canopy, formed of the branches and leaves of trees, intertwined with straw or rushes, and supported by trunks of trees, fixed in the ground by

way of colonnades. A hammock was swung for the missionary between two beams of wood set up for the purpose. He was allowed to wait for some time in the hall, for repose, before the Cazique with his attendants made their appearance. In the mean time, the Indians were employed in dressing, that is, painting themselves, for appearing at court in a suitable manner.

The Cazique at length made his appearance; and, as soon as he was within easy hearing, said to the missionary, "You are come then?" The missionary replied, "I am come." Every one of his captains, or chief warriors, made the same salutation, and received the same reply. The Cazique, and the wives of his officers, immediately, without saying another word to the missionary, set before him a plate of victuals, such bread as they had, and a bottle of chicha. The wives of other inhabitants of the village did the same; so that the whole floor of this hall of audience was in an instant covered with dishes of meat and vessels replenished with chicha. All this passed in profound silence. The missionary then chose the dish he liked best, and ate just as much or as little as he pleased. But he was not at the same liberty with respect to the *chicha*, being obliged, if he had not a mind to give offence, to taste, or make a shew of tasting of every one's bottle. This was a formidable ceremony to the missionary; for chicha, when one is not accustomed to it, is very apt to occasion a violent head-ach; but the feast was quite to the taste, and sully enjoyed by his suite.

The accomplished Cicero tells his friend

friend and correspondent Atticus, that he had a volume of prefaces or introductions always by him, and ready to be made use of, as circumstances or occasions might require. A similar method of facilitating, and expediting composition was fallen on by the Caziques of Peru. They had their harangue for the reception of strangers of distinction, which they called their *mirray*, ready for any occasion. A *mirray* of some kind, for it admitted of variation according to the genius of the author, was taught to every chief by his parents from his earliest years. There were in each of them certain customary compliments; but they were varied by flights of fancy, and the *mirrays* actually spoken, were very ingeniously interspersed with sentiments suited to the peculiar circumstances in which they were pronounced. In reply to the Cazique's *mirray* the missionary delivered another, in which, among a variety of particulars, he recounted the dangers he had escaped in his voyage from Europe; and expatiated on the motives that led him to undertake it, which neither were, nor could be, any other than a concern for the welfare of the Indians, a desire to conciliate their good-will and friendship, to rescue and preserve them from all ills, and to defend them against all their enemies. These professions of benevolence were followed by presents, first to the Cazique and his wives, and next to his captains. But it was necessary that every one present, both men and women, should have something, if only a pin, for picking the vermin out of their feet.

It was not, after all, by any thing the missionary could say or

do, that the minds of the Indians were reconciled to the idea of holding any intercourse, or proposing any confidence in the strangers. This was wholly the work of the Neophytes, who assured their countrymen, that all the missionary had spoken, was, to their certain knowledge, no more than the truth; all they sought after was to do good to the Indians, and to receive their love and confidence in return. They would protect them against their enemies, take care of their sick, and furnish them with instruments for cultivating the fields, and other purposes. They assured them, in a particular manner, that they entertained the warmest love for their children, whom they would teach how "to look at paper," (their phrase for teaching them to read). The Indians were, above all things, struck with the fact, that the missionaries had quitted, for their sakes, their wives (as they thought) and children.

In the mean time, while the Neophytes were thus happily employed in conversation with their countrymen, the missionary himself went from hut to hut, visiting the sick, and baptizing both infants and adults that seemed to be at the point of death. In the course of this visitation he was followed by troops of children, attracted by curiosity, and delighting in motion, of whom he never failed to take the kindest notice, or to give them pins, and hooks for catching fish, and other trifles. Sometimes he would, when he was about to enter a hut, take one of them in his arms, and caress the child in the tenderest manner; which was very pleasing to the parents of other children,

children, whose mothers would present their children to be caressed in like manner. On such occasions the father would sometimes embrace the opportunity of baptizing the child, which did not offend the parents; with the secret intention of explaining both to the parents and the child the nature of this initiatory rite, afterwards. He would also tie strings of glass beads and ribbons about the children's necks, which had a wonderfully good effect in conciliating the favour of their mothers. It was always the wives that first declared themselves in favour of the missionary. They were incessant in their importunities with their husbands to use their utmost endeavours for keeping the missionary amongst them; or, if this could not be effected, that they might all accompany him in his return. The innocent children too, who returned the affection shewn to them with great sensibility, would join their intercessions for the same end, to the importunities of their mothers.

There was nothing that gave greater offence to the Indians than to seem indifferent, and much more to decline a participation in their feasts or other offers of hospitality and kindness. For this reason, just noticed, the fathers were obliged to drink some chica, and even to taste a little of every one's bottle. But a severer trial was sometimes to be encountered than that of the chica. It was customary among some Indian nations, as among several Tartar tribes, for men of distinction to offer to their guests the company of any one of his wives. When such an offer was made to a missionary, it would have

been as imprudent as impolitic, to reject the offer at once, in any tone of positiveness or decision. After many expressions of gratitude, and compliments too, to the personal merits of the wives, who were generally present, he turned the conversation a little aside to spiritual concerns, and then reverting to the great mark of hospitality with which he had been honoured, said, that he loved only heavenly things; that he desired nothing in this world, and that he aspired to nothing more than to indulge an affection for the Indian nations, and to do them good.

When the savage people were at length fully convinced that the missionary was their sincere friend, numbers came to him every day, expecting to receive some immediate token of that benevolence and beneficence of which they heard so many reports. They were by no means shy or delicate on this subject. One asked a hatchet, another a saw, a third a chisel or knife, and so on. In general they had sense enough to ask the articles that were of most use to themselves, but at the same time the most costly, and, being the most bulky, of the most difficult conveyance. On such critical occasions, which demanded the greatest management and address, the missionary was obliged to put them off, without offending, or even leaving them discontented, the best way he could. He told them that, from so great a distance, he had not been able to carry more of such tools than two or three for the Cazique, who would not refuse to lend them occasionally; but if they would settle in fixed habitations, or places adapted to fishing, in such and such places,

places, which he pointed out, it would be as much in his power, as it was in his inclination, to come to see them now and then; to furnish them with instruments of various kinds, and to visit the sick. The success of the mission generally turned on this reply of the missionary to the request of the Indians. If it pleased them, the Cazique, with his chief men, pitched on some place in the vicinity of some reduction or colony already established, and settled there. They stirred up the earth, and sowed grain. When the time of harvest arrived, they came with their families to reap it, and built huts to dwell in.

NATIONAL CHARACTER OF THE TURKS.

[From Mr. Thornton's *Present State of Turkey*.]

THE genius of a people, and the spirit of their institutions, are best learned from the study of their history; and the annals of the Ottoman nation represent this horde of Tartars issuing from the deep forests which skirt the Caucasus, impelled by their native turbulence and love of war; inflamed with the thirst of universal conquest by the precepts of their religion; terrible to their neighbours, but restrained in their domestic excesses by veneration for the law, which enforces reverence for the state, though it fail in insuring respect for the monarch. For amidst the most outrageous exertions of violence against individuals, the sovereign power, the rights of the military and the great body of the people have always been sacred. The maxims of

Turkish government, like those of more polished nations, are rather the dictates of caprice than the deductions of reason; and the soil of the most fertile countries in the world, wetted with the tears and the blood of the inhabitants, reproaches the legislators with their barbarity and their ignorance.

To describe with impartiality a people among whom every thing is contradictory to our usages, though not perhaps more repugnant to reason, requires a superiority to prejudice, a sobriety of observation, and a patience of inquiry, which few travellers possess. In the scarcity of information, we have not hesitated to receive, as the authentic history of an illustrious nation, anecdotes collected by chance, assertions unsupported by evidence, and facts perverted by design.

The national character of the Turks is a composition of contradictory qualities. We find them brave and pusillanimous; gentle and ferocious; resolute and inconstant; active and indolent; passing from devotion to obscenity, from the rigour of morality to the grossness of sense; at once delicate and coarse; fastidiously abstemious and indiscriminately indulgent. The great are alternately haughty and humble; arrogant and cringing; liberal and sordid: and in general it must be confessed, that the qualities, which least deserve our approbation, are the most predominant. On comparing their limited acquirements with the learning of the Christian nations of Europe, we are surprised at their ignorance: but we must allow that they have just and clear ideas of whatever falls within the contracted sphere of their observation.

Physical

Physical Constitution, general Habits, Moral and Religious Education, and Manners of the Turks.

[From the Same.]

THE Turks are of a grave and saturnine cast; they are in general well-made and robust, patient of hunger and privations, capable of enduring the hardships of war, but not much inclined to habits of industry. The early hours and the regular lives of their mothers, their own habitual temperance and general freedom from violent passions, contribute to the preservation of their health, and the regularity of their features. Their way of living is simple and domestic; they prefer apathy and indolence to active enjoyments; but when moved by a powerful stimulus, they sometimes indulge in pleasures to excess.

The moral character is fundamentally formed in infancy and childhood, not by precept, so much as by the absence of evil; for the Turks receive their early education under the care of their mothers and their female attendants, who are secluded from the promiscuous society of men, and removed from the contagion of vicious example. Their religion, which is simple, is taught them by their parents in the harem. The minds of the children, as in other countries, are moulded into the dogmas of a particular system; they are inflated with the idea of their own religious superiority; and they are taught to cherish the delusion, till they regard the religionists of other denominations with feelings of contempt, or even of abhorrence.

The revelations of heaven, and

the precepts of the prophet equally inculcate on the minds of Mussulmans this exalted idea of themselves, and this sentiment of disdain and aversion for those who are strangers to their faith. "The prayers of the infidel are not prayers, but wanderings," says the Koran. "I withdraw my foot, and turn away my face," says Mahomet, "from a society in which the faithful are mixed with the ungodly." Nor is the uncharitableness of the sentiment extinguished, nor even weakened, by the death of its object. "Pray not for those whose death is eternal," is a precept of the Mahometan church, "and defile not thy feet by passing over the graves of men, the enemies of God and his prophet." These commandments are precise and positive: they regulate the principles and the conduct of all classes of Mussulmans. It is vain to suppose their pernicious and uncharitable tendency counteracted by passages of scripture which breathe a milder spirit, or by the example of the prophet, who is known to have frequented the society of unbelievers. The Mahometan, who has risen above the prevailing prejudices of his religion and country, will appeal only to these more tolerant precepts, in order to justify his conduct to his own heart, or to sanction it in the eyes of the public: but the vulgar mind, the great majority of the nation in every class of society, will always give a scrupulous preference to those parts of religion in which there is the greatest mixture of human imperfection; where savage intolerance furnishes an excuse for malice or for pride.

The *namaz*, the prayer the most obligatory

obligatory on Mussulmans, and the most pleasing to the Supreme Being, is chiefly a confession of the Divine attributes, and of the nothingness of man; a solemn act of homage and gratitude to the eternal Majesty. The faithful are forbidden to ask of God the temporal blessings of this frail and perishable life: the only legitimate object of the *namaz* is to adore the Supreme Being, by praying for spiritual gifts and the ineffable advantages of eternal felicity. Confident in the efficacy of belief and the virtue of prayer and legal purification, the Mussulmans feel no humility on account of the imperfections of human nature, and no repentance on account of actual transgressions. The unity of the Supreme Being, and the divine mission of the prophet, are all that are insisted on as necessary to justification with God; and as these imply no contradiction, and involve no mystery, the mind seems to comprehend both points without an effort, and to hold them with steadiness. Hence their consciences are never alarmed at the weakness or insufficiency of their faith; nor can they ever doubt of their acceptance with God. Their religion consoles and elevates them through life, and never disturbs their dying moments.

The physical effect of climate upon the character, though its operation cannot be wholly denied, is yet so much over-ruled by moral causes, that they alone form the line of demarcation between the different inhabitants of this great empire. The austerity of the Mahometan religion gives to its votaries a certain moroseness of character, which, towards persons of a dif-

ferent persuasion, is heightened into superciliousness. The gravity of deportment, which such a religion necessarily generates, is left without its proper corrective, the gaiety inspired by the presence and conversation of women. The Turk is usually placid, hypochondriac, and unimpassioned; but, when the customary sedateness of his temper is ruffled, his passions, unmitigated by the benign influence of female manners, are furious and uncontrollable. The individual seems possessed with all the ungovernable fury of a multitude; and all ties, all attachments, all natural and moral obligations, are forgotten or despised, till his rage subsides. De Tott represents them as "seeking celebrity by murder, without having courage to commit it deliberately, and deriving only from intoxication sufficient resolution for such a crime." But intoxication itself is a vice so rare among the Turks, that it is evident De Tott must have drawn his general conclusion from some particular instance. It has been asserted with more truth, by a more ancient author than De Tott, that "brawls and quarrels are rare among the Turks: assassinations are unheard of: and though among men striving onward in the same career there must necessarily exist a spirit of envy and secret rancour, yet the base means of supplanting a rival candidate by slander and detraction are seldom resorted to." The point of honour so much insisted upon, and so pernicious in its consequences, among Europeans, exerts a very feeble influence over the minds of the Turks. De Tott's observation applies rather to the Italians, or the Greeks of the Ionian islands,

islands, than to the Turks, among whom it is certain, that anger generally evaporates in abuse. The practice of duelling is confined to the soldiers and *galiongis* (or marines), if a combat can deserve the name of duel, which, for the most part, is decided on the spot where the offence was given, and with such weapons as are nearest at hand, or the parties may happen to wear. The man of rank may insult his inferior by words, or even blows; and as the one derives impunity from his situation, so the other feels no further than the real, or physical, extent of the injury. An affront received from an equal is retorted without any variation of form, and is almost immediately forgotten, if the friends of the parties interfere and propose a reconciliation. There must indeed be some exceptions to this remark, though they occur so rarely, that I cannot recollect a single instance which can justify the general assertion of Sir James Porter, that "they are vindictive beyond conception, perpetuating revenge through successive generations:" and, indeed, we may appeal to the general experience of human nature, whether such a temper be not inconsistent with the constitutional apathy of the Turks; or whether the resentment which explodes in sudden fury, be not generally of very short duration. D'Ohsson indeed asserts, that individuals have exhibited such depravity of heart as to cherish their projects of vengeance, and sacrifice with unrelenting barbarity the object of their resentment, after an interval of forty years. I cannot question a fact supported by such respectable testimony; neither can I consider

it as an illustration of the national character, but rather as a departure from that conduct which the Mussulman law, and the manners of the Ottoman people, more naturally generate. If the circumstances of the case had been more minutely detailed, I have little doubt but we should discover, that this long continued anger of the Turk had been first excited by the insolence of a *rayah*, the creature or the favourite of a man in power. An affront of this nature is seldom forgotten, but is indeed as rarely given; for the *rayah*, however puffed up with arrogance towards his fellows, cautiously avoids the expression of superiority towards a Turk, even in the humblest situation, as knowing, that in the ordinary course of events he may be raised to posts of the highest dignity. But if we admit among the features of the national character an implacability of temper, we may oppose to it, what is more frequently exhibited, the exercise of gratitude. A benefit conferred on a Turk is seldom forgotten: the greater his elevation, the more does he feel and acknowledge the desire and the duty of repaying benefits. "I have received kindness from him in the days of humiliation and distress: I have eaten his bread and his salt:" and the obligation, so simply yet so energetically expressed, is too sacred ever to be annulled.

Drunkenness is condemned by the Mussulman law and the customs of the Ottoman nation. It is, however, considered but as a venial crime, and has been indulged in by some of their greatest sultans. Selim the Second was so addicted to it, that he even obtained the sur-
name

name of *Mest*, or the Drunkard; but the Turkish historians observe, in extenuation of his excesses, that they never caused him to omit his daily prayers. Intemperance in wine had come to such an ungovernable excess among the Turks, in the reign of Soliman the First, that that *virtuous* prince, says D'Osson, was obliged to check the use of it by the most rigorous penalties. He even carried his severity so far, as to order melted lead to be poured down the throats of the obstinate transgressors of the precepts of the *koran*. But, as a Turkish writer has well observed, "the religion of a nation is as the religion of the monarch:" for Selim the Drunkard, the son and immediate successor of Soliman, seduced the nation by his example into the most unblushing debauchery. "Let others put their trust in man," said the jovial sultan, "I throw myself into the arms of the Almighty, and resign myself to his immutable decrees. I think only of the pleasures of the day, and have no care for futurity." Murad the Fourth, seduced by the gaiety and example of Becri Mustafa, not only drank wine in public, but allowed the free use of it to his subjects, and even compelled the *mufti* and *cazy-askers* to drink with him.

The practice of drinking wine is generally reprobated; but as drinking a large quantity entails no greater curse than moderation, those who have once transgressed, proceed without further scruple to perfect ebriety. Busbequius saw an old man at Constantinople, who, when he took the glass in his hand, summoned his soul to take refuge in some corner of his body, or to quit it entirely, and thus

avoid the participation or pollution of his crime. I have frequently observed an habitual drunkard carefully remove his mustaches from defilement, and, after a hearty draught, distort his face, as though he had been taking medicine.

Behaviour of the Turks towards Strangers.
[From the Same.]

THE Mussulmans, courteous and humane in their intercourse with each other, sternly refuse to unbelievers the salutation of peace. "Hence," says Cantemir, "Christian princes may easily imagine how infirm is the peace they can promise themselves from the Turks." But the conclusion is erroneous; for they do not refuse temporal peace, but that "which the world cannot give," and which, consistently with their religious opinion, they must suppose to be exclusively attached to a belief in Islamism. The common people, more bigoted to their dogmas, express more bluntly their sense of superiority over the Christians; but it is false, that even they return the address of a Christian with insult. The formula of compliments is indeed different: believers recognize each other by the benediction, sanctified by the arch-angel Razaël in his address to Mahomet, *selam aleykum*, the peace of God be upon thee; but they reply to the civilities of an unbeliever by the polite and charitable expression, *ahbetin hayrola*, may thy end be happy. Dr. Dallaway says, "I have observed a Turk lay aside his moroseness, and become affable and communicative,

native, when he can do so without stepping from his dignity." I think, indeed, it would be difficult to produce, from the history of any people, an instance of more dignified courtesy than was exhibited in the reception given by Ised Bey to Baron de Tott. Ised Bey was promoted to the rank of grand vizier; and on the third day after his installation, the baron went to the Porte to pay his respects. They had served together in the army, and were familiarly acquainted; but De Tott, instead of presuming upon former intimacy, placed himself upon the sofa at a respectful distance. "How, my old friend," said the vizier, "are you afraid to approach me?" Then opening his pelisse, and spreading it on the sofa, "Sit down," said he, "on that fur; that is your proper place: though you have forgotten, it ought not to escape my memory." The multitude, says De Tott, who always act from first impressions, immediately exclaimed, with a kind of enthusiasm, "Long live our new master!" Mr. Eton, pleasantly and accurately enough, compares the general behaviour of a Turk to a Christian, with that of a German baron to his vassal. But when a Turk, as not unfrequently happens, rises above the prejudices and institutions of his country, he divests himself, in his intercourse with infidels, of his predominant passions, and practises towards them the same mild virtues which regulate his transactions with men of his own religion.

The external modes of good breeding among the Turks differ entirely from those established in the other countries of Europe. The uncovering of the head, which

with us is considered as the expression of reverence and respect, is ridiculed or reprobated among them as an act of folly, or as indicating a contempt of propriety and decency. These and similar opinions are universal; hence they are invincibly attached to the observance of their own peculiar customs.

Their usual form of salutation is natural and graceful. In greeting an equal, they put the hand on the heart: in addressing a superior, they apply the right hand first to the mouth and then to the forehead. When a Turk presents himself before a man of rank and dignity, he makes a profound inclination of his body, extends his right hand first towards the ground, and then raises it to his mouth and forehead: in the presence of the sovereign, he must even touch the ground before lifting the hand to the head. The air of gravity and decorum of exterior, which are common to the Ottomans, give considerable dignity to this ceremonious expression of homage or civility; and its effect is further improved by the grandeur of their ample and flowing garments. Children and subalterns express submission to their parents and chiefs, by kissing their robe: if the superior withdraws his robe and presents his hand, and more especially the palm of his hand, it is received as a mark of distinguished favour. The kiss of religious fraternity is interchanged only at the two festivals of *bairam*. At other times, they figuratively express parental or filial affection by extending the hand toward the chin or the beard of the person, and then applying it to their own mouths. The father of a family, and the man of ele-

vated rank, never rise from their seats to receive either their children or inferiors; and by parity of reasoning, no Mussulman rises to salute an infidel, whatever be his situation in life. A guest of distinction is received at the foot of the stairs by two officers of the household, who support him under the arm as far as the entrance of the visiting chamber, where the master of the house advances to meet him, if his rank entitles him to such marks of respect. At his departure, the master of the house rises with him, and accompanies him to the door of the apartment, walking, not on his right or left side, but a few paces before him. After exchanging compliments, the stranger is reconducted by the pages to his horse or his barge.

Every traveller must have noticed (though Dumont appears to be the first who has recorded the observation), that the Turkish usages are strikingly contrasted with our own. This dissimilitude, which pervades the whole of their habits, is so general, even in things of apparent insignificance, as almost to indicate design rather than accident. The whole exterior of the Oriental is different from ours. The European stands firm and erect, his head drawn back, his chest protruded, the point of the foot turned outwards, and the knees straight. The attitude of the Turk is less remote from nature, and in each of these respects approaches nearer to the models which the ancient statuaries appear to have copied. Their robes are large and loose, entirely concealing the contour of the human form, encumbering motion, and ill-adapted to manly exercise. Our close

and short dresses, calculated for promptitude of action, appear in their eyes to be wanting both in dignity and modesty. They reverence the beard as the symbol of manhood and the token of independence, but they practise depilation of the body from motives of cleanliness. In performing their devotions, or on entering a dwelling, they take off their shoes. In inviting a person to approach them, they use what with us is considered as a repulsive motion of the hand. In writing, they trace the lines from right to left. The master of a house does the honours of his table by serving himself first from the dish: he drinks without noticing the company, and they wish him health when he has finished his draught. They lie down to sleep in their clothes. They affect a grave and sedate exterior: their amusements are all of the tranquil kind; they confound with folly the noisy expression of gaiety: their utterance is slow and deliberate; they even feel satisfaction in silence: they attach the idea of majesty to slowness of motion; they pass in repose all the moments of life which are not occupied with serious business: they retire early to rest; and they rise before the sun.

Much speculation has been exercised, to discover whence such a total diversity of customs and ceremonies could originate among creatures possessing the same common nature, placed under similar circumstances, feeling the same wants, and actuated by the same appetites and passions. To some it appears to constitute the grand characteristic of the two separate classes which may be distinguished among the inhabitants of the earth. The great

great family of mankind has been considered as susceptible of being divided into Europeans and Asiatics, rather from the discriminative appearances of their habits and moral qualities, than from the position of the countries which they inhabit on the surface of the globe; and it is perhaps from respect for the authority on which this opinion is founded, that Dr. Pouqueville determines the Turks to belong in no respect to Europe, except from the corner of it which they occupy. His assertion is indeed further corroborated by the modes of speech which are familiar among the Frank inhabitants of Constantinople, who feel themselves seduced, or compelled, from the irreconcilable nature of the objects which surround them with those in the west of Europe, to apply the adjective European almost exclusively to those countries which are more correctly denominated Christian. The observation itself evinces nicety of discernment, as well as extensive experience of men and manners; but the expression appears to be incorrect, inasmuch as it seems to attribute to climate and geographical situation, what should rather be sought in social institutions; in government, religion, and domestic economy, which exert a more general and uniform influence.

The nations of antiquity, if compared with those of modern Europe, will be found to possess many of those peculiarities which we have chosen to consider as exclusively characteristic of the Asiatics. The loose garments, the long beards, the gravity of manners, the custom of reclining upon couches during meals, the habitual use of the warm bath, and several other instances of

similarity, may be traced among the Greeks and the Romans. European manners have not, till of late years, been partially blended with those of Russia. The Polish and Hungarian nations still exhibit traces of their Asiatic origin. It is only among the unmixed Celtic and Teutonic nations, that we discover a distinct and peculiar system of manners. It is evident, therefore, since we find, even in many countries of Europe, the manners of both continents thus combined, that the great characteristic distinction which has been observed, is independent of the arbitrary arrangements of geographers, and not less, of the natural divisions of latitudes and climates.

*Women and domestic Economy of the
Turks.*

[From the Same.]

THE European, familiarized with the idea of the natural equality of the sexes, looks with pity on the situation of the women throughout the Turkish empire, and almost the whole continent of Asia. Instead of being those associates of man, by whom his affections are softened and his manners are refined, he sees them converted into the merest instruments of his will or of his appetites. Controlled in all their inclinations, restrained in all their actions, watched over with indelicate observance, and forcibly constrained to regulate their life and behaviour so as to obtain the partial, and fugitive favour of an imperious, and perhaps a detested master; exposed to insult and caprice, to the torment of jealousy, or the hopelessness of ungratified desire;

desire; in some instances, torn from their parents, from the guardians of their infancy, and the companions of their youth, cut off from hopes innocently but imprudently indulged, exposed to sale like the inferior classes of animals, and fluctuating, according to the caprice of their lord, between the situation of his servant or his mistress. In the most favourable point of view, the situation of the woman appears little to be envied: her husband, though constant in his affection, and dear to her from motives of gratitude and duty, is her only male acquaintance; and he must of necessity be frequently absent. She cannot be seen abroad with him, nor he remain constantly at home with her; his occupations or his amusements will draw him from the listless and unvaried scene of the *harem*; while his wife, without any knowledge of literature or the arts, has no relief but in the duties of her household and family. The care of her person, more than personal comfort requires, must be irksome, since, however adorned, it can excite no other passion than envy in female bosoms.

To an European lady, duties so exercised must appear painful, and such pleasures insipid. To drink coffee and eat sweetmeats, to play at chess, and view the ludicrous movements of a puppet-show, to perform ablutions, and repeat set forms of prayer, would augment, instead of dissipating, the wearisomeness of existence; and yet, from the earliest period of history, the women of Asia have submitted, without a murmur, to these rigorous institutions; and the same, or nearly the same system was established in Athens and in Rome,

and subsisted until the degeneracy of manners and the progress of luxury had tarnished the glory and sapped the foundations of these illustrious republics.

It is an incontrovertible truth, that western Europe owes its high refinement to the liberty of women, and their consequent influence on public manners. But I by no means think, that the happiness of Asia would be increased, or its virtue improved, by such an adoption of European customs. Nay I even suspect, that, if so important a change could be effected, the women themselves would find it only a small cause of congratulation. It must not be supposed that the Turkish women are confined to their houses: on the contrary, women of all ranks indulge themselves in frequent parties abroad, on foot, in boats, or in carriages. At every public exhibition, at which women can with any propriety appear, they form the most numerous part of the spectators, and always occupy the most advantageous situation. If the women are deprived of the society of the men, they suffer no more than the men do from want of intercourse with them. The married women are mistresses of all the domestic arrangements, are perfectly uncontrolled in the selection of their female acquaintance, and in the choice of suitable amusements. The possessions of the wife, whether originally her own, or the gift of her husband, are sacredly preserved as her exclusive property, and can upon no account be reclaimed by the husband, or be confiscated to the state, though the whole of his fortune, and even his life, be doomed to forfeiture. Instances have even occurred

curred where the husband, by making over a great part of his property to his wife in order to secure it from the grasp of power, has become dependent upon her for his very subsistence. The wife may bequeath by will the whole of her property, however acquired, without any restraint or limitation. In case of her dying intestate, the law allots a certain proportion of her estate to the surviving husband, and regulates the disposal of the remainder among the relations of the deceased.

If the wife have never been gratified with the assiduities and adulation of courtship and gallantry, she is however recompensed by the respect and attentions of her children; for from the sovereign to the lowest subject, the name of mother is never mentioned but with reverence, and the warmest affection is evinced in the discharge of the filial duties.

The duty of children towards their parents, is acknowledged and inculcated both by the precepts of the *koran*, and the example of Mahomet. In his early infancy the prophet was deprived of his father, his mother, and his grandfather; but one of the few miracles which he performed, was the calling of his mother Emineh from the tomb, in order that she might believe in his mission, and be no longer excluded from the enjoyment of paradise. "The decree of Mahomet," says Gibbon, "that, in the sale of captives, the mothers should never be separated from their children, may suspend or moderate the censure of the historian."

Marriage is considered by the Turks merely as a civil contract. It derives its validity from the au-

thority and registration of the *cadi*, or the magistrate of the district before whom it is solemnized; not however by the parties themselves, as neither the bride, nor any female, attends at the ceremony; the deed is executed by proxies, and signed by witnesses, who are usually the nearest relations of the two families, the *imam* of the parish, and a few friends of the parties. The presence of the *imam*, or priest, is essential in no other respect; though, in order to give additional solemnity to the ceremony, he is generally employed to pronounce a nuptial benediction on the new married couple. The contract of marriage, which is drawn up with due formality, contains a stipulation of the dowry to be settled on the wife, in the event of her surviving her husband or being repudiated by him; but to which she forfeits her claim by soliciting a divorce. The contract also contains an account of the marriage portion and other property belonging to the wife, which, in case of her death or separation, must be restored or accounted for agreeably to the inventory. Marriage differs from concubinage only in this stipulation of a dowry or settlement: and the privilege which it confers on the woman, is only the establishment of her exclusive claim to the caresses of her husband on the evening of *djumm 'aguin*. If this duty be complied with, his irregularity at other times is not legally a ground of complaint. The children of the bondwoman and the free are equally legitimate. In addition to marriage and concubinage, there is another peculiar mode of cohabitation in Turkey, which is seldom practised: this is called *kâpin*, and is a contract obligatory on

the parties for a limited time, fixing the period of their union and the conditions of their separation, and recognizing the duties to be performed by the father towards the children.

Polygamy and divorce are authorized by the law of Mahomet: but the Turks, without much speculative reasoning on the subject, seldom resort in practice to institutions so injurious to the interests of society. In instances of polygamy, all the wives are either purchased slaves or women of an inferior condition to the husband, and they rank in estimation according to the number, or the sex, of their children; but if a man have married a woman of equal rank with himself, she constantly retains her dignity; and if she admit of rivals, which is frequently guarded against by the marriage contract, they either have a separate and inferior establishment in the same *harem*, or live with her as her servants.

In a Turkish house there are no chambers exclusively appropriated as bed-rooms: the usual way of sleeping is on a light mattress, which is spread on the sofa or in the middle of the chamber, and sometimes in the gallery, according to the season of the year and the temperature of the weather. Neither men nor women lie down completely undressed, but have night-dresses, resembling, except in the inferior quality of the materials, the underclothes which they wear in the day. The bed-furniture, which in its greatest perfection consists but of a quilted coverlet, a sheet, and a pillow, is laid up during the day in a closet or press, with which every chamber is provided. Every room

in a Turkish house serves for every purpose; and the furniture, in all, differs only in fineness of quality or richness of ornament. The sofa extends round three sides of the chamber, on a frame raised a few inches from the floor. The *minder*, or mattresses, as well as the cushions, are stuffed with wool, and smaller cushions for the more distinguished guests are filled with cotton. The *macat*, or covering, is of woollen or silk stuff, bordered with a deep fringe, and the cushions are of velvet, or of gold and silver tissue. The floor is covered, according to the season, with carpets or Egyptian matting, except a small part near the entrance, where the *papuches*, or slippers, are put off. The use of chairs and tables is almost unknown.

The dinner is served up on a large circular tray of copper, tinned, which is placed on a low stool at a corner of the sofa, and the guests sit round it cross-legged, the youngest or least honourable sitting on cushions placed on the floor. The service is conducted with great simplicity. The dishes are brought to table singly, and succeed each other, sometimes to the number of twenty or thirty, with such celerity as to allow little time for selection or indulgence. Instead of a tablecloth, a long napkin is spread over the knees of the guests. The chief of the family serves himself with the fingers of his right hand, and invites the company to follow his example. They make no use of plates, nor even of knives and forks. Mahomet severely inveighs against luxury or expense in the table furniture. "Verily," he says, "the fire of hell will roar like the lowings of a camel in the bellies of those who eat and drink from vessels of gold or silver."

In

In the ladies' apartments the *tann-dur* usually occupies the corner of the sofa during the winter months, and besides being used for warmth, answers all the purposes of a table and a toilette. The *tann-dur* is in the form of a table, of the height of two or three feet, with a bottom on which is placed a chafing-dish of earthen-ware or copper, containing a small quantity of hot ashes. The company sit around it, with their legs under the carpet or quilted coverlet which is thrown over it. D'Osson supposes, that European ladies would willingly adopt it, and would experience less inconvenience from the moderate heat of the *tann-dur* than from the brisk action of the chimney-fire. Olivier, who was at Pera in the year 1794, when the French were separated from "la bonne société," describes the *abus* of this utensil in the families of the inferior Greeks and Franks. I believe that this singular invention is peculiar to Constantinople and its neighbourhood, as the use of it does not extend beyond the sea-coast of Asia Minor, nor to the northward beyond the Danube. Its heat, which is confined under the coverlets, is moderate and agreeable; but being unequally diffused, and directed chiefly to the legs and feet, besides injuriously affecting those parts, disposes the body more easily to catch cold. In most houses there is no chimney except in the kitchen. Persons of rank or property easily brave the severity of the winter in their spacious apartments, wrapt up in the most costly and comfortable furs: sometimes a chafing-dish, called *mangal*, is placed in the centre of the chamber; but the use of the *tann-dur* is general in the boudoirs of the *harem*.

Smoking is an universal custom

in the Turkish *harem*, but Lady Mary Wortley Montagu prudently excludes so disgusting a particular from her portrait of the Turkish ladies. I cannot assert from experience, that the most offensive consequence of this custom is corrected by the chewing of mastic, which, it is supposed, whitens and preserves the teeth, and by stimulating the salival glands, assists digestion. Coffee and confections, which in Turkey are delicious, are taken as elegant and necessary refreshments, and are always presented to visitors. Sherbet and perfumes are more ceremoniously introduced, as denoting greater respect.

The more elegant occupations of the *harem* are, working in embroidery, and superintending the education of young ladies, who are taught to express themselves with the greatest purity and correctness of language, to read, and to write a neat and legible hand. These qualifications are indispensable to the education of a lady of fashion; and singing, dancing, and music, are also considered as polite accomplishments. Whether their dances be of the same character as those of the professed actresses, I cannot pretend to determine: they certainly are not all so, and I should think they rather resemble the *rombika*, or choral dances of the Greek women.

Such are the studies and qualifications of young ladies of the superior ranks, whose leisure and fortune enable them to acquire those elegant arts which constitute the distinguishing characteristics of polished society, or render them delightful companions in retirement. They are also most carefully instructed in the decorum of manners and every thing belonging to the

the dignity of their rank in life, as well as in those arts which add poignancy to their personal attractions. The amiable character of their sex is not perverted by their institutions: and if their soft and voluptuous caresses excite desire, the flame is cherished and refined by their native delicacy, their gentleness, their modesty, and engaging sensibility. They are endeared to their husbands by the exercise of all the conjugal and parental duties, and the charm which they diffuse over every circumstance and change of life.

The Turkish women are beautiful, though their beauty is of a different character from that of women in the northern climates of Europe. Their dress, when abroad, is little calculated to expose to advantage the elegant proportions of shape, which when young they possess, but from various circumstances in their manner of living, do not so generally preserve as the women of the other parts of Europe.

De Tott seems to deny them beauty. He went unexpectedly into the apartment of Madame de Tott, when she was receiving a visit from some Turkish ladies. "The outcry was general; but only those who were old hurried themselves to cover their faces; he, however, thought it great vanity in the young ones to make no more haste. They are exposed, he says, in their hot baths to all the inconveniences of a forced perspiration, so frequently repeated as to destroy the freshness

of the complexion and the grace of the features, even before they are marriageable.

It has been the peculiar fate of the Turkish ladies to be described by writers who were under the influence of prejudice or partiality. Lord Sandwich says, "We may venture to affirm" (and it is rather a bold assertion, as it is founded on the opinion of other people), "that a person who had ever experienced an intrigue with a Turkish woman, would have no further taste for the ladies of any other country, whom he would find in every particular so much their inferiors. The cleanliness and sweetness of their bodies, their advantageous dress, which seems made purposely to inspire the warmest desires, the tenderness of their expressions, their words and actions, which seem enough to declare the unfeigned sentiments of their hearts, their grace, air, and beauty, are sufficient to captivate the most unconquerable breast; while their sincerity and unequalled constancy are capable of fixing their lover's affections*."

Manners of the Greeks and the Boyars in Moldavia and Wallachia.

[From the Same.]

THE education of the boyars is little superior in point of real utility to that of the common people. The children are instructed by priests in the houses of their parents, and are surrounded by *chinganehs*, who corrupt them by abject servility and a base compliance with

* See Voyage round the Mediterranean in the years 1738 and 1739, p. 158. I think there may be detected in Lord Sandwich's writings, notwithstanding his declaration to the contrary, a lurking desire of insinuating, that his knowledge of the Turkish women was not derived merely from hearsay information.

all their caprices. Formed by such tutors, they pass into a world of hypocrisy and vice, without one just principle to regulate their conduct, without one generous purpose, or one honourable sentiment. They adopt indiscriminately the vices, without inheriting the vivacity of the Greeks, or veiling them with that delicacy which the Greeks have not wholly relinquished. They confound whatever is most degrading in luxury with the fair fruit of civilization, and in their rude adoption of European manners, they plunge into promiscuous debauchery, and indulge to excess in an unprincipled passion of gaming. Like the Poles and Hungarians, the *boyars* inherit a taste for magnificent dresses and splendid equigages: they love balls and public entertainments, but their assemblies are rude and tumultuous. Their tables are open to every person of their acquaintance, but are inelegantly served. In the cities they are forbidden to form connexions of intimacy, or even to keep up intercourse, with strangers; but I have occasionally lodged for a night in their country-seats, and was always received and treated by them with a plain but decent hospitality.

The Greeks adopt a more than Asiatic luxury: they sleep after dinner on their sofas, whilst a female servant fans away the flies and refreshes the air which they breathe: they exact from their attendants the respect and homage which they have seen paid to the Turkish grandees; but feeling within themselves no consciousness of personal worth or importance, they cannot command with Turkish dignity, and the petulance of vanity betrays itself in harsh expressions, and insulting behaviour, to their inferiors.

On the death or deposition of a prince, the *divan* assembles, and immediately assumes the administration of public affairs. All the creatures or dependents of the prince are removed from office, and other persons are appointed, who are continued in authority until the arrival of his successor. The *caimacam*, or lieutenant of the newly created prince, announces the nomination of his master, but does not interfere in the affairs of government, further than in superintending the collection of the prince's revenues. The fallen sovereign is immediately forsaken by his courtiers, is always treated with neglect, and sometimes with insult and abuse. He returns privately, and without pomp, to Constantinople, where he retires to his seat in the Fanal or on the shores of the Bosphorus. With the usual modesty of *rayahs* the princes resume their former habits of submission, and the exterior of humility. They are followed only by a single servant; but at home they are surrounded by a princely and titled household: they allot to particular officers distinct portions of service, and pass the day in planning new schemes of ambition, or in receiving the secret homage of their clients and vassals.

Character of Oliver Cromwell.
[From Mr. Fox's History of James II.]

WITH the life of the Protector almost immediately ended the government which he had established. The great talents of this extraordinary person had supported, during his life, a system condemned equally by reason and by

by prejudice; by reason, as wanting freedom; by prejudice, as an usurpation; and it must be confessed to be no mean testimony to his genius, that, notwithstanding the radical defects of such a system, the splendour of his character and exploits render the æra of the Protectorship one of the most brilliant in English history. It is true his conduct in foreign concerns, is set off to advantage, by a comparison of it with that of those who preceded, and who followed him. If he made a mistake in espousing the French interest instead of the Spanish, we should recollect, that in examining this question we must divest our minds entirely of all the considerations which the subsequent relative state of those two empires suggest to us, before we can become impartial judges in it; and at any rate, we must allow his reign, in regard to European concerns, to have been most glorious when contrasted with the pusillanimity of James the First, with the levity of Charles the First, and the mercenary meanness of the two last princes of the House of Stuart. Upon the whole, the character of Cromwell must ever stand high in the list of those, who raised themselves to supreme power by the force of their genius; and among such, even in respect of moral virtue, it would be found to be one of the least exceptionable, if it had not been tainted with that most odious and degrading of all human vices, hypocrisy.

Character of General Monk.
[From the Same.]

THE short interval between Cromwell's death and the Re-

storation, exhibits the picture of a nation either so wearied with changes as not to feel, or so subdued by military power as not to dare to show, any care or even preference with regard to the form of their government. All was in the army; and that army, by such a concurrence of fortuitous circumstances, as history teaches us not to be surprised at, had fallen into the hands of one, than whom a baser could not be found in its lowest ranks. Personal courage appears to have been Monk's only virtue: reserve and dissimulation made up the whole stock of his wisdom. But to this man did the nation look up, ready to receive from his orders the form of government he should choose to prescribe. There is reason to believe, that, from the general bias of the Presbyterians, as well as of the Cavaliers, monarchy was the prevalent wish; but it is observable, that although the Parliament was, contrary to the principle upon which it was pretended to be called, composed of many avowed royalists, yet none dared to hint at the restoration of the king, till they had Monk's permission, or rather command, to receive and consider his letters. It is impossible, in reviewing the whole of this transaction, not to remark that a general who had gained his rank, reputation, and station in the service of a republic, and of what he, as well as others, called, however falsely, the cause of liberty, made no scruple to lay the nation prostrate at the feet of a monarch, without a single provision in favour of that cause; and if the promise of indemnity may seem to argue that there was some attention, at least, paid to the safety of his associates in arms, his

his subsequent conduct gives reason to suppose, that even this provision was owing to any other cause, rather than to any generous feeling of his breast. For he afterwards not only acquiesced in the insults so meanly put upon the illustrious corpse of Blake, under whose auspices and command he had performed the most creditable services of his life, but in the trial of Argyle, produced letters of friendship and confidence, to take away the life of a nobleman, the zeal and cordiality of whose co-operation with him, proved by such documents, was the chief ground of his execution; thus gratuitously surpassing in infamy those miserable wretches who, to save their own lives, are sometimes persuaded to impeach, and swear away, the lives of their accomplices.

Character of Charles II.

[*From the Same.*]

WITH respect to the character of this Prince, upon the delineation of which so much pains have been employed, by the various writers who treat of the history of his time, it must be confessed that the facts which have been noticed in the foregoing pages, furnish but too many illustrations of the more unfavourable parts of it. From these we may collect, that his ambition was directed solely against his subjects, while he was completely indifferent concerning the figure which he or they might make in the general affairs of Europe; and that his desire of power was more unmixed with the love of glory than that of any other man whom history has recorded; that he was unprincipled, ungrateful, mean, and treacherous, to which may be added

vindictive and remorseless. For Burnet, in refusing to him the praise of clemency and forgiveness, seems to be perfectly justifiable, nor is it conceivable upon what pretence his partisans have taken this ground of panegyrick. I doubt whether a single instance can be produced, of his having spared the life of any one whom motives, either of policy, or of revenge, prompted him to destroy. To alledge that of Monmouth, as it would be an affront to human nature, so would it likewise imply the most severe of all satires against the monarch himself, and we may add too an undeserved one. For in order to consider it as an act of meritorious forbearance on his part, that he did not follow the example of Constantine, and Philip the Second, by imbruing his hands in the blood of his son, we must first suppose him to have been wholly void of every natural affection, which does not appear to have been the case. His declaration, that he would have pardoned Essex, being made when that nobleman was dead, and not followed by any act evincing its sincerity, can surely obtain no credit from men of sense. If he had really had the intention, he ought not to have made such a declaration, unless he accompanied it with some mark of kindness to the relations, or with some act of mercy to the friends, of the deceased. Considering it as a mere piece of hypocrisy, we cannot help looking upon it as one of the most odious passages of his life. This ill-timed boast of his intended mercy, and the brutal taunt with which he accompanied his mitigation (if so it may be called) of Russel's sentence, show his insensibility and hardness to have been such, that in questions where right and feelings were concerned,

cerned, his good sense, and even the good taste for which he has been so much extolled, seemed wholly to desert him.

Character of the High Church Party in 1685. [From the Same.]

THE general character of the party at this time appears to have been a high notion of the King's constitutional power, to which was superadded a kind of religious abhorrence of all resistance to the monarch, not only in cases where such resistance was directed against the lawful prerogative, but even in opposition to encroachments, which the Monarch might make beyond the extended limits which they assigned to his prerogative. But these tenets, and still more, the principle of conduct naturally resulting from them, were confined to the civil, as contradistinguished from the ecclesiastical, polity of the country. In church matters, they neither acknowledged any very high authority in the crown, nor were they willing to submit to any royal encroachment on that side; and a steady attachment to the church of England, with a proportionable aversion to all dissenters from it, whether Catholic or Protestant, was almost universally prevalent among them. A due consideration of these distinct features in the character of a party so powerful in Charles's and James's time, and even when it was lowest, (that is, during the reigns of the two first princes of the House of Brunswick,) by no means inconsiderable, is exceedingly necessary to the right understanding of English history. It affords a clue to many passages otherwise unintelligible. For want of a proper attention to

this circumstance, some historians have considered the conduct of the Tories in promoting the revolution, as an instance of great inconsistency. Some have supposed, contrary to the clearest evidence, that their notions of passive obedience, even in civil matters, were limited, and that their support of the government of Charles and James, was founded upon a belief, that those princes would never abuse their prerogative for the purpose of introducing arbitrary sway. But this hypothesis is contrary to the evidence both of their declaration and their conduct. Obedience without reserve, an abhorrence of all resistance, as contrary to the tenets of their religion, are the principles which they professed in their addresses, their sermons, and their decrees at Oxford; and surely nothing short of such principles, could make men esteem the latter years of Charles the Second, and the opening of the reign of his successor, an era of national happiness, and exemplary government. Yet this is the representation of that period, which is usually made by historians, and other writers of the church party. "Never were fairer promises on one side, nor greater generosity on the other," says Mr. Echard. "The King had as yet, in no instance, invaded the rights of his subjects," says the author of the Caveat against the Whigs. Thus, as long as James contented himself with absolute power in civil matters, and did not make use of his authority against the church, every thing went smooth and easy; nor is it necessary, in order to account for the satisfaction of the parliament and people, to have recourse to any implied compromise, by which the nation

nation was willing to yield its civil liberties as the price of retaining its religious constitution. The truth seems to be, that the king, in asserting his unlimited power, rather fell in with the humour of the prevailing party, than offered any violence to it. Absolute power in civil matters, under the specious names of monarchy and prerogative, formed a most essential part of the Tory creed; but the order in which church and king are placed in the favourite device of the party, is not accidental, and is well calculated to show the genuine principles of such among them as are not corrupted by influence. Accordingly, as the sequel of this reign will abundantly show, when they found themselves compelled to make an option, they preferred, without any degree of inconsistency, their first idol to their second, and when they could not preserve both church and king, declared for the former.

Deportment of the Earl of Argyle from the time of his Capture to that of his Execution, 1685.

[From the Same.]

BEFORE he left the Castle (of Edinburgh) he had his dinner at the usual hour, at which he discoursed, not only calmly, but even cheerfully, with Mr. Charteris and others. After dinner he retired, as was his custom, to his bed-chamber, where, it is recorded, that he slept quietly for about a quarter of an hour. While he was in bed, one of the members of the council came and intimated to the attendants a desire to speak with him: upon being told that the earl was asleep, and had left orders not to be disturbed, the manager disbelieved the account, which he considered as a

device to avoid further questionings. To satisfy him, the door of the bed-chamber was half opened, and he then beheld, enjoying a sweet and tranquil slumber, the man who, by the doom of him and his fellows, was to die within the space of two short hours! Struck with the sight, he hurried out of the room, quitted the Castle with the utmost precipitation, and hid himself in the lodgings of an acquaintance who lived near, where he flung himself upon the first bed that presented itself, and had every appearance of a man suffering the most excruciating torture. His friend, who had been apprised by the servant of the state he was in, and who naturally concluded that he was ill, offered him some wine. He refused, saying, "No, no, that will not help me; I have been in at Ar-gyle, and saw him sleeping as pleasantly as ever man did, within an hour of eternity. But as for me——" The name of the person to whom this anecdote relates, is not mentioned, and the truth of it may therefore be fairly considered as liable to that degree of doubt, with which men of judgment receive every species of traditional history. Woodrow, however, whose veracity is above suspicion, says he had it from the most unquestionable authority. It is not in itself unlikely, and who is there that would not wish it true? What a satisfactory spectacle to a philosophical mind, to see the oppressor, in the zenith of his power, envying his victim! What an acknowledgment of the superiority of virtue! what an affecting, and forcible testimony to the value of that peace of mind, which innocence alone can confer! We know not who this man was; but when we reflect, that the guilt which

which agonized him was probably incurred for the sake of some vain title, or at least of some increase of wealth, which he did not want, and possibly knew not how to enjoy, our disgust is turned into something like compassion for that very foolish class of men, whom the world calls wise in their generation.

Soon after his short repose Argyle was brought, according to order, to the Leigh Council-House, from which place is dated the letter to his wife; and thence to the place of execution. On the scaffold he had some discourse, as well with Mr. Annand, a minister appointed by government to attend him, as with Mr. Charteris. He desired both of them to pray for him, and prayed himself with much fervency and devotion. The speech which he made to the people, was such as might be expected from the passages already related. The same mixture of firmness and mildness is conspicuous in every part of it. "We ought not," says he, "to despise our afflictions, nor to faint under them. We must not suffer ourselves to be exasperated against the instruments of our troubles, nor by fraudulent, nor pusillanimous compliances, bring guilt upon ourselves; faint hearts are ordinarily false hearts, choosing sin rather than suffering." He offers his prayers to God for the three kingdoms of England, Scotland, and Ireland, and that an end may be put to their present trials. Having then asked pardon for his own failings, both of God and man, he would have concluded: but being reminded that he had said nothing of the Royal Family, he adds that he refers, in this matter, to what he had said at his trial concerning the test; that he prayed

there never might be wanting one of the royal family to support the Protestant religion, and if any of them had swerved from the true faith, he prayed God to turn their hearts, but at any rate to save his people from their machinations.

When he had ended, he turned to the south side of the scaffold, and said, "Gentlemen, I pray you do not misconstrue my behaviour this day: I freely forgive all men their wrongs and injuries done against me, as I desire to be forgiven of God." Mr. Annand repeated these words louder to the people. The Earl then went to the north side of the scaffold, and used the same or the like expressions. Mr. Annand repeated them again, and said, "This nobleman dies a Protestant." The Earl stepped forward again, and said, "I die not only a Protestant, but with a heart-hatred of popery, prelacy, and all superstition whatsoever." It would perhaps have been better if these last expressions had never been uttered, as there appears certainly something of violence in them, unsuitable to the general tenour of his language; but it must be remembered, first, that the opinion that the pope is Antichrist was at that time general among almost all the zealous Protestants in these kingdoms; secondly, that Annand, being employed by government, and probably an episcopalian, the Earl might apprehend that the declaration of such a minister, might not convey the precise idea, which he, Argyle, affixed to the word Protestant.

He then embraced his friends, gave some tokens of remembrance to his son-in-law, lord Maitland, for his daughter and grand-children,

stript

stript himself of part of his apparel, of which he likewise made presents, and laid his head upon the block. Having uttered a short prayer, he gave the signal to the executioner, which was instantly obeyed, and his head severed from his body. Such were the last hours, and such the final close, of this great man's life. May the like happy serenity in such dreadful circumstances, and a death equally glorious, be the lot of all, whom tyranny, of whatever denomination or description, shall in any age, or in any country, call to expiate their virtues on the scaffold!

A Day at Madrid. [From a Picture of Madrid taken on the Spot. By Christian Augustus Fischer; translated from the German.]

I AWAKE, 'tis now four o'clock in the morning! The whole broad street of *Alcala* is spread before me like an immense square—churches—palaces and convents:—at the farther end the shady walks of the *Prado*—a grand sublime sight, baffling description.

The matin bell announces the early mass—the streets become more animated. Veiled women in black, men in long brown cloaks with *redesillas*, (wearing their hair in a kind of net-work, hanging low down their back.) The doors of all the balconies open, and water is sprinkled out before every house.

Now the goat-keepers with their little herds enter the gates, crying Milk! Milk! Goats' Milk! fresh and warm! Who will have any? There I see market-women pass by with their asses loaded with vegetables; bakers with bread in carts, made of Spanish reed; water-carriers and porters hastening to com-

mence their day's work, while with a hoarse voice two consequential-looking alguazils proclaim the thefts committed on the preceding night.

By degrees, all the warehouses, shops, and booths, are opened. The publicans (*taberneros*) expose their wine-cups; the chocolate-women get their pots ready; the water-carriers begin to chant their "*Quien bebe?*" (Who'll drink?) and the hackney coach and hackney chaise drivers, with the persons who let mules for hire, take their usual stands.

Soon the whole street resounds with the various cries of numberless criers. Cod, white cod! Onions! onions from Galicia! Walnuts! walnuts, from Biscay! Oranges! oranges, from Murcia! Hard smoked sausages from Estramadura! Tomatoes! large tomates! Sweet citrons! sweet citrons! Barley water! Ice water! ice water! A new journal! a new journal! A new gazette! Water melons! Long Malaga raisins! Olives, olives, from Seville! Milk! rolls! Milk, rolls, fresh and hot! Grapes! grapes! Figs, new figs! Pomegranates, pomegranates from Valencia!

It strikes ten; the guards mount; dragoons, Swiss regiments, Walloon guards, Spanish infantry, "*Aloa pies de Vin Dona Manuela!*" Let us go to mass.

All the bells are ringing, all the streets covered with the rock-roses, rich carpets hanging from every balcony, and altars raised on every square, under canopies of state. The procession sets out. What a number of neat little angels, with pasteboard wings, covered with gilt paper! images of saints, with fine powdered bob wigs, and robes of gold brocade! What swarms of priests!

priests ! How many beautiful girls ! all pleasant, and in mixed groupes !

The clock proclaims noon-day ! we return through the square of the Puerta del Sol ! All the *rifas* (raffles) have begun, all the hackney writers are busy, and the whole square thronged with people.

One o'clock ! we are called to dinner : a great deal of saffron, many love-apples, plenty of oil and pimento ! But then, wine from La Mancha, Old Xeres, and Malaga ! What a nice thing is Spanish cookery !

La Siesta ! la Siesta, Senores ! A deadly silence in all the streets, all the window-shutters are put up, or the curtains let down ; even the most industrious porter stretches his length on his mat, and falls asleep at the fountain, with his pitcher behind him.

At four o'clock, every body repairs to the bull-fight, to the canal, or the Prado ; all is gaiety and merriment : one equipage after another, one chaise after another, drive full speed to those places of diversion.

The Puerta del Sol becomes as crowded as before, and the water-carriers and orange-women, the procuresses of the frail fair, are all as busy as bees.

Thus passes the afternoon ; and the dusky shades of evening set in at last. All the bells ring, and every Spaniard says the prayer of salutation to the Virgin. Now all hasten to the *tortulias* and theatres, and in a few minutes the rattling of carriages resounds in every street. The lamps before the houses, or the images of the Virgin are already lighted : the merchants and dealers have illuminated their warehouses and shops, and the sellers of ice-water and lemonade their stalls.

Every where are seen rushlights, paper lanterns, and bougies on the tables of the fruitwomen and cake-men.

Meanwhile the crowd on the square has prodigiously increased, and it is soon stewed with people. In one part you will hear the soft sounds of the guitar, or a *seguidilla* ; in another a female ballad-singer tells in rhyme the tale of the last murder committed ; in a third a thundering missionary attempts to move the hearts of obdurate sinners, while the light-footed cyprian corps carries off his audience by dozens. Soon passes the rosary and the tattoo with music, and the equipages return from the theatres.

It grows still later ; the crowds begin to disperse : by one o'clock in the morning all the streets are still and quiet, and only here or there resounds a solitary guitar through the solemn gloom of night.

Spanish Cookery.

[From the Same.]

WERE a philosophical cook to favour us some day with a general history of the art of cooking, the chapter under the head of Spain would most certainly be one of the shortest. Five plain national dishes, as ancient as the monarchy, as unchangeable as the Spanish character : how much could he say about them !

Among these messes, the *puckero*, or olla, takes the lead. It consists of a hodge-podge of beef, bacon, sausages, pease, potatoes, turnips, carrots, onions, cabbage, garlic, all boiled together, and then seasoned with pimento or Jamaica pepper. The thin broth of the

puckero

puckero is first eaten as soup, and the rest as vegetables.

This *puckero* is the only regular meat-dish of the Spaniards; but they have besides it a kind of fricassee called *guisado*, with onions, garlic, tomatoes, or love-apples, &c. and consisting chiefly of poultry or game. A joint of roast meat would be considered here as a great daintiness, and a French ragoo would appear to a downright Spaniard like a crime committed against his nation.

Besides these meat-dishes, they make a change with some messes of fish, particularly dried cod (*bacalao*), and pickled sea-bream, or real gilt-head from the Bay of Biscay, (*Berisgo*): add to these a kind of omelet (*huevos estrellados*), or fried eggs (*huevos fritos*). In hot weather they make their favourite *gaspacho*, a kind of cold mess, with vinegar, oil, and onions.

We have thus counted five common Spanish national dishes, with which even the middling classes are perfectly well satisfied. They are likewise always to be found on the tables of the great, among a great number of other foreign messes. Saffron and pimento constitute copious ingredients in every dish; and they are spices which the Spaniards are uncommonly fond of.—They also use the unripe stalks of the latter, pickle them in vinegar, and serve them as a dessert. Oil is used in their cookery, instead of butter; and as their culinary preparations are esteemed very hard of digestion, it seems that pepper is absolutely indispensable.

This is the whole art of cookery among the Spaniards, and but few foreigners will ever accustom themselves to it.

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Puerta del Sol, the Centre of Madrid.

[From the Same.]

THE centre of Madrid, the common resort of all the inhabitants, the general rendezvous of all men of business, all strangers, all lovers and idlers, is the square of *Puerta del Sol*, where five of the most lively streets of the capital meet together.

At eleven in the forenoon, you see a number of officers of the guards in splendid uniforms, squallid capuchins with long beards, elegant Madrid beaux with their ladies, gloomy-looking ecclesiastics, in long black gowns, a variegated medley of people, wearing cloaks, or dressed in the highest fashion—they are all pressing in crowds to the corners, to read the bills or advertisements posted up.

By degrees the multitude increases with the throng: here you find news-women, tonadellas, or ballad-singers, jugglers, rance-showmen, dealers in cigarros, salesmen, and numbers of soldiers of the Swiss regiments and Walloon guards, selling turnery work and such like things. There a crowd has collected about a newsmonger, who is reading with a loud voice a newspaper; and there again, a Valencian showman makes his monkey dance; here watches, rings, and false diamonds, are sold by auction; farther on, a number of hasty customers surround the table of a garrulous hackney writer: farther still, the plaintive voice of a lame mendicant is heard, and there a waggish flower-girl offers to lovers her tempting bouquets of roses: here half a dozen of Arragonian carriers get entangled by the ropes with which

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which they transport their respective burthens, and here some amorous pairs make an appointment. To be brief, *Puerta del Sol* is Madrid in miniature, with a bustling of groupes, and a change of masses, of which it would be impossible to describe even the tenth part.

Hospitals of Madrid.—Country-girls from Biscay.—Coffee-Houses.

[From the Same.]

AMONG the many hospitals at Madrid, we ought to mention as the first the General hospital for men, and the hospital of the Passion for women. Each of these foundations has a number of monks or nuns of the order of Charity to attend the patients, and both are under the direction of a special commission.

The hospital of the men, formerly called the General Hospital, because both sexes used to be received there, lies at the gate of Atocha, in a free, airy district, and so does that of the women. In both, the wards are high, roomy, airy, and divided according to the different diseases the patients are afflicted with; bearing, for instance, the names of the Wounded ward, the Venereal ward, &c. All the sick have separate beds, and every bedstead is made of iron, to prevent the encroachments of vermin.

The order which prevails throughout every department of those asylums of misery, is admirable; floors, beds, and every article of furniture, indicate extreme cleanliness.

The same may be said of the

kitchens and other parts which are generally found very dirty in other hospitals.

The nursing of the sick by the brothers and sisters of the order of Charity, who make a vow to attend the diseased and infirm on taking the habit, is likewise exemplary. If there be any religious order worthy of approbation and esteem; if there be any one proper to reconcile humanity, outraged by thousands of popish atrocities, it must be this truly christian order of charity.

These hospitals are likewise attended by the first medical practitioners of Madrid.

There is no new discovery that can prove beneficial to the suffering wretch, that is not applied here; electricity, magnetism, even Beddoes' gasses were tried here. Three hundred young practitioners are employed here as assistants to the regular physicians; but their medical course is only made under the superintendence of the latter, and they are not allowed to give prescriptions.

The economical treatment of the sick is not less laudable. They receive the best victuals their state requires; the rations of the convalescents are gradually increased; and in cases of great debility, even the most sumptuous wines are not spared. In the General hospital there is a fine court with a fountain in the middle, and a portico to walk under. Something similar is in the hospital of the Passion.

The strictest regulations are here made for the benefit of the sick. No one is allowed to visit them without being previously searched, to prevent their receiving any thing from without the house, which may

may impede or delay their cure. No patient in a convalescent state durst leave his ward without an express permission from the physicians.

The spiritual welfare of the sick is equally well consulted here. A rector, and thirty-two priests under him, attend to the religious necessities of the hospital. Every sick foreigner is sure of finding among them some countrymen of his, with whom he may converse in his native tongue.

How sweet to the dying stranger to hear once again the favourite harmony of his native language, and to confide to a consoling friend the last secrets harboured in his bosom!!!—Oh! he that has been poor, wretched, and forsaken in a foreign land; he alone can feel the whole value of such a blessing!

The brotherhood of the royal St. Hermandad, and that of our Lady of good Refuge, contribute not a little towards the excellent organization of this hospital. The chief members of it are joint inspectors of the establishment, and bestow the most tender care on the unfortunate sick. They are provided on every festival and Sunday with good dinners at the expence of the brotherhoods; and every dish is served by some member, under whose immediate inspection every dish is dressed.

At four o'clock in the afternoon of these treats, the whole brotherhood come to the hospital. The brothers divide, and go two by two to the bed-side of every patient, enquiring about the state of his health and wants; they present to him all sorts of refreshments, inspire him with courage to endure his sufferings, and even perform offices

which would elsewhere prove disgusting to nineteen in twenty. Yet there are said to be among these brotherhoods, people of the first rank, and some of immense fortune. The same kind attention is paid to the sick in the hospitals for females, where many ladies of quality, especially old dowagers, give them the kindest attendance.

To obtain admission into these mansions of charity, it needs no formalities, no enquiries, no particular recommendations; to be ill, is sufficient.

He who is yet able to walk, goes there; he who cannot walk, sends word, and he is fetched away. Be he a Spaniard or foreigner, a Catholic or Protestant, known or unknown, it matters not; his disease is the only question, and thus he stays and is taken care of, not only till he is cured, but, as we must not omit to mention, till he has completely regained his former strength.

All the poor inhabitants of Madrid, and a great number of such as are not in low circumstances, avail themselves of the benefit of this noble foundation. It is no disgrace here to go to the hospital, as people well know they are better attended there. A patient, who pays six reals a day, receives a separate room, and better victuals.

The expences of these hospitals are very great; but they enjoy funds more than sufficient to answer every exigency. To these may be added a number of extraordinary revenues, for instance, a fifth of the receipt at every playhouse; the whole profit arising from the bull-fights at Madrid, which often amounts to a million of reals, besides other sources of income.

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But irregularities and deceptions are likewise apt to take place here; and it is obvious, that they will happen in every human institution. Besides these two large hospitals, there is a multitude of others, which it would be tedious to enumerate. Among these are the hospitals of San Juan de Dios, Anton Martin, and the Flemish, Italian, Portuguese, and Irish hospitals. To be received into the latter is attended with more trouble, and the reception depends mostly on the priests of the parish.

Whatever objection may be made to the Catholic religion, certain it is, that on this head it has at all times had a great and beneficial influence. The arguments of philanthropists would perhaps never have effected that which religious sentiments have here done, for suffering humanity.

Las Vizcaynas, or Basque Girls.
—La Corta! la Corta! To court! to court! is the device of almost all the country girls in Biscay. They forsake their native mountains in great numbers, and hasten to the fine and matchless city of Madrid. Here they are sure of getting places, as on account of their cleanliness and industry they are usually preferred to all others. Most of them arrive in spring and autumn. They commonly make the journey with the muleteer and carrier from Bilboa, who packs them like a bale of goods, two by two, on a mule. They are also distinguished by their long tresses, parti-coloured handkerchiefs on their heads, yellow jackets, and red striped petticoats. Such a girl finds a place in a few days; and a few weeks afterwards she is seen

walking about in a Spanish cloak, *mantilla*, and a *basquina*, or Spanish upper petticoat; like a lady of fashion. If her broad accent did not betray her, she might pass for some young gentlewoman of Madrid.

The Basque girls are handsome; their graceful shape, lovely complexion, and captivating vivacity, render them extremely attractive. They understand the art of emptying men's pockets, without granting them any favour; and usually amass a little capital, without having committed any indiscretion.

Incredible as this may appear, it is however true, barring a few exceptions. All a Basque girl thinks of, is to lay by something, which having done, she gaily bies back to her mountains with the little treasure. There she is sure of finding a bridegroom, for whom she preserves all a maiden can give.

Sprightly, nimble, courageous, chattering, but always intent upon their interest. Coquettish to the highest degree, but at the bottom as pure as mountain-snow; such is the general character of the Basque girls.

Coffee-houses.—Coffee is not a favourite drink with the Spaniards; he needs no stimulative; and if he drinks it, it is merely as a medicine. But the use of chocolate is the more customary here, as from its nutritive and softening nature, it seems purposely designed for hot climates.

The coffee-houses of Madrid are therefore frequented less for the sake of coffee than other refreshments, such as ices, lemonade, &c. &c. The accommodations which the coffee-houses afford, are even below

below the worst of the 'kind in Germany. The best, or rather the most tolerable of them all, is the *Fontana de Oro*, in the *Calle de San Geronimo*, at Madrid, where most of the Spanish journals are to be read; and for his best customers, the master likewise takes in the *Leyden Gazette*.

In these coffee-houses equality prevails to an astonishing degree, considering the pride of the Spaniards of quality. Grandees and cavaliers are seen to play here with the meanest plebeians. There are no privileged gaming-tables for the nobility; and he who pays his money, plays where he likes.

Political conversations are neither wanting here, and perfect liberty of speech has been granted on this subject ever since the close alliance made with France. By political conversations, I only mean such topics as are naturally suggested by the occurrences of the day, but no wild revolutionary spirit of dispute.

It is incredible with how much wit and fine humour these subjects are treated in the Spanish coffee-house, and how much the French have been gaining for some time past, as the government itself endeavours to favour in every possible way this amicable disposition. I am, however, resolved to bid truce to politics. But this much is certain; that a foreigner, who wishes to get acquainted with the easy style of Spanish conversation, could no where find a better opportunity.

Anecdotes and Character of James Bruce, Esq. [From an Account of his Life and Writings by Alexander Murray, F.S.A.E.]

“MR. BRUCE, after having resided in the South of France, till his health was in some measure restored, set out for Paris in company with the Comte de Buffon. The reception which he met with in that metropolis was exceedingly flattering. His travels became a subject of general conversation; his company was courted every where, and by persons of the first distinction in point of learning and quality. As an acknowledgment of the favours which he had received from the French nation in the course of his travels, he presented a part of the seeds of rare plants, which he had collected in Abyssinia, to the king's garden at Paris, and a copy of the prophecies of Enoch, a literary curiosity of considerable value, to the Royal Library.

“His health being still unconfirmed, he set out from Paris about the end of July, for Italy. On reaching Bologna, he was welcomed by his friend the Marquis di Ranuzzi, and spent about two months at the baths of Poretta. His health was completely established during his residence at Bologna; where he first reposed from the fatigues of travel, and found leisure to finish such of his drawings of architecture and natural history as had not been completed in Africa.

“From Bologna he went to Rome, much against the advice of his friends, who knew that the causes of his excursion to that city arose from circumstances unworthy of his notice, and likely in the end to prove dangerous to himself. Fortunately, no disagreeable consequences took place. On the contrary, his reception there was perhaps more flattering to a mind like

like his, which revered ancestry and noble descent, than any which he elsewhere experienced. That city was the last retreat of some families which had formerly held a high rank in his native country; and though the political causes which had brought them so low never influenced any part of his opinions, he was not insensible to the pleasure with which they enjoyed his fame. He received particular marks of attention from many of the Roman nobility, and was introduced to Pope Clement XIV, the celebrated Ganganelli, who presented him with a series of gold medals relating to several transactions of his pontificate.

“ Mr. Bruce returned to France in spring 1774, where he resided till June following. He left Paris about the middle of that month, and arrived soon after in England, from which he had been absent twelve years. The public, as might have been expected, was impatient to hear his adventures; and every person of distinction or learning, who had any curiosity to know the wonders of foreign countries, sought his acquaintance. He shewed his numerous and beautiful drawings, which obtained particular praise; and his collection of Ethiopic manuscripts, a sufficient proof, to such as could read them, of his travels in Abyssinia. Soon after his arrival in London he was introduced at court, and graciously received by his Majesty, who was pleased to honour with his royal approbation Mr. Bruce's labours in the cause of discovery, and to accept those drawings of Baalbec, Palmyra, and the African cities, which the traveller had promised to make for his collection.

“ After a residence of some months in London, he prepared to visit Scotland. The curiosity of the public respecting his travels, continued to operate nearly to the same extent as formerly; but several persons, who were envious of his fame, ignorant of his merits, or offended at the little deference which he paid to their learning, began to depreciate his character, and to propagate stories injurious to his reputation. Mr. Bruce's manner of conversation in private companies, was open, free, and animated. On occasions, when he thought proper to amuse his friends with an account of his adventures, he generally fixed upon such of them as differed most from common occurrences. A description of the savage manners of the Galla, of the bloody feasts of the Abyssinians, of the negro court of Sennaar, or even of his own artifices to astonish and awe barbarians, was calculated to amuse men of sense and judgment, who knew something of the variety of human nature; but persons of a different character judged it incredible, because it was extraordinary. Most of the obloquy, however, which Mr. Bruce experienced, was owing to envy. He had lived too long in a state of independence to become the humble admirer of any literary man; and had seen too much to be instructed by those dictators who presided in the different societies which, at that time, assumed the direction of learning and science. Some of his enemies, not content with questioning his veracity in particular instances, asserted that he had never been in Abyssinia; and this palpable falsehood, which any scholar might have detected by looking at Mr. Bruce's
Ethiopic

Ethiopic manuscripts, was afterwards believed by many on the authority of Mr. Wortley Montague, and the Baron de Tott.

"A proud sense of honour and independence led him to treat with indignant but silent contempt these insinuations, which were not spread for the purpose of ascertaining truth, but of defrauding living merit of its fame and reward. He found all who were best able to judge of his character and abilities, ready to give full credit to his narrative, generous in their sentiments, respectful in their inquiries, and candid in their opinions respecting his pretensions and abilities.

"Mr. Bruce left London in the beginning of autumn on his way to Scotland. He was received with much joy and attention at Edinburgh, and all over the country. During the four last years of his travels, no certain information had been received concerning him: A report of his death had been circulated, the truth or falsehood of which remained unknown till he arrived at Marseilles.

"As he now intended to settle in his native country, he rebuilt his house, and began to regulate the affairs of his estate, which had gone into disorder during his absence. A number of lawsuits, arising from various circumstances, engrossed his attention, and, with other avocations, totally prevented, for a long time, his application to literature.

"On the 20th of May 1776, he married Mary, daughter of Thomas Dundas of Fingask, esq. by lady Janet, daughter of Charles sixth earl of Lauderdale; an amiable and accomplished woman, whose memory is still revered in that part of the country. The public ex-

pected that, after having settled at home, he would immediately proceed to compose and publish an account of his travels; but this he was obliged to defer, for the reasons already mentioned.

"For some time after his return to Scotland, he kept up a correspondence with his friends in France. At the request of one of these, he amused himself with translating the prophecies of Enoch from the Abyssinian; but the subject, as he advanced in the translation, displeased him, and he soon abandoned it. After his marriage, he dropped his French correspondence, and had little intercourse with any literary men, except with such as visited him in the country. In the shooting season, he generally spent some time at a place called Ardwhillery, near Callendar in Monteith, in the Highlands of Scotland. He was engaged during his residence there, in more attractive and peaceful pursuits than those of ambition or controversy. Happy in his family, and satisfied that he had done, or at least suffered, as much as any man then alive, in order to instruct and gratify the public, he allowed his mind an interval of repose between the toils of travelling, and the vexations of appearing before the public as a candidate for literary fame.

"He accordingly made a slow progress in transcribing or arranging his journals, for nearly twelve years after his return. It is uncertain, indeed, whether he would not have suffered them to remain at last unpublished, if a domestic misfortune had not obliged him to seek the consolation of study. Mrs. Bruce's health, which had always been delicate, began to decline rapidly, in the winter of 1784. She had

had been long afflicted with a lingering disease, which, in the spring of the year 1785, brought her, in very early life, to the grave.

“This melancholy event deprived Mr. Bruce of his principal source of happiness, and left him in solitude. His friends endeavoured to sooth his affliction, by recalling his mind to the actions of the former part of his life, and by contrasting his courage and fortitude in the performance of these, with his present dejection. The hon. Daines Barrington, in particular, urged him to undertake a task, to which he was called by the duty which he owed to himself, and by the sincerest wishes of all who knew him, or who felt an interest in African discovery. Flattered by their encouragement, and willing to escape from painful recollections, he began to enlarge the history of his different routes, and to translate the annals of Abyssinia from the original MSS. The narrative of the travels was first written; the reflections on the Indian trade, on the ancient history of Abyssinia, and on other subjects, were added afterwards. Part of the first sketches were written with his own hand, and part dictated to his clerk, which last was his usual method of composing.

“Mr. Bruce, when once engaged in any undertaking, was eager and indefatigable. The greatest part of the work was finished before 1788, and submitted to the inspection of the hon. Daines Barrington, and some other friends, alike eminent for their literary talents and their high station in life. It was printed at Edinburgh, and thence transmitted to London, where it was published by the Robinsons,

in 1790, in five volumes, quarto, under the title of ‘*Travels to discover the Source of the Nile, in the years 1768, 1769, 1770, 1771, 1772, and 1773.*’

“In the four first volumes the author gave a view of his journeys in Barbary, Egypt, Arabia, Abyssinia, and Nubia, in the order of time in which they had been performed. In the fifth volume he comprised an account of such articles of natural history as he judged most worthy of selection from the numerous notes and drawings he had taken in the East. In an introduction to the whole work, in the first volume, he gave a short account of the motives which induced him to undertake his perilous expedition into Abyssinia, and of his reasons for describing, only in a cursory manner, Barbary and Egypt, countries better known to the learned, and more accessible to travellers than the other. In the second volume he entered into a full detail of the history of Abyssinia, from the earliest times, which he illustrated from new materials collected in that country, and with many important and striking observations drawn from his own experience. This history occupies the third and fourth books; the work itself being divided into six.

“The reception which these Travels met with from the public at large, was exceedingly flattering. The book was universally read, and commended, by persons of the first literary reputation, for the large fund of instruction and amusement which it contained. The only attacks made on the work, or rather on the character of its author, appeared in the anonymous periodical publications of the day, some of which,

which, from mercenary, and others from malicious motives, in their respective writers, were filled with abuse and misrepresentation. It was translated into French by a writer of the name of Castera, in the same year in which it was published in London, and had a rapid circulation on the Continent.

"In attempting to estimate the merits and defects of a work so extensive and multifarious, it is necessary to consider the end in view when it was composed. Books of travels are written in order to amuse as well as to instruct; but it is no uncommon thing for literary men to appreciate the value of such works solely by the quantity of information which they afford. Yet long scientific details, however new and valuable, cannot be popular: and those books of travels, which abound in them, may be praised by a multitude, but are perused only by a small number of readers.

"Had Mr. Bruce intended to write merely for the use of the geographer, politician, and natural philosopher, he would have compressed his narrative into a much smaller size, and have divested his observations of every extraneous circumstance. But he wrote to instruct and amuse the general reader; and this is a sufficient reason for his devoting so considerable a portion of his book to the history of his own adventures, and to that of the persons with whom he was connected in the course of his travels.

"His work, therefore, is to be considered as an amusing and instructive narrative of various journeys in foreign countries, interspersed with observations on man and nature, not written by a scientific, but by an able, accomplished, and

intelligent traveller. He relates his own actions with the same freedom with which he describes those of others, because they formed a part of his subject, and were interesting enough to merit remembrance.

"The Introduction to his Travels contains the most recent account of the interior of Barbary; and it must be regretted, that the encouragement of the public did not enable him to publish his excellent drawings, along with a fuller description of the ruins found in that country. The cursory narrative which he writes of his voyage up the Nile, and of his journey to Cosseir, is replete with useful and curious information. He was among the first who endeavoured to correct and settle the hydrography of the Red Sea; and, though later surveys have ascertained it with greater precision, his observations are valuable and numerous. On entering Abyssinia, he presents to the view of the reader an empire nearly unknown, exhibiting modes of religion, manners, and government, widely different from those of all European nations. Without some previous knowledge of the language and history of that country, the reader becomes less able to judge of his accuracy; but his abilities in describing characters, and in delineating human nature, strike the most ordinary mind, and greatly excel those of any other traveller. No stronger proofs of this assertion need be mentioned than the intimate acquaintance which, in perusing his narrative, we form with all his principal characters, and the regret with which, on arriving at the conclusion of the account, we leave a country, to which the mind has acquired a kind of

of local attachment. Above all other writers of travels, he possesses the art of giving a lively, complete, and interesting portrait of those persons with whom he was particularly connected, and of the rude state of society in which he occasionally lived in barbarous countries.

“The journals of his routes in Abyssinia and Nubia were written with the most minute attention, and form a valuable accession to geographical science. The Jesuits had sketched a map of these countries, but they had determined scientifically the position of none of the places. Mr. Bruce has ascertained the latitude and longitude of a greater number of places in Africa, than any other traveller, and deserves particular imitation in this respect.

“We are further indebted to him for a recent and copious description of the various tribes which inhabit the eastern coast of that continent, from the 11th to the 24th degree of N. latitude; in short, for an accurate view of the moral and natural phenomena of a most extensive and varied tract of country, nearly inaccessible to discovery, and almost unknown to Europeans. His account of the kingdom of Sennaar is copious and unique; and his journey through the desert of Nubia, on the eastern side of the Nile, is in the highest degree interesting.

“In collecting into one view the principal merits of his work, it may be thought an omission, that no notice has been taken of his discovery of the sources of the Nile. The springs of the Abay, which he visited, were generally reputed to be the chief source of the Egyptian river when he left

Europe. The Abay itself is unquestionably one of the principal branches of the Nile, and seems to be considered by the natives of Habbesh and Atbara, as the higher part of the great river. But the claim of the Abay to this last honour is contested, as well as the discovery of its sources by Mr. Bruce. Admitting both to be well founded, this discovery, whatever ideas of imaginary glory it may have excited, or whatever influence these may have had in promoting his journey, seems, when considered by itself, to be comparatively of very little importance.

“The defects of this work, which bear a small proportion to its merits, arise from circumstances common to most performances of the kind, a love of theory and system, a desire to please the reader, and, in several instances, from a degree of inattention and carelessness, not easily avoided in composing a long narrative of minute transactions.

“In the course of his voyages on the Red Sea, Mr. Bruce had observed many singular phenomena, which, along with the information given by ancient writers, led his mind to reflect on the first establishment of the Indian trade, and the navigation of the Arabian gulf, in the most remote ages. Imagining that the birth-place of ancient civilization lay in Ethiopia, that is, in the country between Azab, or Adel, and Syene, he entered into a theoretical history of the establishment of trade and commerce, and the invention of the arts and sciences, particularly of architecture, astronomy, and writing, by the Shepherds of Azab and Meroc, and by their kindred, the Cushites, who afterwards peopled Egypt. He has executed

executed this undertaking with much learning and ingenuity, particularly that part of it which relates to the triennial voyages of the Jews and Phenicians to Tarshish. But it is easy to see, that his theory, however applicable in a few instances, is liable to powerful objections. He seems to take it for granted that the Shepherds and Cushites, names of indefinite signification, occupied the whole extent of country already mentioned, without dissension or difference, in the remotest times; and that their posterity inhabits Abyssinia and Atbara at this day. To simplify ancient history in this manner, by leaving out of the account many of the scattered facts which are preserved concerning these nations in their ancient, as well as what is known of them in their modern state, is a dangerous experiment, apt to deceive both the author and his readers. His account of the building of Axum, Meroe, and Thebes, and of the origin of writing, is therefore unsatisfactory; and, when he descends to the history of the modern Abyssinians, who have no authentic annals till a late period, he gives too much credit to their national fables, which deduce the line of their kings from Solomon and the Queen of Sheba, and pretend to derive their government, laws, and institutions, from the Jews. The prevalence of the Jewish religion in Habbesh, before the æra of Christianity, has also inclined him to suppose, that the Falasha, the Agows, and the people of Amhara and Gafat, came originally from Palestine, though most of their languages have not the slightest affinity to the Hebrew.

“The third and fourth books of the Travels, containing the history

of Abyssinia, from the year 1298 to the time of his arrival in the country, along with the preceding one, already mentioned, on the Indian trade, form a long episode, which has been considered by many readers as uninteresting, and a clog on the narrative.

“Although it be impossible to give to any national history, much less that of a barbarous country, the attractions of personal adventure; Mr. Bruce has exerted himself with considerable success to enliven this digression, into which he was led by particular circumstances. He possessed a large collection of original MSS. on Abyssinian history. The information contained in these was entirely new; and, as he was the first who brought it into Europe, he naturally judged himself warranted to give an authentic history of Abyssinia in the course of his work, not in the dry form of a literal translation, but interspersed with his own reflections and observations. He placed it before the narrative of his Abyssinian journey, in order to serve as a key to the characters and events of his own time. Though it interrupts the story of his adventures, and must be, upon the whole, less interesting, it contains much useful and original information, and cannot be passed over without throwing an obscurity upon the rest of the work.

“Another source of defect is owing to a natural desire of rendering his work agreeable and popular. This is remarkable in the rapidity with which he hurries on his narrative. He seizes our whole attention; he delights us by the variety and importance of his characters, his glowing description, and manly sense; but he seldom stops to

to give any general and collective views of the manners, population, or extent of the country in which he travels. To the same cause must be ascribed, the freedom with which he has translated the conversations which passed between himself and the natives. He perceived, that a literal version would, in many instances, sound harsh and ridiculous, without having the merit of conveying a just idea of the speaker's sentiments and character. He chose the most agreeable alternative; and therefore the speeches appear, to an English reader, too easy and vernacular to be the genuine production of barbarians. It is only a person who is acquainted with the Abyssinian language and phraseology, who can trace their authenticity. Some of his characters have been thought too refined and sentimental for their particular state of society. There are, perhaps, some grounds for this objection: but Mr. Bruce was intimately acquainted with the characters which he describes; and it must be observed, that those very persons, whom, on landing on a barbarous shore, we consider indiscriminately as savages, display, on further acquaintance, much of that variety of character, understanding, and feeling, which we expect only in civilized society.

"The last class of defects in the work arose from inattention, of which it is unnecessary to exhibit instances, as most of them are referred to in the course of the succeeding volumes. His knowledge of the ancient languages was sufficient for the purposes of reading and research; but he had not been trained to the drudgery of verbal criticism and minute classical information. In the heat of controversy,

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he sometimes mistakes the sense of the author whom he quotes, and this has yielded an imaginary triumph over his writings, to the commentators and critics on the Continent, who ridiculously call in question his moral character, and the general merits of his work, because he has misinterpreted a passage of Herodotus or Strabo.

"Though his journals were in general copious, he too often omitted to consult them, trusting to the extent and accuracy of his recollection. At the distance of fifteen years, a part of so many incidents must have been effaced from the most tenacious memory. Before he composed his narrative, his mind had begun to suffer from the indolence natural to his time of life. He was not sensible, that, by relying with too great security on his memory, he was in danger of confounding dates, actions, and circumstances, which might have been easily rectified by his papers. To this inattention must be imputed those particular inconsistencies, which have been unjustly ascribed to his vanity or want of veracity.

"As a writer, Mr. Bruce's style is, in general, simple, manly, and unaffected. If, in some instances, it be deficient in purity, owing to his national habits, and mean opinion of the mechanical part of writing, it has the merit of being his own, an advantage often denied to the narratives of other travellers. He received no assistance from literary men, and imitated no favourite author. He is sometimes diffuse and prolix in the theoretical parts of his work, but his narrative is always well written. His descriptions are animated; his expressions are often much more appropriate and happy than

than occur, on similar occasions, in the works of writers who have enjoyed every opportunity of study and practice. There are perhaps more sublime passages in his travels, executed under the immediate impulse of genius, than are to be found in any other book of the kind. His character of Räs Michael has been pronounced genuine, because it is such as no writer could have invented since the time of Shakspeare. It may be added, that it requires no common abilities to describe a character, which the imagination of Shakspeare alone could have equalled in the department of fiction.

“ In closing these cursory observations on the only work which Mr. Bruce published, it is but justice to observe, that, extensive as it is, it comprehends but a moderate share of his labours. It contains only a sketch of his travels in Barbary, and none of the beautiful drawings which he made in that country. His splendid delineations of the ruins of Baalbec and Palmyra, his large collection of drawings of natural history, and his Arabic and Abyssinian manuscripts, ought to be considered as an accession to the literary treasures of the country, procured by his unwearied exertions and industry.

“ After the publication of his travels, Mr. Bruce renewed his correspondence with his friends in England, particularly with the hon. Daines Barrington. The proceedings of the African Association excited his attention. It was expected that some of the travellers, then on their way through Africa, would reach Senaar or Habbesh; though Mr. Bruce considered both as unlikely to happen. He applied, at intervals, to study, and amused

himself with comparing part of the Ethiopic translation of the Bible with the original languages. He undertook this collation at the request of some persons, eminent for their high rank in the church, and equally conspicuous for learning and piety. Three years after the publication of the Travels, he was advised by his friends to print a second edition in octavo, and he had made all his arrangements for that purpose, when his death suddenly prevented the execution of the design.

“ On Saturday, the 26th day of April 1794, having entertained some company at Kinnaird; as he was going down stairs, about eight o'clock in the evening, to hand a lady into a carriage, his foot slipped, and he fell down headlong, from about the sixth or seventh step from the ground. He was taken up in a state of apparent insensibility, with no marks of contusion, one of his hands only appearing a little hurt. Medical assistance was immediately procured, but with no success. Though, some hours after the accident happened, there appeared symptoms of recovery, these gradually vanished, and he expired early the next morning.

“ His remains were attended by a numerous and respectable company, on Thursday following, to the church-yard of Larbert, and deposited in the tomb which he had erected to the memory of his wife and child.

“ Mr. Bruce's stature was six feet four inches; his person was large and well-proportioned; and his strength correspondent to his size and stature. In his youth he possessed activity; but, in the latter part of his life, he became corpulent;

plent; though, when he chose to exert himself, the effects of time were not perceptible. The colour of his hair was a kind of dark red; his complexion was sanguine; and the features of his face elegantly formed. The general tone of his voice was loud and strong, but his articulation was sometimes careless and indistinct. His walk was stately; his air noble and commanding. He was attentive to his dress, and was particularly successful in wearing that of the nations through which he passed, in an easy and graceful manner, to which he was indebted in part for his good reception, especially in Abyssinia.

“The leading qualities of his mind were courage, magnanimity, and prudence. He was endowed with a large portion of that elevated spirit, without which no enterprise of importance is conceived or executed. He was ambitious to be known as the performer of honourable and useful undertakings, and was equally intrepid and dextrous in effecting his designs. Though he justly ascribed his success to causes which no man can controul or direct, he owed much of it to his own precaution and superior good sense. His mode of travelling was peculiar to himself. He omitted no opportunity of securing the means of safety in foreign countries, by methods which other travellers have sometimes neglected, to their great disadvantage. To use his own expression, he was not to be duped by ordinary letters of recommendation; he knew the style of the East, and always attempted to gain the protection of great men, by some hold on their interest.

“His personal accomplishments fitted him, in a superior manner,

for the undertakings in which he engaged. His constitution was robust; he had inured himself to every kind of fatigue and exercise. His long residence among the Barbary Arabs, the best horsemen in the world, had enabled him to excel in the management of the horse, and in the exercise of the lance and javelin. His skill in the use of fire-arms was uncommonly great. He knew also how to display those accomplishments to the best advantage among barbarians, and seldom failed to excite their applause and astonishment.

“In qualifications of a different description, he equalled, if not surpassed the generality of travellers. His memory was excellent, and his understanding vigorous and well cultivated. He found no difficulty in acquiring languages of any kind. He understood French, Italian, Spanish, and Portuguese, the two first of which he spoke and wrote with facility. Besides Greek and Latin, which he read well, though not critically, he knew the Hebrew, Chaldee, and Syriac; and in the latter part of his life, compared several portions of the Scriptures in those related dialects. He read and spoke with ease, Arabic, Ethiopic, and Amharic. Necessity had made him acquainted with these last, and impressed them deeply on his mind. He had applied, during the greatest part of his life, to the study of astronomy, and other practical branches of mathematical learning. His abilities in drawing must have been considerable, as his taste in this particular was acknowledged to be excellent. Though the attempts which were made to depreciate his character after his return, prevented him from mentioning the exact share of

assistance

assistance which he had in executing his beautiful collection of drawings, it is certain that he received occasional help, and used it to much advantage.

“ Mr. Bruce’s temper, as he candidly confesses, was irritable and passionate; but his heart was warm; his affections ardent; and his moral feelings extremely acute. His friendships were sincere, and, in general, permanent, though sometimes interrupted by suspicion. He enjoyed the esteem and regard of almost every eminent literary character in Britain and France; of the Comte de Buffon, M. Guys, M. Daubenton; of the Barrington family, of Drs. Douglas, Blair, and Herschel; and of many others of the very first ranks of virtue and science. He was an easy, cheerful, and instructive companion. As he had a fixed regard for honour, justice, and integrity, he could not bear the slightest insinuation against his character; and, to relieve himself from the vexations of anonymous abuse, he publicly declared his resolution of never paying the smallest attention to any criticisms made on his writings by persons who concealed their names.

“ When he observed other men deficient in moral conduct, he usually expressed his contempt of them in the most open unqualified manner. This procured him many enemies. Persons of a doubtful character avoided him, and declaimed against his haughtiness, vanity, and other vices of their own creation. Like most men of high spirit and superior knowledge, he was a jealous neighbour to such as assumed to themselves claims of pre-eminence in the country, to which he did not consider them as entitled;

to others, who pursued a different conduct, he was friendly, affable, and attentive.

“ He discharged the public duties of society with superior ability and judgment. In private life he was, if possible, still more respectable. As a husband and a father, he deserved the highest praise. He entertained his friends, and strangers, with elegance, hospitality, and the most affable politeness. He loved to display, as far as suitable, the magnificence that had long distinguished the name which he inherited. He was kind and indulgent to his servants, and pleased to see every one around him prosperous and happy. He used to celebrate, with his tenants and domestics, the stated festivals observed by his forefathers, in the feudal times, and always enjoyed, in the highest degree, the common happiness on these occasions. He was fond of rustic pleasantries and humour; and this, it will be readily observed, from the histories of Aboucouffi, Strates, Woldo, and others in *the Travels*, constituted a particular feature of his mind.

“ There was nothing peculiar in Mr. Bruce’s habits of life. He neither rose very early, nor sat late, except on particular occasions. His journeys in the East were generally made in the morning, for obvious reasons; and, in warm climates, he took much exercise, and paid great attention to his health. He was moderate in his use of liquors of all kinds, but not abstemious beyond the usual practice of society. He was a hard student when engaged in any literary pursuit, and eager in the prosecution of every design which he had begun to execute.

“ The most defective part of his character arose from his constitutional

tional temper, which disposed him to be suspicious, and hasty in taking offence. His enmities therefore were sometimes capricious, though, in general, well founded. His love of ancestry, and practice of telling his own exploits, though magnified into vices by the weakest of his enemies, scarcely deserve notice as imperfections, though they certainly were prominent features in his character. A brave and virtuous man must always feel a pleasure in remembering that he is like such of his forefathers as most deserved to be imitated and remembered; and no satisfactory reason can be assigned why a traveller should not relate his adventures. The pride of ancestry is ridiculous only when it is substituted for personal merit; and the practice of telling one's own actions, is reprehensible only when these are well known, trifling, or exaggerated.

"Distinguished by his regard for the memory of ancestors who had been eminently loyal and patriotic, it is not surprizing that Mr. Bruce loved his king and country with the warmest affection. He would have been the first to support either of these on any dangerous emergency. He considered the French revolution, and all such violent attempts at reformation, merely as a subversion of society, for the purpose of filling the places of the great with new adventurers. He knew the French nation well, predicted the consequences of its republican frenzy, and shed tears on receiving an account of the fate of the king.

"His religious principles were founded on the best basis, the Scriptures, and a firm belief of an over-ruling Providence. He was

not attached to any sect; he detested fanaticism; and frequently took occasion to expose it. He used to recommend a diligent perusal of the Scriptures, as preferable to that of all other theological writings. His mind, accustomed to dangerous situations, from which Providence alone could deliver him, had contracted a slight and amiable tinge of superstition; sometimes an attendant on warm unaffected piety, though never arising, in understandings like his, from its ordinary causes.

"On estimating, therefore, the various merits of Mr. Bruce's character, the superior and numerous endowments and accomplishments which he employed in executing undertakings useful to society, and the uniform regularity with which he combined the practice of morality and religion with the ease and active life of a gentleman, it will not be considered as presumptuous to affirm, that his name is justly entitled to a place in the list of those, who have been eminently conspicuous for genius, valour, and virtue."

Of the Country and Customs of the Abyssinians. [From the Same.]

ABYSSINIAN Harvests.—

"They first sow barley from the end of April to the beginning of May, or later; that is, towards the first rains. This ripens in the rains in June; and is carried off the fields into the house, that it may not rot. Then they sow fitches, which likewise ripen in the rains after. In September they sow wheat, or teff, which is cut down in December; and, if they have water, they sow barley, or fitches, again in January.

are. In Woggora (a very fertile province), there is seed-time, and harvest, and ploughing, in every month in the year; water being easily diverted to the grounds. The rent paid to the king for the ground is one-tenth of what they reap, yet, with all this, they are all poor; for a harvest, at a medium, is about twenty after one; and they sometimes, nay, very often, scarce reap the seed. They never manure the ground; and there are great quantities of rats and innumerable ants, that consume their corn at different, nay, at all periods of its growth. All their five harvests do not, in produce, equal one Egyptian one; and they are at five times the labour. In the several villages, living, in general, is very miserable; and, in general, people of consideration scarcely know any other diet than *teff* bread and bouza. Whether this *teff* is black, or white, is the whole difference between the diet of master and servant.

“Abyssinian Dress.”—The principal part of the dress of the natives is a large cotton cloth, 24 *peck* (cubits) in length, and one and a half in breadth, with a blue and yellow stripe round the bottom of it. This blue is not died; but the Surat blue cloths are unrivalled, and woven for this purpose; and the yellow they die with *suf*, the yellow thistle. The best for ordinary wear costs 10 salts, or $1\frac{1}{4}$ pataka, about 6s. 6d. English. It is called *Kuara*, as probably coming from that province. They are very beautiful and light. The other pieces of dress are breeches which reach to their mid-thighs; and girt with a white girdle of cloth to the common people; but the better sort

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have red Indian cotton cloths for breeches; and silk, or worsted coloured girdles from the Levant. When they ride, they only hold their stirrups between their great and second toes. Even the king rides bare-footed; and being used chiefly to mules, they are far inferior horsemen to the Arabs.

“Servants’ Wages at Gondar.”—At Gondar a maid-servant receives 15 salts per annum, and is fed in the house. A man-servant is paid 4 pataka yearly, which correspond to 4 wakea, or ounces of gold, Abyssinian weight; and receives besides two loaves, or cakes of *teff*, for his support daily. If his master is good, he sometimes gives him a little flesh, lentiles, or vetches. He is not obliged to clothe him, but he sometimes gives him a pair of trousers, which consist of about one-fourth of a yard of white cloth.

“With respect to carriage, &c. three bundles of wood, which are brought from Techagassa, three hours walking, cost a salt. The carriage of a jar, or manteca, full of wine, or honey, from Emfras, eight hours journey, pays a salt, of the weight of 3 *saranzala*, or so.

“Thirty-three *teff* bread cost a salt; the loaves are about three lines thick, and 18 inches diameter. A pair of shoes (*pantusse*) cost a salt. Eight and a quarter pecks of cloth is the least gift that can be offered in the country.”

“Bouza.”—Manner in which the Abyssinians make a kind of beer, that, in their language, is called bouza.

“To make this, they use *tocusso* simply; but sometimes they mix it with grain (wheat), or dora, or all three

three together ; but in ordinary to-cusso is best. A jar of to-cusso, or of the three sorts of grain, contains as much as is sufficient to make two loaves, that are a tenth part of the whole jar ; besides which, they use about half a rotol of Ghesh leaves.

"The first part of the process is to grind the to-cusso, after which they take a fourth part of it, and knead it with water and leaven, as if to make bread. This they put in a jar to ferment for two days, at the end of which they make a good many thin large cakes, and dry them on the fire till they become as hard as a stone, then break them down into crumbs, and put them in a large vessel full of water, capable of holding six times the volume of the grain ; or for one jar of grain, the vessel holds five of water, and one for the quantity of grain. At the same time that they put in the bruised bread, as above mentioned, into that quantity of water, the other things should be got ready to go in also. The grain ought to be fermented for two days, then dried in the sun, and afterwards ground into meal. The Ghesh leaves are ground likewise. The remainder of the meal, or those three-fourths that were not used to make the bread, must be put into a hollow oven, over a fire, with a small quantity of water, and constantly stirred with a stick, until it become a paste ; and when the water is dried up, more is put in, constantly stirring the mass until it become black like a coal. The whole so prepared, the crumbs, the mass, and the leaves, are put together into the large jar, and let alone for a day, after which it is poured off, and preserved in jars, well stopped. At the end of seven

or eight days, this liquor begins to be too strong, and is best when fresh, two or three days old."

"*Marriage.*—Marriage is not considered in Abyssinia as a sacrament, yet the church ordains some rules to be observed, in order that the man and the woman may be faithful towards one another. The ordinary method of marriage among people of condition, and among those who most fear God, is the following : The man, when he resolves to marry a girl, sends some person to her father to ask his daughter in marriage. It seldom happens that she is refused ; and when she is granted, the future husband is called into the girl's house, and an oath is taken reciprocally by the parties, that they will maintain due fidelity to one another. Then the father of the bride presents to the bridegroom the fortune that he will give : it consists of a particular sum of gold, some oxen, sheep, or horses, &c. according to the circumstances of the people. Then the bridegroom is obliged to find surety for the said goods ; which is some one of his friends that presents himself, and becomes answerable for him in case he should wish to dismiss his wife, and be not able, through dissipation, or otherwise, to restore all that he has gotten.

"Further, at the time when they display the fortune of the bride, the husband is obliged to promise a certain sum of money, or an equivalent, in effects, to his wife, in case he should choose to abandon her, or separate himself from her. This must also be confirmed by an oath of the future husband, and of his surety. A certain time of twenty or thirty days, is determined also by

by a reciprocal oath, that on the last of these they will go together to church, and receive the sacrament. When all these matters are concluded, the future spouse appoints the marriage day, and then returns home. When that day arrives, the intended husband goes again to his bride's house, where she appears, and shows him her moveables (*mobiglia*), or clothes; and he must promise and swear anew the forementioned articles; and that he will use his wife well; never leave her without meat or clothing; keep her in a good house, &c. all which his surety must confirm. When this is over, the bridegroom takes his lady on his shoulders, and carries her off to his house. If it be at a distance, he does the same thing, but only goes entirely round about the bride's house; then sets her down, and returns her into it. After this ceremony, a solemn banquet takes place, consisting of raw beef and bread, and honey-wine, or hydro-mel, or another beverage from grain, called bouza, a sort of beer very sour and disgusting. The feast being ended, the parties mount each a mule, and ride to the bridegroom's house, where is concluded all the ceremony necessary to marriage before they live together. When they have lived together during the appointed term of twenty or thirty days, they must both appear at church, and declare before the priest, that they are husband and wife, and that they are come to receive the sacrament. The priest, without more ado, celebrates mass; they communicate, and return home.

"After some time, although both have sworn to live all their life faith-

ful to one another, they take the liberty to separate; if it is the husband who wishes to get off, he, or his surety, must pay the wife that which she brought, and likewise the sum stipulated in case of separation. If they have had children, the boys always go with the mother, even if there were but an only child; if there be no boys, she takes none of the girls. When the separation comes from the lady, the husband is liable to no restitution, provided he has been always faithful to the married state, as promised; but if it is on account of his bad conduct, or irregular life, that she forms this resolution, he is always subject to his promise, and the above mentioned articles.

"It sometimes happens that the husband and wife, mutually, without any cause of ill-will, agree to part; in this case, the effects brought by the wife are united with the sum stipulated by the husband; then divided into equal shares, of which the parties take each one, and return to their former places of abode.

"This is the established form of those marriages which are said to be celebrated justly, and according to the church. But with regard to inferior people, these seldom take place; in proof of which I can mention what a person of credit asserted, who had lived twenty-five years in this country. He affirmed, that in all that time he had not seen, nor known, of a marriage at the church, in the places where he lived, except one single instance. I may add to his testimony of a priest in Tigré, who swore solemnly, that in all Addua, the capital of that province, he was the only man who was married accord-

ing to the church, that is, in the fore mentioned manner.

“ The ordinary way of marrying is this: When two persons ***** Here the MS. breaks off; L. Balugani having been either interrupted, or weary of the subject. It is to be regretted, that he has not given the manner in which the bulk of a nation, very little influenced by Christianity, perform one of the most essential ceremonies in life. His account of the marriage of the church is confirmed by Gregory of Hagaro-Christos, in Ludolph's Abyssinian History and Commentary.

“ It may be gathered from various hints in Mr. Bruce's papers, that the Abyssinian peasants and soldiers marry in a few minutes. No settlement, portion, or surety, being necessary, they eat an ox, or two or three sheep raw; the favourite method of cutting pieces from them, while alive, being preferred; a great deal of bouza is drunk on the occasion; dancing, shouting, and various kinds of licentiousness, are practised; if a priest be near, he sprinkles them with holy water, and repeats a hallelujah. The company join in the benediction; and no delicacy of manners constrains either the parties, or the guests. The bride does not appear abroad till about ten days after her marriage. These connections are easily dissolved; but the king's judges, and the governors of provinces, take care that the children shall be maintained by their parents or others. Judgment is given in all matters by the civil courts; nothing being left to the clergy but the decision of matters fixed by the canons (kapoun), or positive law of the church.

“ The sons of the royal family

confined in Wechne are allowed to marry, but it is only by connivance. No persons of rank give their daughters to these exiles. On the other hand, the Ozoros, or princesses, are given away to every great man in the kingdom, and their marriages and divorces are scandalously frequent. The ceremony at the marriage of a prince or princess is as follows:—The match having been settled previously, according to the views of the court, preparations are made for the festival, which is generally held during the rainy season, while the country is secure and abandoned to pleasure. The king being seated on the throne, in the large hall of audience, the parties are introduced before him, with their respective attendants. After kissing his hand, they are all magnificently clothed in dresses of brocade, or other rich stuffs, with presents of knives, &c. corresponding to their habits. The crown is sometimes set on their heads; they receive the benediction of the kees hatse, or king's almoner; after which they retire clothed with the caftan, and mount horses given them by the king, on which they ride in great state, in the midst of acclamations of joy and prosperity, to the house of the bridegroom. A banquet or dinner is prepared there; in the course of which, many oxen are slaughtered at the door, in order to furnish *brind*, which is served up reeking from the animal. Deep drinking then commences; in which the ladies and gentlemen indulge together to a degree incredible, because it is unknown in Europe. These marriages are by no means permanent: many of the Ozoros, who always rule their husbands, marry as often as they please; dissolving

solving the marriage preceding at the dictates of convenience or fancy. But notwithstanding the general licentiousness, there are found several faithful wives and mothers, who are content to deviate from the common example.

“When any of the king’s children dies, it is the custom to hang the audience-chamber with tapestry and curtains, and spread carpets on the floor. The king having entered, sits on the throne, and the *itegerd*, a set of professed mourners of the female sex, along with the nobles and household servants, attend. One of the Licaonte, a priest, reads over a list of the former kings with great solemnity, adding after every name, ‘May the Lord have mercy on his soul, even to the fifth generation.’ The assembly reply, ‘Amen, ycoune, so let it be.’ At last he says, “Greatly may the Lord have mercy on the soul of ****, who died this day;” on which the Ozoros and their women, the mourners, the household, and the nobles, all set up a loud and general cry of lamentation, and weep for some time. If the person has died in the camp or city, the coffin is brought before the king; but if not, he performs the ceremony without it. It is afterwards carried out with a sendic and nagarcet, and buried by the Betwudet, or Billeta-nagueta dakakin, in the manner which shall be afterwards mentioned.

“Koscam is the richest church in Abyssinia; it is situated on the banks of Kahha; below a ruinous palace or house of the king. There are about forty houses in the village, all belonging to the principal Kuaragna, the party of the queen. All the Kuaragna, Eshte, Eusebius, and the rest, had their troops drawn

up to attack Michael when called to Gondar by Joas, at the advice of Lubo. They designed to engage him on the Angrab, but failed completely. The residing people at Koscam, after Joas’s death, were in great fear of Michael, and wore a hood or cowl, like the monks. Gondar is $2\frac{1}{4}$ miles, perhaps three, at its greatest length, and no where above a mile broad. The palace is in the centre. Below the town, on the S. W. at the conflux of the Angrab and Kahha, is the Mahometan town. These rivers inclose the town on its N. and S. sides, and join on the W. On the S. E. part of it is the church of Debra-berhan. On the N. E. is Kedus Gabriel. Two suburbs above Kedus Gabriel, is Anta Naggar, the hill where, till Yasous’s time, the Tigre, in consequence of a proclamation, were obliged to halt, and not allowed to enter Gondar.

“In Abyssinia there remains not a shadow of the hospitality which is said to be a trait in the character of barbarous nations.

“They divide the day into five parts (*humisi*). From the twilight, which is here short, it is nagga; about nine it is called selest, or the third hour; mid-day is kutter; three o’clock, tessaat; and sun-set, serk. They judge by the height of the sun, having neither clocks nor watches. The other hours mentioned in their books are counted 1, 2, 3, &c. after dawn, sun-rise, or sun-set.

“There are two kinds of monarchy; one is absolute, where there are no written laws, but the will of the prince carried into effect by his command and force; another is, where there are laws and restraints, but these occasionally

broken through. The Abyssinian government is neither of those. There are no laws: the lives of the king's subjects and their lands are *de jure* his; he is absolute and sole master of their lives and property; yet he has no military force; this is all in the hands of the governors of provinces, whose safety lies in keeping the prince in want of every thing. It is a monstrous kind of monarchy, and to this are owing the continual wars and rebellions. While the districts were small, these were prevented; but minorities, weak reigns, &c. have united them into great ones, each of which are more than a match for the sovereign; indeed the forty-four nagareets of Tigre united, are more than a match for all Abyssinia. Damot and Agow-midre, joined to Maitsha, when they please, starve the capital, and leave the king not only without army and provisions, but even meat and clothes for himself. The Turkish and Galla wars have accelerated this state of affairs. Each of the governments have become a kind of fiefs, very rarely not granted to the family of the deceased, and that one of it most likely to be serviceable."

"*King's Household.*—The Serachmasery is Yesous Alaka; he anoints the king at the coronation, and has ten ounces of gold for his salary. The Licaonte vote standing before the king and the Ras, but before the billetana-gucta dakakin, and other meconem, sitting. Four Licaonte and four azajes only vote before the king. The Palambaras was of old, in Tigre, called Lik-sof. The Baal-magwass goes immediately before the king, dressed as the king, and his face, as the king's, half-covered. All his actions are im-

puted to the king; and when he kills an enemy in fight, it is said the king killed him. Shalaka are the heads of the king's soldiers, who are called by respective names, Gimja-bet, Werk-saccala, &c. Azaje are officers over the king's household and revenues. The servants of the Licaonte are called Firaje and Baalbeg; they vote with the Licaonte, and before them in civil causes. Rakmasery is superintendant of the bread, and the Shum mes of the wine, or hydromel. The Tersemba Azaje is the judge, or, as it is called, Dabna of the Wezizir, or nobles; Dimshas is an officer under him. Of the officers called Hadug, there are two; these are the king's wakeels, in the Abuna's house, and have one-third of his revenues.

"Gera and Kanya wust-Azaje. He is the person, who, in capital crimes, accuses for the king; and is always one of the Licaonte, the most remarkable for his experience and discernment. Debena-bet haits is the person that executes, by his servants, all criminals at Debabay; he has the guard there at night, and, about three in the morning, gives the signal of the approach of day to the officers of the king's house, by about 30 smacks of a whip, to drive away the hyænas and beasts of prey, that come to Debabay, the place of execution, in search of carcasses. He has also the right of sending expresses to Gondar of the king's victories, and brings with him the heads, pudenda, &c. of traitors, which are exposed on the tree at the place of execution; at which time the merchants, both Mahometan and Christian, give presents, which, on great occasions, amount to 10 wakeas from each Moslem, and the

same

same from the Atary, or Christian merchants. The viceroy, or kas-mati of Tigre, drinks out of a golden cup, as keeper of the law at Axum. There are twelve nagareets, in Tigre, and forty-four persons are invested with the Ras-werk."

"*Church Affairs.*—The Abuna is appointed by proclamation of the king, and is deposed at his pleasure. He holds of no other person. He ordains priests and deacons within the kingdom, consecrates churches, altars (tabot), &c. His revenue was once very considerable, esteemed one-third of the revenues of the kingdom; but as those princes who made the grants resided in Shoa, or in the south of Tigre, the principal lands are in those provinces adjoining to the royal residence. Now, the southern provinces are all in the hands of the Galla, as well as part of Tigre, and the governor or Ras has assumed the rest; so that of 400 ounces of gold once paid by Tigre, the Abuna, in my time, got only twenty-five, one-third of which went to the king's wakeel in his house. The Abuna appoints no officer, civil, or ecclesiastical: the king or governor does all. The king appoints officers called Alaka, who administer in all cases the revenue of churches and convents; and this person is the judge of differences and suits among the priests and monks of his church or fraternity, from whom lies no appeal but to the king or to the Ras, who is understood to represent him. This Alaka is or is not a monk or priest, at the king's pleasure. Of those who are called Monks, are the communities of Debra Libanos, or Azazo, as it is now called, Waldubba, Werkleva, Damo, Mahabar, Selasse, &c. These live in villages

in these places, and reside or not as they please. The rest of that name are those who are ordained on any illness, disappointment, or advanced in life. The monks are ordained by the Itchegue, the others by an ordinary priest. Neither take any vow. The women of Waldubba are of the first king, and all women past pleasure compose the second. There are many instances of both orders renouncing and marrying.

"All persons, as well ecclesiastical as civil, are subject to the same laws, judgment, and tribunal, without exception, be the cause of whatever nature it may be. The Abuna, or Itchegue, have none of them a tribunal, nor can they take cognizance of any cause; especially the Abuna, who has, as I have said, an officer in his house appointed by the king, who punishes all persons by that authority, even those of the Abuna's family, without any sort of deference paid to him; and this, as appears by the judges, or king's records, is of very ancient standing. The king calls an assembly of the clergy when he pleases, generally with the advice of the Abuna, and there is none considered legal if he is not present, if in the kingdom.

"Welled Hayrat (Ras Michael's son) was excommunicated for killing a refugee at the Abuna's feet, in consequence of which he confiscated the Abuna's villages in Tigre, nor was the curse ever taken off. The Itchegue, or prior of the monks, if he be chosen a layman, must be ordained by the Abuna. He is named by the king, who nominates all superiors of monasteries. The Lika-cahanat, or chief of the priests, is ordained by the Abuna and Itchegue, who both hold a corner of a scarf put upon him. He is an

inquisitor of morals among the priests, and has so much salt and cloth from each district. A priest at his ordination pays three salts to the Abuna. He comes to the house of the latter, enters, and kisses the threshold. The Abuna, sitting on a sofa at one end of the room, reads the scriptures to himself. Then having paid his salt, the person retires and kisses the threshold, returning without imposition of hands, or any ceremony. Old men are made priests, and young men deacons, by a simple *jussit*. More probable accounts say, that there is only one salt paid, that the person stands at the door, while the Abuna, having made the sign of the cross, holding it in his hand, says,—‘I have ordained you a priest.’ The person then enters the room, kisses the cushion of the sofa, and retires. Many are ordained that can neither read nor write.

“The Abyssinians have an office for the dead; and worship pictures of saints, even such as are not consecrated. This we had an opportunity of seeing every time we were obliged to draw some Madonna. All those that saw it, kissed the ground before it, with their foreheads on the earth. The principal revenue of the clergy is the presents made by those who are sick, or dying.

“The dress of the Acab saat is a purple burnoose, with a white turban, not unlike the Turkish Imams, or a white handkerchief hanging

loose behind. The Kees batze is the king’s official confessor, official Alaka of the church of Teclahaimanout, and curator of the two churches of Gondar.

“The Abuna’s word of absolution, in a case of excommunication, is, ‘Gzier ephtac,’ God absolve thee.

“Women, after having borne a son, are excluded from the church forty days, and if a daughter, eighty. The really married are those who receive the sacrament on that occasion. Persons who have been connected with any woman are excluded from church during three days; if that connection has been promiscuous, they are excluded seven; and then even admitted to receive the sacrament. If a man, really married, is guilty with another’s wife, he is not debarred a longer period. Women in the menses are not allowed to enter the church till seven days afterwards. Circumcision is performed on the eighth, and baptism is celebrated on the forty-first day of the child’s age. On all the forementioned occasions they only come within the inner precinct, and kiss the walls and door-posts of the church. The clergy are rigid in these matters, and that is perhaps one of the reasons why the churches are ill attended. It is their only duty; the monks making no scruple of confessing that they cannot enter the church, for that day they had to do with a woman, which is not attended with any impeachment.”

Anecdotes of the late Lieutenant-General Villettes.

THIS respectable officer was descended from one of the most antient families in France. His ancestors were lords of Montdidier in Languedoc, in the thirteenth century, and many of them held considerable offices under different monarchs. During the civil wars, they were much distinguished for their exertions in favour of the Hugonots; and after the revocation of the edict of Nantes they withdrew from France, and settled in this kingdom. The father of the late lieutenant-general was educated in the diplomatic line, and was many years minister plenipotentiary to the late and the present king; first at the court of Turin, and afterwards with the Helvetic Cantons. He withdrew from public life in the year 1762, and resided at Bath till 1776; when he died, in the 75th year of his age. His second son, William Anne Villettes, was born at Bern, on the 14th of June, 1754. He received the early part of his education at Claverton school near Bath, and the latter part of it at the university of St. Andrews. A mildness of disposition, and a regular performance of whatever it was his duty to do, qualities which through life were distinguished features of his character, were remarkable even at this early period. It was observed at school, that he never received a blow, either from his master, or any of his school-fellows; nor was he ever known at the university to have experienced a reprimand from any of the professors, or to have been engaged in a quarrel with any of his fellow-students.

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With Mr. Groves, who was his school-master, and professor Watson, in whose house he died, he was the favourite scholar, and the favourite pupil. Friendship was in each of these instances continued through life.

His father originally intended him for the bar, and he was accordingly entered at Lincoln's Inn, and kept two or three terms; but his ardour for a military life was so great, that Mr. Villettes at last gave way to his son's inclinations, and obtained for him, in the year 1775, a cornetcy in the 10th regiment of dragoons. In this respectable corps, Villettes continued till he rose to the rank of major. In this, as in every other part of his life, a punctual discharge of the duties of his station was constantly observed. By this he obtained the approbation of his superiors, and by his amiable manners he secured the esteem and good-will of his equals and his inferiors.

During a great part of this period, captain Villettes attended sir William Pitt (then commander of the forces in Ireland) as his aid-de-camp and secretary. The character of that venerable officer requires no panegyric; and it certainly was an honour to Villettes, that he lived several years in his family, not only as his secretary, but his confidential friend. His attachment to sir William Pitt was, indeed, that of a son to a parent; and, like all other attachments that he formed, continued invariable to the end of his life.

In the year 1792, major Villettes quitted the dragoons, and was appointed lieutenant-colonel of the 69th regiment of foot; which regiment, in consequence of the break-

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ing out of the war in 1793, was sent to the Mediterranean, serving as marines on board a division of the fleet under the command of lord Hood. From this service col. Villette was exempt, as being a field-officer; but when Toulon was given up to the allies, he left England to take the command of his regiment, then forming a part of the garrison. His services there were much distinguished by general O'Hara, and his successor, general Dundas. The heights of Faron were intrusted to him; and during the time that he commanded in that important station, his vigilance was such, that he never retired to rest till daylight appeared. All attempts at surprise were accordingly frustrated, and every thing remained secure; the strength of the position scarcely exposing it to any other danger. At length, the French army being increased, after the reduction of Lyons, the danger to which Toulon became exposed was proportionably greater, and col. Villette was called to a station of still more importance, and requiring the exertion of greater military talents. This was the defence of Les Sablettes, a narrow isthmus, by which the peninsula that forms the south side of the road of Toulon is connected with the main land. As long as this post was in our possession, the whole peninsula was secure, and the ships could remain in safety in the road; but if this had been lost, the various batteries on the peninsula might have been turned upon them, the shipping must have removed into the bay, and the subsequent embarkation of the troops and the inhabitants would have been rendered impracticable. At this post col. Vil-

lette commanded; having under him 700 British, and 800 Neapolitan troops.

On the 16th of December, Faron was taken by surprise (but not by the fault of any British officer); and Fort Mulgrave, the nearest post to Les Sablettes, was carried by storm. These disasters rendered the evacuation of Toulon unavoidable. The Neapolitan troops, under the command of col. Villette, behaved very well as long as they were exposed to no danger; but when they saw that Fort Mulgrave was lost, and the French appeared ready to attack them, they retired in a body, got into their boats, and embarked on board their ships. Notwithstanding the desertion of so great a part of his force, col. Villette kept up so good an appearance with the remainder, that Les Sablettes, and, of course, the whole of the peninsula, continued in our possession till the evening of the 18th; when the evacuation of Toulon being complete, he received orders to withdraw his troops. This service, though rendered very difficult by the proximity of the enemy, was nevertheless effected during the night; and the troops were marched to the other end of the peninsula, where they were embarked in boats, which conveyed them, without loss, on board the fleet.

The next service in which col. Villette was engaged, was the conquest of Corsica. He acted here in his proper station at the siege of Saint Fiorenzo; and afterwards, in a more distinguished manner, at that of Bastia. Lord Hood having proposed to the commander of the land forces the attack of this latter place, and the measure being deemed inexpedient by that officer, his lord-

ship

ship resolved to undertake the siege, without the assistance of any troops but those who were originally given him as marines.

Here again col. Villettes was not necessarily called upon to act; but though, like other officers of the land forces, he disapproved of the enterprise, not thinking it possible that the place could be so completely blocked up as to prevent any supplies from entering the harbour; yet, finding the admiral was resolved on the attempt, he volunteered his service, conceiving it a paramount duty to his king and country, to do every thing in his power to render the enterprise successful (since, at all events, it was to be undertaken); though by so doing he was to prove the admiral's opinion to have been well founded, and that of the land officers (himself among the rest) erroneous. After a close blockade of 40 days, Bastia was taken, and lord Hood gratefully acknowledged the essential assistance which he received on that occasion from col. Villettes.

The merit of this service will perhaps be more fully appreciated, when it is known, that the force which col. Villettes commanded, was composed of no more than 1000 British soldiers, 250 landed seamen, and 1200 Corsicans; which last were fit only to scour the country. The garrison, on the other hand, consisted of 4000 French regulars, and about as many of the armed inhabitants. Even after the surrender of the place, the difficulties of col. Villettes' situation did not cease. With his small force, he was to guard 8000 prisoners; and this arduous task was continued several days, the state of the weather rendering it impossible

to send them away in a shorter time. For this important service col. Villettes was rewarded, by being appointed governor of Bastia; and votes of thanks to him being proposed both in the house of lords and house of commons, it seems to be a subject of regret with all persons, that some circumstances of parliamentary etiquette rendered it impossible to accede to the motions.

In the year 1796, an intermittent fever, of a very bad kind, which is common in Corsica, obliged col. Villettes to resign the government of Bastia, and return to England; and the following year, Portugal being threatened by the French, he was sent to that country, and served in the army commanded by his friend sir Charles Stuart, about a year and a half; when, the danger being for the present removed, the British troops were withdrawn, and col. Villettes came back to England, where he was promoted to the rank of a major-general, on the 18th of June, 1798.

About this time, gen. Villettes was appointed comptroller of the household of his royal highness the duke of Kent. His enjoying that honour is supposed to have originated from the following circumstance: Some years before, that is to say, while the peace still continued, col. Villettes having leave of absence from his regiment, went to Geneva, to spend some time with his mother, who, after she became a widow, had retired with her daughter to her native city. At this place his merit did not escape the discernment of prince Edward, who was there at that time. An intimacy then took place (if the word may be used without impropriety, when applied to persons in

such different ranks in life), which continued ever afterwards. It was indeed, highly honourable to Villette; and certainly reflected no discredit on the Prince, that a long absence in a distant part of the world did not make him forget what had passed at Geneva; and after an interval of several years, gen. Villette was placed at the head of his household, when his establishment was settled. His royal highness continued to honour the general with his confidence as long as he lived; and it may with great truth be asserted, that his death was no where more sincerely lamented, than in the very highest rank of life.

In the year 1799, gen. Villette was sent to Corfu; it being then in contemplation to raise a corps of Albanians for his majesty's service. Of the inexpediency of this measure the general was soon convinced; and however advantageous the adopting it might have proved to himself, he strongly advised the contrary, and the plan was accordingly relinquished. The mutiny which some years afterwards took place at Malta among troops of a similar description, fully proved the justness of his opinion.

When his presence was no longer necessary in Corfu, gen. Villette was sent to Malta; where he acted for some time as second in command to gen. Pigot, and, after his departure in 1801, as commander in chief of the forces, in which important situation he remained till the year 1807. Those persons who recollect the stipulations concerning Malta in the treaty of Amiens, the discussions which arose during the peace in consequence of those stipulations, and the value attached

to this island by all parties since the renewal of hostilities; and who at the same time consider the situation of Malta, with respect to Naples, Sicily, Egypt, and indeed the whole of the Mediterranean and the Levant, will readily conceive that there were few situations, in which a firm, temperate, and judicious conduct could be more requisite than in the commander of the forces in that island. It may safely be asserted, that few men were superior to gen. Villette in the qualities from which such a conduct originates. His judgment was so good, that though he seldom stood in need of advice, yet, on every proper occasion, he was ready to listen to it; to adopt it with candour, if he judged it to be right; or to adhere to his own opinion, if he saw no just grounds for abandoning it. His firmness in pursuing the line of conduct which he thought it his duty to adopt, was equally remarkable; and to these qualities were united a temper the least irritable, and manners the most conciliatory, that can well be imagined. The favourite maxim of "*Suaviter in modo, Fortiter in re,*" has perhaps seldom been more perfectly exemplified. Many instances occurred during his command in Malta, in which these qualities were exerted, and executed with the very best effects. When Tomasi, the French-elected grand-master, laid claim to the island; when a French agent sought an occasion of quarrel, and endeavoured to raise a disturbance in the theatre, as had been done successfully at Rome, Naples, and elsewhere; when a most alarming mutiny took place among the foreign troops in Fort Ricosoli; on all these, and on many

many other occasions, the firm, temperate, and judicious conduct of gen. Villettes was successfully employed.

In the year 1807, the personal and professional merit of this officer, his perfect knowledge of most of the European languages, and his long acquaintance with the military systems of the continental powers, pointed him out to his majesty's government as a proper person to command the foreign troops who were to form a part of the army intended to be sent to the Baltic, under Lord Cathcart. Gen. Villettes was accordingly recalled from Malta; but, though he obeyed the summons with the utmost promptitude, it was found impossible for him to arrive in England in time to take any share in the northern expedition. That expedition was accordingly dispatched under other commanders, whose able and successful conduct is well known; and gen. Villettes was, soon after his arrival appointed to a situation still more honourable, but eventually fatal to him.

It was in the month of September 1807, that this valuable officer, now a lieutenant-general, returned to England, a country in which he had passed so small a portion of his life, as to be much less known in it than his worth deserved. It was also a country which he was now to visit for the last time. His reception from his superiors, and from his friends, was such as was justly due to his services and his merit. He was soon after appointed colonel of the 6th regiment of infantry; and his talents were not suffered to remain long unemployed.

A proper person was wanted to be commander of the forces, and lieutenant-governor of Jamaica.—Many circumstances in the situ-

ation of that island rendered it necessary to be particularly careful in the appointment of a general-officer suited to that important trust.

Gen. Villettes was selected for this purpose; and it would perhaps have been difficult to have found a man more capable of fulfilling the duties of the station to the satisfaction of government, and for the benefit of the colony. He was accordingly appointed lieutenant-governor and commander of the forces in Jamaica, with the rank of a general in that island, in the latter end of the year 1807.

Highly honourable as this appointment was, gen. Villettes would willingly have declined it. His constitution, which was never very strong, had been much impaired by bilious complaints; and having been absent from England during almost the whole of the last 14 years, he would gladly have remained some time in this country. The last day before he embarked at Spithead was spent at the house of the earliest friend of his youth, to whom, in confidential conversation, he expressed his belief, that the climate of Jamaica would not agree with him; "but," he added, "I would not object to going there on that account; for if I were ordered to march up to a battery, I should do it, though I might be of opinion that I should be killed before my troops could carry it; and, in like manner, I think, I ought not to hesitate as to going to Jamaica, if his majesty's service requires it, though I may be of opinion that I shall fall a victim to the climate."

But little is known in England of what happened in Jamaica during the short period that gen. Villettes lived after his arrival in that island. It is, however, well known, that his amiable

amiable disposition, and that firm, but conciliatory conduct which always formed so remarkable a part of his character, soon engaged the confidence and esteem of the whole community.

In the month of July, he undertook a military tour of inspection through the island. Neither the state of his health, which was not very good, nor the weather, which was unfavourable, could induce him to postpone doing what he considered to be his duty.

Gen. Villettes left Kingston on the 3d of July, and proceeded as far as Port Antonio, where he inspected some of the troops. He set out from thence on the 11th, to go to Buff Bay, in the parish of St. George, to inspect a battalion of the 60th, which was stationed there; but in this journey he was seized with a fever, which, on the third day, put a fatal period to his existence. He died on the 13th of July, at Mrs. Brown's estate, named Union; retaining in his last moments the same serenity of mind for which his whole life had been so remarkably distinguished.

The regret expressed on this occasion by all descriptions of persons in Jamaica, far exceeded what could have been supposed possible, when the short period that gen. Villettes had resided among them is taken into consideration. His body was interred near Kingston, in the parish of Half-Way-Tree, in which he resided. The funeral was attended by the duke of Manchester (the governor of the island), as chief mourner, and was conducted with all the military honours so justly due to the rank and merit of the deceased.

To say much of the character of gen. Villettes would here be superfluous. It may, in some degree, be learnt from the foregoing sketch of his life. His many amiable qualities are already well known to those who knew him; and by such as did not enjoy that pleasure, the enumeration of them would be suspected to proceed from the pea of flattery. One circumstance alone shall be a little enlarged upon, as conveying a useful lesson—an example worthy of imitation. Few men have possessed, in a degree superior to gen. Villettes, the talent of acquiring the good will of almost all, the ill will of scarce any who knew him. The chief reason was, that he felt good will towards all, and his conduct was suitable to his feelings. His friendship, though by no means restricted to a few, was far from being indiscriminate; but any person who once really enjoyed it, was sure that it would never be withdrawn. The first connexion of this nature that he ever formed, was with a school-fellow of his own age,* who was afterwards his fellow-student at the university. This was followed by an uninterrupted confidential correspondence during 40 years. Their intimacy in that whole period never once experienced the smallest abatement or interruption, but went on, constantly strengthened and matured as life advanced, and could only be terminated by death.—On his entrance into the military profession, gen. Villettes' first intimacy was with a contemporary officer † in the 10th regiment of dragoons (now a much esteemed lieutenant-general),

* Thomas Bowdler, esq. of St. Boniface, in the Isle of Wight.

† Lieut.-gen. W. Cartwright, equester to his majesty.

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and that friendship, like the former, continued constant to the last moment. When the death of his parents put gen. Villettes in possession of some property, he considered the friends of his family as his own friends; and the management of his pecuniary concerns was ever after intrusted to a very respectable gentleman,* at the head of one of the first foreign houses in the city.

The dean and chapter of Westminster, at the request of the three friends above-mentioned, consented that a monument should be placed in Westminster Abbey to the memory of this much-lamented officer. It was accordingly soon afterwards erected, and may be seen in the same chapel with the much-admired Nightingale tomb, close to the monument of the general's late friend, the hon. sir Charles Stuart.

The inscription is as follows :

“ Sacred to the Memory of Lieutenant-General William-Anne Villettes, Second Son of Arthur Villettes, Esq. his late Majesty's Minister Plenipotentiary at the Court of Turin, and to the Helvetic Cantons, who, during a period of thirty-three years, rendered essential service to his Country, at Toulon, in Corsica, at Malta, and in many other places. In consideration of these Services, he was appointed Colonel of the 64th Regiment of Infantry, and Lieut.-Governor and Commander of the Forces in Jamaica; but while engaged in a Tour of Military Inspection in that Island, he was seized with a Fever, and died near

Port Antonio, on the 13th of July, 1808, aged 54 years. A worthy Member of Society was thus taken from the Public, a valuable Officer was lost to the King's Service, and the Island of Jamaica was deprived of a man well calculated to promote its Happiness and Prosperity: His residence there was indeed short, yet his manly but mild virtues, his dignified but affable deportment, and his firm but conciliating conduct, had secured him the confidence and esteem of the whole community—

The sculptureal marble shall dissolve in dust,
And Fame, and Wealth, and Honors pass away;
Not so the Triumphs of the Good and Just,
Not such the Glories of Eternal Day.

On the black marble, which relieves the Monument from the wall, are these lines—

Amicitie Superstiti sacrum voluerunt.
W. Cartwright, J. Cozenove, T. Bowdler.
Westmacott sculpsit.

We shall close our remarks concerning this truly-respectable officer, with observing, that his two brothers having died unmarried, the male line of this very ancient family, and of course the name of Villettes, is now become extinct. The general's property, which was not very considerable, (for his liberal mind did not allow him to accumulate wealth in the very advantageous situation which he long held in Malta,) descends to his only sister, a lady who has been many years married and settled in Switzerland.† The management of it

* James Cozenow, esq. of Old Broad-street, London.

† Miss Villettes, after her father's death, accompanied her mother to Geneva, where she was married to Albert Turretini, a gentleman of that city, by whom she had two sons, viz. Charles, who is now the only representative of the family, and was

was intrusted to the friends of his earliest years, and his will, like every other part of his conduct through life, manifested that kind attention to all who were connected with him, from the highest to the the lowest, which was expressive of the good heart and considerate mind of the testator.

P. S. An elegant monument to the memory of the deceased general was ordered by his executors to be prepared for the island of Jamaica, as soon as the monument in Westminster Abbey was completed. Mr. Westmacott is again employed as the sculptor.

Albert, who entered into the British service, and was aid-de-camp to his late uncle in Jamaica, where he died of the same fatal fever three days after the decease of the general.

NATURAL HISTORY.

On some new Phenomena of Chemical Changes produced by Electricity ; particularly the Decomposition of the fixed Alkalies and the Exhibition of the new Substances which constitute their Bases ; and on the general Nature of Alkaline Bodies. By Humphry Davy, Esq. Sec. R. S. M. R. I. A. [From the Transactions of the Royal Society.]

IN the Bakerian Lecture which I had the honour of presenting to the Royal Society last year, I described a number of decompositions and chemical changes produced in substances of known composition by electricity, and I ventured to conclude from the general principles on which the phenomena were capable of being explained, that the new methods of investigation promised to lead to a more intimate knowledge than had hitherto been obtained, concerning the true elements of bodies.

This conjecture, then sanctioned only by strong analogies, I am now happy to be able to support by some conclusive facts. In the course of a laborious experimental application of the powers of elec-

tro-chemical analysis, to bodies which have appeared simple when examined by common chemical agents, or which at least have never been decomposed, it has been my good fortune to obtain new and singular results.

Such of the series of experiments as are in a tolerably mature state, and capable of being arranged in a connected order, I shall detail in the following sections, particularly those which demonstrate the decomposition and composition of the fixed alkalies, and the production of the new and extraordinary bodies which constitute their bases.

In speaking of novel methods of investigation, I shall not fear to be minute. When the common means of chemical research have been employed, I shall mention only results. A historical detail of the progress of the investigation, of all the difficulties that occurred, and of the manner in which they were overcome, and of all the manipulations employed, would far exceed the limits assigned to this lecture. It is proper to state, however, that when general facts are mentioned, they are such only as have been

been deduced from processes carefully performed and often repeated.

II, On the Methods used for the Decomposition of the fixed Alkalies.

The researches I had made on the decomposition of acids, and of alkaline and earthy neutral compounds, proved that the powers of electrical decomposition were proportional to the strength of the opposite electricities in the circuit, and to the conducting power and degree of concentration of the materials employed.

In the first attempts, that I made on the decomposition of the fixed alkalies, I acted upon aqueous solutions of potash and soda, saturated at common temperatures, by the highest electrical power I could command, and which was produced by a combination of Voltaic batteries belonging to the Royal Institution, containing 24 plates of copper and zinc of 12 inches square, 100 plates of 6 inches, and 150 of 4 inches square, charged with solutions of alum and nitrous acid; but in these cases, though there was a high intensity of action, the water of the solutions alone was affected, and the hydrogen and oxygen disengaged with the production of much heat and violent effervescence.

The presence of water appearing thus to prevent any decomposition, I used potash in igneous fusion. By means of a stream of oxygen gas from a gasometer applied to the flame of a spirit lamp, which was thrown on a platina spoon containing potash, this alkali was kept for some minutes in a strong red heat, and in a state of perfect fluidity. The spoon was preserved in communication with the posi-

tive side of the battery of the power of 100 of 6 inches, highly charged; and the connection from the negative side was made by a platina wire.

By this arrangement some brilliant phenomena were produced. The potash appeared a conductor in a high degree, and as long as the communication was preserved, a most intense light was exhibited at the negative wire, and a column of flame, which seemed to be owing to the developement of combustible matter, arose from the point of contact.

When the order was changed, so that the platina spoon was made negative, a vivid and constant light appeared at the opposite point: there was no effect of inflammation round it; but aeriform globules, which inflamed in the atmosphere, rose through the potash.

The platina, as might have been expected, was considerably acted upon; and in the cases when it had been negative, in the highest degree.

The alkali was apparently dry in this experiment; and it seemed probable that the inflammable matter arose from its decomposition. The residual potash was unaltered; it contained indeed a number of dark grey metallic particles, but these proved to be derived from the platina.

I tried several experiments on the electrization of potash rendered fluid by heat, with the hopes of being able to collect the combustible matter, but without success; and I only attained my object, by employing electricity as the common agent for fusion and decomposition.

Though potash, perfectly dried by

by ignition, is a nonconductor, yet it is rendered a conductor, by a very slight addition of moisture, which does not perceptibly destroy its aggregation; and in this state it readily fuses and decomposes by strong electrical powers.

A small piece of pure potash, which had been exposed for a few seconds to the atmosphere, so as to give conducting power to the surface, was placed upon an insulated disc of platina, connected with the negative side of the battery of the power of 250 of 6 and 4, in a state of intense activity; and a platina wire, communicating with the positive side, was brought in contact with the upper surface of the alkali. The whole apparatus was in the open atmosphere.

Under these circumstances a vivid action was soon observed to take place. The potash began to fuse at both its points of electrization. There was a violent effervescence at the upper surface; at the lower, or negative surface, there was no liberation of elastic fluid; but small globules having a high metallic lustre, and being precisely similar in visible characters to quicksilver, appeared, some of which burnt with explosion and bright flame, as soon as they were formed, and others remained, and were merely tarnished, and finally covered by a white film which formed on their surfaces.

These globules, numerous experiments soon shewed to be the substance I was in search of, and a peculiar inflammable principle the basis of potash. I found that the platina was in no way connected with the result, except as the medium for exhibiting the electrical powers of decomposition; and a

substance of the same kind was produced when pieces of copper, silver, gold, plumbago, or even charcoal were employed for completing the circuit.

The phenomenon was independent of the presence of air; I found that it took place when the alkali was in the vacuum of an exhausted receiver.

The substance was likewise produced from potash fused by means of a lamp, in glass tubes confined by mercury, and furnished with hermetically inserted platina wires by which the electrical action was transmitted. But this operation could not be carried on for any considerable time; the glass was rapidly dissolved by the action of the alkali, and this substance soon penetrated through the body of the tube.

Soda, when acted upon in the same manner as potash, exhibited an analogous result; but the decomposition demanded greater intensity of action in the batteries, or the alkali was required to be in much thinner and smaller pieces. With the battery of 100 of 6 inches in full activity I obtained good results from pieces of potash weighing from 40 to 70 grains, and of a thickness which made the distance of the electrified metallic surface nearly a quarter of an inch; but with a similar power it was impossible to produce the effects of decomposition on pieces of soda of more than 15 or 20 grains in weight, and that only when the distance between the wires was about 1-8th or 1-10th of an inch.

The substance produced from potash remained fluid at the temperature of the atmosphere at the time of its production; that from

soda,

soda, which was fluid in the degree of heat of the alkali during its formation, became solid on cooling, and appeared having the lustre of silver.

When the power of 250 was used, with a very high charge for the decomposition of soda, the globules often burnt at the moment of their formation, and sometimes violently exploded and separated into smaller globules, which flew with great velocity through the air in a state of vivid combustion, producing a beautiful effect of continued jets of fire.

III. *Theory of the Decomposition of the fixed Alkalies ; their Composition, and Production.*

As in all decompositions of compound substances which I had previously examined, at the same time that combustible bases were developed at the negative surface in the electrical circuit, oxygene was produced, and evolved or carried into combination at the positive surface, it was reasonable to conclude that this substance was generated in a similar manner by the electrical action upon the alkalies ; and a number of experiments made above mercury, with the apparatus for excluding external air, proved that this was the case.

When solid potash, or soda in its conducting state, was included in glass tubes furnished with electrified platina wires, the new substances were generated at the ne-

gative surfaces ; the gas given out at the other surface proved by the most delicate examination to be pure oxygene ; and unless an excess of water was present, no gas was evolved from the negative surface.

In the synthetical experiments, a perfect coincidence likewise will be found.

I mentioned that the metallic lustre of the substance from potash immediately became destroyed in the atmosphere, and that a white crust formed upon it. This crust I soon found to be pure potash, which immediately deliquesced, and new quantities were formed, which in their turn attracted moisture from the atmosphere till the whole globule disappeared, and assumed the form of a saturated solution of potash.*

When globules were placed in appropriate tubes containing common air or oxygene gas confined by mercury, an absorption of oxygene took place ; a crust of alkali instantly formed upon the globule ; but from the want of moisture for its solution, the process stopped, the interior being defended from the action of the gas.

With the substance from soda, the appearances and effects were analogous.

When the substances were strongly heated, confined in given portions of oxygene, a rapid combustion with a brilliant white flame was produced, and the metallic globules were found converted into a white

* Water likewise is decomposed in the process. We shall hereafter see that the bases of the fixed alkalies act upon this substance with greater energy than any other known bodies. The minute theory of the oxydation of the bases of the alkalies in the free air, is this :—oxygene gas is first attracted by them, and alkali formed. This alkali speedily absorbs water. This water is again decomposed. Hence, during the conversion of a globule into alkaline solution, there is a constant and rapid disengagement of small quantities of gas.

and

and solid mass; which in the case of the substance from potash was found to be potash; and in the case of that from soda, soda.

Oxygen gas was absorbed in this operation, and nothing emitted which affected the purity of the residual air.

The alkalies produced were apparently dry, or at least contained no more moisture than might well be conceived to exist in the oxygen gas absorbed; and their weights considerably exceeded those of the combustible matters consumed.

The processes on which these conclusions are founded will be fully described hereafter, when the minute details which are necessary will be explained; and the proportions of oxygen, and of the respective inflammable substances which enter into union to form the fixed alkalies, will be given.

It appears then, that in these facts there is the same evidence for the decomposition of potash and soda into oxygen and two peculiar substances, as there is for the decomposition of sulphuric and phosphoric acids and the metallic oxides into oxygen and their respective combustible bases.

In the analytical experiments, no substances capable of decomposition are present but the alkalies and a minute portion of moisture; which seems in no other way essential to the result, than in rendering them conductors at the surface: for the new substances are not generated till the interior, which is dry, begins to be fused; they explode when in rising through the fused alkali they come in contact with the heated moistened surface;

they cannot be produced from crystallized alkalies, which contain much water; and the effect produced by the electrization of ignited potash, which contains no sensible quantity of water, confirms the opinion of their formation independently of the presence of this substance.

The combustible bases of the fixed alkalies seem to be repelled as other combustible substances, by positively electrified surfaces, and attracted by negatively electrified surfaces, and the oxygen follows the contrary order,* or the oxygen being naturally possessed of the negative energy, and the bases of the positive, do not remain in combination when either of them is brought into an electrical state opposite to its natural one. In the synthesis, on the contrary, the natural energies or attractions come in equilibrium with each other; and when these are in a low state at common temperatures, a slow combination is effected; but when they are exalted by heat, a rapid union is the result; and as in other like cases with the production of fire.—A number of circumstances relating to the agencies of the bases of the alkalies will be immediately stated, and will be found to offer confirmations of these general conclusions.

IV. On the Properties and Nature of the Basis of Potash.

After I had detected the bases of the fixed alkalies, I had considerable difficulty to preserve and confine them so as to examine their properties, and submit them to experiments; for, like the *alkalants*

* See Bakerian Lecture, 1806, page 28. Phil. Trans. for 1807.

imagined

imagined by the alchemists, they acted more or less upon almost every body to which they were exposed.

The fluid substance amongst all those I have tried, on which I find they have least effect, is recently distilled naphtha.—In this material, when excluded from the air, they remain for many days without considerably changing, and their physical properties may be easily examined in the atmosphere when they are covered by a thin film of it.

The basis of potash at 60° Fahrenheit, the temperature in which I first examined it, appeared, as I have already mentioned, in small globules possessing the metallic lustre, opacity, and general appearance of mercury; so that when a globule of mercury was placed near a globule of the peculiar substance, it was not possible to detect a difference by the eye.

At 60° Fahrenheit it is however only imperfectly fluid, for it does not readily run into a globule when its shape is altered; at 70° it becomes more fluid; and at 100° its fluidity is perfect, so that different globules may be easily made to run into one. At 50° Fahrenheit, it becomes a soft and malleable solid; which has the lustre of polished silver; and at about the freezing point of water it becomes harder and brittle, and when broken in fragments, exhibits a crystallized texture, which in the microscope seems composed of beautiful facets of a perfect whiteness and high metallic splendour.

To be converted into vapour, it requires a temperature approaching that of the red heat; and when the experiment is conducted under pro-

per circumstances, it is found unaltered after distillation.

It is a perfect conductor of electricity. When a spark from the Voltaic battery of 100 of 6 inches is taken upon a large globule in the atmosphere, the light is green, and combustion takes place at the point of contact only. When a small globule is used, it is completely dissipated with explosion accompanied by a most vivid flame, into alkaline fumes.

It is an excellent conductor of heat.

Resembling the metals in all these sensible properties, it is however remarkably different from any of them in specific gravity; I found that it rose to the surface of naphtha distilled from petroleum, and of which the specific gravity was .861, and it did not sink in double distilled naphtha, the specific gravity of which was about .770, that of water being considered as 1. The small quantities in which it is produced by the highest electrical powers, rendered it very difficult to determine this quality with minute precision. I endeavoured to gain approximations on the subject by comparing the weights of perfectly equal globules of the basis of potash and mercury. I used the very delicate balance of the Royal Institution, which when loaded with the quantities I employed, and of which the mercury never exceeded ten grains, is sensible at least to the two-thousandth part of a grain. Taking the mean of four experiments, conducted with great care, its specific gravity at 62° Fahrenheit, is to that of mercury as 10 to 223, which gives a proportion to that of water nearly

as 6 to 10; so that it is the lightest fluid body known. In its solid form it is a little heavier, but even in this state when cooled to 40° Fahrenheit, it swims in the double distilled naphtha.

The chemical relations of the basis of potash are still more extraordinary than its physical ones.

I have already mentioned its alkalization and combustion in oxygene gas.—It combines with oxygene slowly and without flame at all temperatures that I have tried below that of its vaporization.—But at this temperature combustion takes place, and the light is of a brilliant whiteness and the heat intense. When heated slowly in a quantity of oxygene gas not sufficient for its complete conversion into potash, and at a temperature inadequate to its inflammation, 400° Fahrenheit, for instance, its tint changes to that of a red brown, and when the heat is withdrawn, all the oxygene is found to be absorbed, and a solid is formed of a greyish colour, which partly consists of potash and partly of the basis of potash in a lower degree of oxygenation,—and which becomes potash by being exposed to water, or by being again heated in fresh quantities of air.

The substance consisting of the basis of potash combined with an under proportion of oxygene, may likewise be formed by fusing dry potash and its basis together under proper circumstances.—The basis rapidly loses its metallic splendour; the two substances unite into a compound, of a red brown colour when fluid, and of a dark grey hue when solid; and this compound soon absorbs its full proportion of oxygene when exposed to the air, and is wholly converted into potash.

Mr. Davy, having discussed a variety of important matters, and established not a few facts which have roused the attention not only of the chemists in this country but in most parts of Europe, informs us that, an immense variety of objects of research is presented in the powers and affinities of the new metals produced from the alkalies.

In themselves they will undoubtedly prove powerful agents for analysis; and having an affinity for oxygene stronger than any other known substances, they may possibly supersede the application of electricity to some of the undecomposed bodies.

The basis of potash I find oxidates in carbonic acid and decomposes it, and produces charcoal when heated in contact with carbonate of lime. It likewise oxidates in muriatic acid; but I have had no opportunity of making the experiment with sufficient precision to ascertain the results.

In sciences kindred to chemistry, the knowledge of the nature of the alkalies, and the analogies arising in consequence, will open many new views; they may lead to the solution of many problems in geology, and shew that agents may have operated in the formation of rocks and earths, which have not hitherto been suspected to exist.

It would be easy to pursue the speculative part of this enquiry to a great extent, but I shall refrain from so occupying the time of the Society, as the tenour of my object in this lecture has not been to state hypotheses, but to bring forward a new series of facts.

On the Culture of Flax. By the late Robert Somerville, Esq. of Haddington in East Lothian. [From the Transactions of the Board of Agriculture.]

FLAX and hemp are articles so essentially necessary to the British kingdoms, that it is matter of astonishment the cultivation of them should be so much neglected, and the management even of the small quantity that is cultivated so very defective. The liberality of government has, for many years, held forth great encouragement for promoting the growth and manufacture of these necessary articles, by expending large sums in bounties; notwithstanding which, the object so much desired, has by no means been obtained to the extent that could be wished; the cultivation being still extremely limited, and the management in every stage, both of the culture and manufacturing into flax, very defective. This is the more to be regretted, as there can be little doubt that immense quantities might be raised in Britain, with little labour, and that too upon soils where hardly any thing else will grow; and every part of the management, from the time of sowing, till it is manufactured into flax, very easily taught to the country people.

The accomplishment of an object so truly desirable, would be attended with the most salutary effects, by affording employment for an increased population, and materially lessening our dependance upon other nations.

The purpose of the following pages is, first to give a general sketch of the present mode of cultivating and managing flax, then to enter

into the detail of the principal operations, point out what appears defective in each, and offer some hints for improvement.

No regular system is at present pursued by those who cultivate flax; and very little attention is paid either to the nature of the soil upon which it is sown, or the preparation of that soil: except in a few instances, it is cultivated upon a very contracted scale, seldom more than an acre or two being in the possession of one person, and in many cases it does not exceed an half, or a quarter of an acre, as may be seen by looking over the premiums awarded by the honourable board of trustees.

There are instances however of farmers who have attempted it upon a larger scale, and have sown forty or fifty acres in one season; but these last are few in number, and even of them there are some who have lost by the undertaking.

In the present state of Britain, with regard to provisions and population, the question is of high importance, whether a part of the arable lands which are now acknowledged to be barely sufficient for producing a due proportion of grain and other necessities of life, can with safety be withdrawn from that purpose, and employed in any other way. Humanity as well as sound policy forbids the attempt; the effect certainly would be that of enhancing the price of provisions, a calamity which has already been but too severely felt.

This consideration, though it may deter proprietors and farmers from using their good arable lands in that way, does not preclude the idea of raising flax to a great extent; at present there are immense tracts under

under the denomination of moors, mosses, swamps, wastes, &c. upon which flax and hemp may not only be successfully raised, with little labour and at small expence, but the tillage and other operations, given for the flax crops, will greatly facilitate their improvement, and put them in a proper train for the culture of grain, &c.

It is well known to those who have had much experience in the raising of flax and hemp, that very large crops of both may be obtained from lands of the above description, not only with safety, but advantage to the soil. Property of this sort is allowed to remain in a state of nature; in some cases, from an idea that it is not worth improving, and in others on account of the great labour, and heavy expence of purchasing lime and other manures, sufficient to render it fit for carrying grain.

Fortunately flax requires no such expensive preparation. Tillage alone, and the cost of the seed, are all that are necessary; and the crop in general, when properly managed, will not only repay these, but afford a profit sufficient to enable the cultivator to purchase lime or other manures for his future crops. In that way a double benefit will result to the community; first, by keeping great sums of money in the country that are yearly sent abroad, and at the same time furnishing an abundant supply of an article that cannot be done without; and, secondly, by assisting and holding out an incentive for the cultivation of waste lands.

In a paper formerly presented to the Board of Agriculture, and which is now published in the report of their committee on the sub-
Vol. L.

ject of potatoes, notice is taken of the ease with which that valuable root may be cultivated on waste and unimproved soils, and the advantages that may arise from the practice pointed out. Perhaps the attainment of that important national object, the cultivation of waste lands, will be more promoted by the general introduction of flax or potatoes as first crops, than by any other means; neither of them require any expence except seed and tillage; they increase the materials for several valuable manufactures, furnish a wholesome and nutritious article of food, afford a profitable return to the cultivator, and give employment to many hands.

To those who are judges of the real interests of their country, the importance of what is above mentioned will be evident, even if the cultivation of flax were confined merely to supplying ourselves; but perhaps the matter ought to be carried farther, and Britain might soon be able to rival Holland, &c. in supplying other nations. The soil of this country is at least equally fertile, and the climate as genial as that of Holland or the provinces on the shores of the Baltic; why, then, should the crops of flax raised here be more scanty, or the quality inferior to what is produced in those parts? The only thing wanting seems to be, a knowledge of the method of managing the crop, in which the British, notwithstanding every attempt to the contrary, are still extremely defective.

Owing to its exhausting quality, the cultivation has been laid aside by opulent and extensive farmers, and is now principally in the hands of small tenants and cottagers; the latter of whom (especially in Scotland)
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land) have the privilege of sowing a small quantity upon the lands of their master. In the improved Counties this privilege is fast wearing out, and the places where it principally prevails at present, are the north of Scotland and the islands, where the generality of farms are still small, and good husbandry is far from being so well understood as could be wished.

From this view of the matter, it will appear that the quantity raised over the whole island is small; and from the ignorance and want of capital in the persons who raise it, the management must of course be defective; and that a very great proportion of all that is used in Britain, must be imported either from Holland or the Baltic.

Flax Seed.

The quantity of flax raised in Britain is not only small, but the seed from which even that small quantity is raised, is annually imported either from Holland or the Baltic, from an absurd and erroneous opinion, that after seed has been once sown in this country, the produce is unfit for that purpose afterwards. How such an idea came to be entertained at first, it is difficult to imagine. Britain is well known to be famous for the growth of grain and other vegetables; why then should it be incapable of producing flax, an article that arrives at great perfection in Holland and elsewhere, upon worse soils, and in much more inhospitable climates? Were it a matter of which any doubt could be entertained, the subject is sufficiently important to entitle it to a complete investigation. To those, however, who are acquaint-

ed with the soil and climate of Holland, and other parts from whence flax is imported into this country, and who are capable of making a just comparison between them and Great Britain, such an enquiry will appear superfluous, as the advantage is decidedly in favour of the latter.

The fact seems to be, that the Dutch, who have been long in possession of that trade, and who have, in consequence, arrived at a high degree of perfection in the management of flax in all the different stages, both of its growth and manufacture, are enabled not only to raise and dress it much better than we are, but can bring it into the market at a cheaper rate; and as they have found it a most profitable article, they have industriously propagated an idea, which has been as readily believed in this country, that both the seed and flax raised in Britain, are greatly inferior to what is produced in Holland.

It must be admitted, that where the crop is cultivated for the sake of the flax only, it is generally separated from the ground at so early a period, that the seed has made very small progress in ripening, and of course would, upon trial, be found very unfit for the purpose of sowing next year. While this practice (for which no reason that is completely satisfactory has yet been assigned) continues, a new supply of seed will be annually required; but I shall endeavour to shew, in a subsequent part of this paper, that with proper management, and without any additional expence, it is possible to unite the advantages of well matured seed, and a valuable crop of flax. This

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is no visionary idea, as it is done in Holland and elsewhere every year; and the whitest, most durable, and easiest and bleached flax produced in those parts, is from crops where the seed has been completely ripened.

It has been argued, and with some degree of plausibility, that where the seed is ripened, the quality of the flax is not only worse, but the soil is also much more exhausted than in cases where it is pulled green. At first view, this argument appears well founded; and certainly, if flax were pulled while it is in flower, the exhaustion of the soil would be infinitely less than when the seed is allowed to ripen; but when it is considered that at the usual time of pulling, the seed is not only formed, but has made very considerable progress; if a careful enquiry is made, it will be found that the crop has, in that stage, drawn as much oil and other useful principles from the earth as it possibly can do. For though the seed of flax at that period contains less oil than it does when completely ripened, yet that portion which is deficient in the seed, will be found to exist in the stalk in the form of a mucilage, which the vessels of the plant, aided by the operation of light and heat, would soon have converted into oil also. If this reasoning is sustained, (and some trials which I have made, go a great way to support it,) the exhaustion of the soil must be the same in both cases; the only difference is, that by allowing the crop to remain in the ground, vegetation is continued till the plant is perfected, and a complete separation of its component parts takes place. By this separation the oil

will be deposited in the seed, the aqueous juices will be dried and exhaled by the sun, the stalk and flax being deprived of these will assume a white appearance, and the gummy mucilaginous juices being exhausted, little or no impediment will remain in the separation of the flax from the stalk; for as I will afterwards shew, one of the principal obstacles to the separation of the flax from the stalk, arises from the glutinous nature of the juices contained in green flax. With regard to the flax being of a coarser quality, when the seed is allowed to ripen, than when it is pulled green, I have no hesitation in saying that this is an error. I will even go farther, and assert, that the ripening of the seed may not only be attempted with perfect safety, but that the flax will be whiter, and every operation it has to go through facilitated thereby; but this will be illustrated more at large, in a different part of this Memoir; the only thing intended to be inculcated in this place is, that flax seed of the best quality may be raised in Britain, without injuring the flax, or exhausting the soil more than is commonly done for crops where the flax is pulled green.

[Mr. Somerville, having stated at great length and very satisfactorily, a variety of important facts, respecting the culture and preparation of flax, (a subject, at all times, of much importance to this country, but more especially at present, when both the Baltic and shores of America are shut up from us,) towards the conclusion says:] Such are the ideas that have occurred to me, in considering this very important branch of the rural economy of

Great Britain, and which I now submit with all possible deference to the honourable Board of Agriculture. A part of the proposed improvements are founded upon experiments; the remainder are the result of observations made at different times. I have it to regret, however, that as neither the experiments nor observations were made with a view to publication, and as I was generally much occupied by other avocations at the time, they are far from being so perfect as I could have wished. I trust, however, that the hints thrown out, however defective, will ultimately lead to a complete and scientific examination of the subject, and that a system of management will soon be established upon solid and durable principles.

The points seemingly most worthy of minute investigation are the following.

1. The chance of raising hemp successfully upon swampy and marshy grounds by cutting open drains between the ridges.

2. The practicability of raising flax upon mosses, moors, and waste lands, with profit to the cultivator, and as a step to their future improvement.

3. To ascertain what benefit would arise from sowing flax at an earlier period of the season than is done at present.

4. To ascertain whether the mode of pulling flax, above pointed out, is better calculated to separate the long from the short flax, and the fine from the coarse, than the method at present in use.

5. To ascertain whether the seed can be ripened without detriment to the flax; and if the quality is coarse when the seed is ripened, to

determine how far it is inferior to what is pulled green; and whether the value of the seed will not be more than an equivalent for the difference of the quality.

6. To determine whether the flax that has ripened the seed, contains less mucilage and colouring matter than that which is pulled green; and which of the two requires the greatest labour in the manufacturing.

7. To ascertain by careful experiments the best and most speedy means of watering flax, so as to produce an easy separation between it and the husk, or stalk, and at the same time purge it of the mucilage, colouring matter, &c. contained in it.

8. To make comparative trials between parcels of the same flax that have been steeped an unequal length of time, from two to eight weeks, with a view to regulate the duration of the steep.

9. To make comparative trials between parcels of flax that have had only a simple steeping, and other parcels of the same flax that have been dipt in boiling water before and after the steeping.

10. To ascertain whether the addition of potash or lime water, or a mixture of both, to the boiling water in which the flax is dipt, will facilitate the subsequent operations without injuring the flax, and in what degree.

11. To ascertain whether flax treated in the manner mentioned in the last two articles, is whiter, finer, or more easily bleached.

12. To ascertain whether the mode recommended of boiling, &c. is calculated to increase or diminish the strength and durability of the flax.

13. To

13. To determine experimentally, whether flax that is sown thin, and grows tall and strong in the stalk, is inferior to that which is thicker sown, and smaller in the stem.

14. To try whether any improvement can be made upon the rollers of the flax mills, so as to break the husk as much as possible, and by that means render the separation between it and the flax more easy.

15. To try whether any improvement can be made in the mode of skutching, so as to prevent the flax from being wasted and broken in the operation. N. B. I am of opinion, improved rollers at the flax mills, with very small deep fluting, would render the skutching less severe.

16. To determine comparatively whether long or short hickles make least refuse in dressing the flax. I think short hickles would dress it equally well and waste less of it.

17. To determine by fair trials, whether the use of a great number of hickles is more profitable, than putting the flax through only two, three, &c. beginning with very coarse ones, and ending with the finest.

Such are the points respecting flax management, that seem to me most deserving of experimental enquiry, and the thorough investigation of which promises to afford sufficient data for laying the foundation of a more perfect system than the present.

On the Method of ascertaining the Value of growing Timber Trees, at different and distant Periods of Time. By Charles Waistell, of

High Holborn. [From the Transactions of the Society of Arts, &c.]

SIR,

CONCEIVING that the tables contained in the annexed papers will afford useful information to growers of timber, and tend to encourage the growth of it in these kingdoms, and thereby promote the views of the Society of Arts, &c. I trust you will have the goodness to lay them before the Society, as I have formed them with great attention.

Having last autumn viewed some plantations made under my direction about thirty years ago, I found the value of one of them much to exceed my expectation. I became therefore desirous to devise some means of estimating what its value might probably be at different future periods. I was thus led to construct the first of these tables; and on the completion of this, other tables seemed necessary; and I was thus progressively led on to the construction of the whole. For this purpose I searched in various authors for the measure of trees, in girth and height, at different ages, and obtained similar information among my acquaintance. Hence I collected, that the increase in the circumference of trees is generally from about one to two inches annually, and from twelve to eighteen inches the annual increase in height. Some fall a little short, and some exceed those measures.

I shall now briefly notice a few of the advantages to be derived from the first table.

1st. The first table shows every fourth year, from twelve years old to an hundred, the rates per cent.

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per annum at which all trees increase, whether they grow fast or slow, provided their rate of growth does not vary. This table may be the means of saving young thriving woods from being cut down, by showing how great a loss is sustained by felling timber prematurely.*

2d. And it may be the means of bringing old trees to market, by showing the smallness of the interest they pay for the money they are worth, after they are 80 or 100 years old.

But this table shows the interest which they pay, only whilst the trees continue growing at their usual rate. In case they fall short only a little of their usual increase in girth, this considerably diminishes the rate per cent. per annum of their increase. And trees do decrease in their rate of growth before they appear to do so.† A pale and mossy bark are certain indications of it.

3d. The 1st table may also assist the valuer of such timber as is not to be cut down, but to continue growing, by enabling him to estimate its

present value more accurately than is usually done, especially when it is increasing after a high rate per cent. per annum.‡

The 2d table shows the rate per cent. to be the same as in the first table, though the annual increase is more both in height and circumference.

The 3d table is calculated to show the number of trees that will stand on an acre of ground, at the distance of one-fifth of their height, (which distance is recommended by Mr. Salmon, in a paper in the Society's 24th volume,) and the number of feet the trees will contain, both those to be cut out, and those to be left standing, at the end of every four years, from 16 to 64 years old, supposing they increase 12 inches in height and 1 in circumference annually. This distance may suit fir trees, but will be too near for oaks.

The 4th and 5th tables show the same particulars, when the trees grow at greater rates.

The 6th table is calculated to

* "A wood, near West Ward, in Cumberland, of more than 200 acres, was felling in 1794; it was little more than 30 years old. The whole was cut away, without leaving any to stand." See *Miller's Gardener's Dictionary*, last edition, under the head of *Woods*.

At 30 years old, timber pays 10 per cent. for standing; and probably this wood might have paid 7 per cent. per annum, on an average, for the next 30 years.

† In Mr. Pringle's *Agricultural Report* for Westmoreland is a paper of the Bishop of Llandaff's, stating, "That a very fine oak, of 82 years' growth, measured in circumference at 6 feet from the ground, on the 27th of October 1792, 107 inches, and on the same day of the same month in 1793 it measured 108 inches." He then states the interest it paid to be only about 2 per cent. and says this tree was a singularly thriving one. It is evident that, with all this appearance of thriving, it was on the decline. For if we divide 108, its inches in circumference, by 82, its age, we find its average annual increase had been 1 inch and a-third. Its falling off to 1 inch reduced the rate per cent. of increase one-fourth.

‡ A fir wood, of more than 30 acres, and about 30 years old, was lately valued to be sold with an estate, by several eminent wood-valuers, without taking into consideration its rate of increase. It was then increasing after the rate of 10 per cent. per annum, and probably would increase after the rate of 8 per cent. on an average, for the next 20 years.

show

show the same particulars, when the trees are constantly thinned out every four years, so as to leave them at the distance of one-fourth of their height. According to this table, there will be 48 trees left on an acre when they are 120 years old; and it seems generally agreed, that from 40 to 50 full-grown oak trees are as many as have sufficient room to stand on an acre.

The 7th table shows the same particulars respecting trees which increase 15 inches in height and $1\frac{1}{2}$ inch in circumference annually.

The 8th table shows the same particulars respecting trees which increase 18 inches in height and 2 inches in circumference annually.

The 9th table shows the same particulars as table 6, till the trees are 28 feet high; after which the

distance is increased from one-fourth to one-third of their height.

The 10th, 11th, and 12th tables show the annual increase in boles of 24, 32, and 40 feet long, and the difference of their increase at the same ages.

To these tables succeed comparative statements, showing the number of feet contained in boles of different lengths, when the trees are 60 years old; by which it appears, that, if cut down at that age, the longest boles are not the most profitable to the growers of timber.

And I have added the valuation of the plantations before alluded to, with remarks on them.

Having finished my introductory remarks, I conclude; and am, Sir,

Your very humble servant,

CHARLES WAISTELL.

TABLES RESPECTING THE GROWTH OF TIMBER.

Calculations, showing every fourth year, from 12 to 100, the progressive annual Increase in the Growth of Trees, and gradual Decrease in the Rate per cent. per annum, that the annual Increase bears to the whole Tree.

The whole height of the trees is taken to the top of the leading shoot, and the girth in the middle; but no account is taken of the lateral branches.

If trees increase 12 inches in height and 1 in circumference annually, their increase will be as undermentioned, viz.

TABLE I.

Years old & ft. high.	Girth.	Contents.	Years old & ft. high.	Girth.	Contents.	One year's increase.	Rate per cent. of increase.
	inch.	ft. in. pts.		inch.	ft. in. pt. ds.	ft. in. pt. ds.	
12	1½	0 2 3	13	1½	0 2 10 3	0 0 7 3	26·8
16	2	0 5 4	17	2½	0 6 4 9	0 1 0 9	19·9
20	2½	0 10 5	21	2½	1 0 0 8	0 1 7 8	15·7
24	3	1 6 0	25	3½	1 8 4 1	0 2 4 1	13·
28	3½	2 4 7	29	3½	2 7 9 1	0 3 2 0	11·
32	4	3 6 8	33	4½	3 10 9 6	0 4 1 6	9·67
36	4½	5 0 9	37	4½	5 5 11 5	0 5 2 5	8·5
40	5	6 11 4	41	5½	7 5 8 10	0 6 4 10	7·6
44	5½	9 2 11	45	5½	9 10 7 9	0 7 8 9	6·96
48	6	12 0 0	49	6½	12 9 2 3	0 9 2 3	6·38
52	6½	15 3 0	53	6½	16 1 10 2	0 10 10 2	5·9
56	7	19 0 8	57	7½	20 1 1 7	1 0 5 7	5·4
60	7½	23 5 2	61	7½	24 7 6 6	1 2 4 6	5·1
64	8	28 5 4	65	8½	29 9 7 0	1 4 3 0	4·76
68	8½	34 1 4	69	8½	35 7 8 11	1 6 4 11	4·49
72	9	40 6 0	73	9½	42 2 6 4	1 8 6 4	4·2
76	9½	47 7 6	77	9½	49 6 5 2	1 10 11 2	3·98
80	10	55 6 8	81	10½	57 7 11 9	2 1 3 9	3·79
84	10½	64 3 8	85	10½	66 7 7 8	2 3 11 8	3·6
88	11	73 10 4	89	11½	76 5 11 1	2 7 7 1	3·4
92	11½	84 5 9	93	11½	87 3 4 0	2 9 7 0	3·3
96	12	96 0 0	97	12½	99 0 4 6	3 0 4 6	3·15
100	12½	108 6 0	101	12½	111 0 6 8	3 3 6 8	3·

In Table X. of the increase of a bole of 24 feet in height, of a tree growing at the above-mentioned rate, it will be observed, that the contents at 24 years of age are the same, and at 64 years nearly the same as in the above table, but the contents of the bole at all the intermediate periods exceed the above. And a 40-foot bole exceeds the above contents from 44 years to 100, as may be seen in Table 12. For these reasons chiefly

chiefly I did not think it necessary to take into consideration the decrease in height that takes place in trees at different ages, according to the kind of tree and quality of the soil.

The increase per cent. per annum is the same as the above in all trees at the same age, whether they have grown faster or slower, provided their increase in height and thickness annually has not varied on an average. The progress of trees is sometimes greatly retarded by insects destroying their leaves, by unfavourable seasons, and by their roots penetrating into noxious strata. But these accidents cannot enter into calculations.

Calculations, showing every fourth year, from 12 to 64, the progressive annual Increase in the Growth of Trees, and the gradual Decrease in the Rate per cent. per annum that the annual Increase bears to the whole Tree.

The whole height of the trees is taken to the top of the leading shoot, and the girth in the middle; but no account is taken of the lateral branches.

If trees increase eighteen inches in height, and two inches in circumference, annually, their increase will be as undermentioned, viz.

TABLE II.

Age of Trees.	Height.			Girth.	Contents.			Age of Trees.	Height.			Girth.	Contents.			One year's increase.	Rate per cent. increase.
	feet.	in.	ft. in. pt.		feet.	in.	pt.		feet.	in.	pt.		feet.	in.	pt.		
12	18	3	1 1 6	13	19	3	1 5 1 00	13	19	3	1 5 1 00	13	19	3	1 5 1 00	3 7 0	26.5
16	24	4	2 8 0	17	25	4	3 2 4 00	17	25	4	3 2 4 00	17	25	4	3 2 4 00	6 4 0	19.8
20	30	5	3 2 6	21	31	5	6 0 3 60	21	31	5	6 0 3 60	21	31	5	6 0 3 60	9 9 6	15.6
24	36	6	9 0 0	25	37	6	10 2 0 61	25	37	6	10 2 0 61	25	37	6	10 2 0 61	2 0 6	13.
28	42	7	14 3 6	29	43	7	15 10 6 01	29	43	7	15 10 6 01	29	43	7	15 10 6 01	7 0 0	11.
32	48	8	21 4 0	33	49	8	23 4 8 02	33	49	8	23 4 8 02	33	49	8	23 4 8 02	0 8 0	9.6
36	54	9	30 4 6	37	55	9	32 11 7 62	37	55	9	32 11 7 62	37	55	9	32 11 7 62	7 1 6	8.5
40	60	10	41 8 0	41	61	10	44 10 3 63	41	61	10	44 10 3 63	41	61	10	44 10 3 63	2 3 6	7.6
44	66	11	55 5 6	45	67	11	59 3 10 03	45	67	11	59 3 10 03	45	67	11	59 3 10 03	10 4 0	6.9
48	72	12	72 0 0	49	73	12	76 7 1 04	49	73	12	76 7 1 04	49	73	12	76 7 1 04	7 1 0	6.3
52	78	13	91 6 6	53	79	13	96 10 11 65	53	79	13	96 10 11 65	53	79	13	96 10 11 65	4 5 6	5.8
56	84	14	114 4 0	57	85	14	120 6 8 66	57	85	14	120 6 8 66	57	85	14	120 6 8 66	2 8 6	5.4
60	90	15	140 7 6	61	91	15	147 9 2 07	61	91	15	147 9 2 07	61	91	15	147 9 2 07	1 8 0	5.
64	96	16	170 8 0	65	97	16	178 9 4 08	65	97	16	178 9 4 08	65	97	16	178 9 4 08	1 4 0	4.7

Explanation of the Construction of Tables I. and II.

To render the preceding tables easy to be understood by persons not accustomed to calculations, I will state the process of the opera-

tions in the first line of Table 2.

The height of the tree at twelve years of age is supposed to be 18 feet to the top of its leading shoot, and 24 inches in circumference at the ground; consequently, at half the height, the circumference is 12 inches;

They sometimes join their resources for the common safety against the enemy; but they have not hospitals for the sick and wounded. In the isles of Mazatlan, and on the other shores of America to the north, there is a bird, of a size and appearance somewhat like those of a goose, and called an *alcatraz*. When an *alcatraz*, by any accident, is confined to one spot, and unable to go in quest of food, which is chiefly a small fish, like our sprats, called a *sardine*, his kind and compassionate associates bring supplies to him, from time to time, in the greatest abundance. The Indians perceiving this, are at great pains to catch an *alcatraz*, and tether it to a tree or a stake, that they may share in the liberal supplies of sardines with which his table is constantly furnished. In the island of St. Roque, on the west coast of California, the Spaniards of this expedition found an *alcatraz* with its wing broken, attached with a small cord by the foot to the branch of a tree, and a great heap of sardines close by it.

Curious Particulars relative to the Stork.

[From Macgill's Travels in Turkey, &c.]

THE stork, which abounds in Turkey, destroys the locusts in great quantities. These birds are great favourites with the Mahometans. They build their nests in the roofs of their houses, or in high trees in the neighbourhood of their villages, where they remain quite tame, and free from molesta-

tion. They live upon vermin and reptiles, and destroy snakes innumerable. In shape and size they resemble a heron; the legs and the beak are red and very long; the body and neck pure white, and the wings jet black; notwithstanding this, they appear very ugly birds. They pay an annual visit to Turkey. They arrive in vast numbers about the middle of March, and always in the night. They arrange their progress very systematically. They send forward their scouts, who make their appearance a day or two before the grand army, and then return to give in their report; after which the whole body advances, and on its passage, leaves, during the night, its detachments to garrison the different towns and villages on their way. Early in October, they take their departure in the same manner, so that no one can tell from whence they come, or whither they go. They are known in the night-time to leave all the villages, and have been seen in the air like immense clouds. They leave none behind but those who, from infirmity or accident, are unable to fly. A person who, at the season of their departure, was in the habit of coming from the interior, told me, that, on his journey the year preceding, he had seen thousands and hundreds of thousands of them near the banks of a river, and that they annually assemble there; and when the general sees that his whole army is collected, he at a given moment sets them in motion, leaving a detachment, no doubt, to bring up the stragglers.

July

July 24. — Last week two hives of bees belonging to William Hollingworth, Esq. of Sydenham, swarmed at one time, and alighted on a tree, where they cordially remained for some time, till at last they went off together for about the distance of a mile, and, being followed, were found upon an old hive, sitting on opposite sides in separate communities. They were then put into two different ones, but not liking their separation, they again joined, and now live all in one hive, seemingly in the greatest harmony.

Further Instances of Reason and Moral Sentiment, or Sensation, in the inferior Animals.

The following remarkable occurrence is given on the authority of Mr. J. Collett, of Evesham, Worcestershire:—Some time since, I was walking with a lady through some meadows between two villages, of the names of Upper and Lower Slaughter, in the county of Gloucester; the path lay within about one hundred yards of a small brook. Many ewes and lambs were in the meadow: we were about half-way over it, when a ewe came up to us and bleated very loudly, looking up in my face; and then ran off towards the brook. I could not help remarking this extraordinary behaviour, but my attention was particularly roused when she repeated it; and, bleating louder, seemed to wish to signify something in particular: she then ran off as before in the same direction, repeatedly looking behind her till she reached the brook, where she stood still.

After standing to look at her some time, we continued our walk, and had nearly reached the gate that led into the next meadow, when she came running after us the third time, and seemed yet more earnest, if possible, than before. I then determined to endeavour to discover the motive for such singular behaviour: I followed the ewe towards the brook; seeing me advance, she ran as fast as she was able, looking behind her several times; when we came to the brook, she peeped over the edge of a hillock into the water, looked up in my face, and bleated with the most significant voice I ever heard from a quadruped. Judge of my surprise, when, on looking into the stream, I saw her lamb standing close under the hillock with the water nearly over its back. I instantly drew it out, when the fond mother began to lick, and give it suck, and, looking up to me, uttered several sounds very different from those she had uttered before, and evidently expressing satisfaction and pleasure. I needed not those thanks, for I never performed one action in my life that gave me more unmixed pleasure, nor did ever brute appear more grateful.

The following curious story, or anecdote of a cat, is authenticated by a person of undoubted veracity, residing within less than three miles of London, to whom the animal belonged:—The cat was, of what the connoisseurs in cats call the Persian breed; that is to say, short in the body, but high on the legs: It was a sensible and a remarkably playful creature. Its master was wont to caress it very much, and feed it with too great a proportion

of the cream allotted for breakfast and tea, for which he now and then got heartily scolded. Whether from grateful attachment, or by way of soliciting more cream, it would sit down for hours on the table on which he was writing, and now and then amuse itself by catching at the pen, as it moved, with which he wrote. One of her kittens died: it was the winter season. The man's wife, with himself, was sitting by the fire, when in comes the cat, following the maid, when she opened the door, with her dead kitten in her mouth. She laid it down close by her mistress's feet, mewed piteously, and gently pushed her mistress's legs with her head, evidently imploring her to restore the kitten to life. She had conceived an idea that the lady could do something for the kitten that she could not do herself. There is not a doubt but the more sagacious animals of the domesticated kind have some notions of men, similar to what men have of invisible and intelligent powers. To the inferior animals man is a god. It is affirmed by some, that the feline race is incapable of ingratitude, or any social virtue. They are rapacious, it is true; but not altogether unsocial. Were a dozen of rooms open to them, they would sit down in that which has company in it, and that too very near the company.

Of the General Structure and Physiology of Plants compared with Animals.

[From Mr. Good's Anniversary Oration delivered before the Medical Society of London.]

“A MIDST the maxims of an almost universal application, to be met with in the writings both of Harvey and Linnæus, the following is one of the most prominent—*Omne vivum ex ovo*.—It is indeed the very basis of the sexual system, it has been propounded in every age in which such a system has been taught, and is altogether as applicable to plants as to animals. For although in both we meet with occasional instances of propagation by other means, by buds and bulbs, by slips and cuttings, the exceptions are either so few or so irrelevant, as rather to confirm the general rule than to subvert it, and to evince a double or triple mode of increase, than to oppose the generation of eggs as the common mode.

“The egg of the plant is its seed. The seed is sometimes naked, but more generally covered with a pericarp, whence plants become naturally divided into the two grand classes of gymnospermous, and agiospermous. The pericarp is of various forms and structures; and of these the more common are the legume, silique, or silicle, being merely varieties of what, among ourselves, is denominated in popular language cod or pod; the loment, which is a kind of pod not so frequent as either of the former, but of which we have an instance in a plant well known to most of us, the *cassia fistula* of Linnæus, or the *cassia fistularis* of the dispensatories; the pome, or core-apple, of which we have instances in the common apple, and the orange; the drupe, or stone-apple, instances of which occur to us in the plum, cherry, and almond; the glume or chaff; the berry; the *acinus* or conglomerate berry,

berry, as in the rasp; the nut; and the capsule.

“Stripping off this outer covering, we find the seed to consist internally of a *corculum*, corcle, or little heart, and externally of a parenchymatous substance, surrounded with a double integument, sometimes single, sometimes bifid, and sometimes more than bifid; and hence denominated monocotyledonous, dicotyledonous, polycotyledonous. It was very generally supposed formerly, and is still supposed by some botanists, that the seeds of various orders of plants, as the mosses, fungi, and algæ, are acotyledonous, or totally destitute of a cotyledon of any kind. But as many, perhaps most plants of this kind, have of late been discovered to possess such parenchyma, we have great reasons to believe that this organ is universal, and that there is no such thing as an acotyledonous seed in the whole vegetable kingdom. In reality the cotyledon appears absolutely necessary for the germination and future growth of the seed, and may hence be denominated its lungs or placentule. Like the perfect plant, it possesses lymphatics and air-vessels. Through the former of these it absorbs the moisture of the soil into which it is plunged, decomposes a part of it into its elementary principles, and conducts those principles together with the undecomposed water to the corcle, which becomes stimulated to the process of germination by the oxygen thus set at liberty; while through the latter it breathes forth its excess of oxygen, together with a considerable portion of carbonic acid, and hydrogen gasses, and generally some portion of azot.

“It is the corcle, then, which is

the true *punctum saliens* of vegetable life, and to this the cotyledon is subservient. The corcle consists of two parts, an ascending and a descending; the former called its plumule, which gives birth to the trunk and branches, the latter, denominated its rostell, which gives birth to the root and radicles. The position of the corcle in the seed is always in the vicinity of the *hilum* or eye, which is a cicatrix or umbilicus remaining after the separation of the *funis* or umbilical cord from the pericarp to which the seed has hereby been attached. The first radicle or germinating branch of the rostell uniformly elongates, and pushes into the earth, before the plumule evinces any change; like the cotyledon, the radicles consist chiefly of lymphatics and air-vessels, which serve to separate the water from the soil, in order that the oxygen may be separated from the water.

“Hence originates the root, unquestionably the most important part of the plant, and which in some sense may be regarded as the plant itself: for if every other part of the plant be destroyed, and the root remain uninjured, this organ will regerminate, and the whole plant be renewed; but if the root perish, the plant becomes lost irrecoverably. Yet there are various phenomena in vegetable life that manifest a smaller difference in the nature of the root and the trunk, than we should at first be induced to suppose; for in several species, and especially those of the *prunus* and *salix* tribes, if the stem branches be bent down to the earth, plunged into it, and continued in this situation for a few months, these branches will throw forth radicles; and if, after this, the original root be dug up,

up, and suffered to ascend into the air, so that the whole plant becomes completely inverted, the original root will throw forth stem-branches and bear the wild fruit peculiar to its tribe. The *rhizophora*, mangle or mangrove-tree, grows naturally in this manner; for its stem-branches, having reached a certain perpendicular height, bend downwards of their own accord, and throw forth root-branches into the soil, from which new trunks arise, so that it is not uncommon, in some parts of Asia and Africa, to meet with a single tree of this species covering the oozy waters in which it grows, with a forest of half a mile in length.

“The solid parts of the trunk of the plant consist of *cortex*, cuticle, or outer bark; *liber*, *cutis* or inner bark; *alburnum*, or soft wood; *lignum*, or hard wood; and *medulla*, or pith. Linnæus gave the name of medulla to the pith of plants, upon a supposition that it had a near resemblance to the *medulla spinalis* of quadrupeds. A closer investigation, however, has since proved that this resemblance is very faint, and that the pith or medulla of vegetables consists of nothing more than a mere spongy cellular substance, forming indeed an admirable reservoir for moisture, and hence of the utmost importance to young plants, which, in consequence of their want of leaves and branches, whose surfaces are covered with the bibulous mouths of innumerable lymphatics, would otherwise be frequently in danger of perishing through absolute drought; but gradually of less use as the plant advances in age, and becomes possessed of these ornamental appendages; and hence, except in a few

instances, annually encroached upon, and at length totally obliterated by the surrounding lignum.

“All these lie in concentric circles; and the trunk enlarges, by the formation of a new liber or inner bark every year; the whole of the liber of one year, excepting indeed its outermost layer, which is transformed into cortex, becoming the alburnum of the next, and the alburnum becoming the lignum.—Whence it is obvious that a mark of any kind, which has penetrated through the outer into the inner bark, must in a long process of years be comparatively transferred to the central parts of the trunk; on which account we often find in felling trees of great longevity, as the oak for example, the date of very remote national æras, and the initials of monarchs, who flourished in very early periods of our national history, stamped in the very heart of the timber on its being subdivided.

“As these series of concentric circles, moreover, produced by the growth of every year, are still visible after the conversion of every other part into lignum, or hard wood, we can trace the age of a tree, with a considerable degree of certainty, by allowing a year for every outer circle, and about two or three years for the complete lignification of the innermost.

“Independently of these more solid parts of the trunk or stem, we generally meet with some portion of parenchyma and cellular substance, and always with the different systems of vegetable vessels disposed in one common and uniform arrangement. The lower orders of plants, indeed, such as the annuals and biennials, consist almost exclusively

sively of parenchyma or cellular substance, with an inner and outer bark, and the respective vessels of the vegetable system.

“ These vessels are adducent and reducent, or arteries and veins, pneumatic or air-vessels, and lymphatics. The lymphatics lie immediately under the cuticle and in the cuticle. They anastomose in different ways through their minute intermediate branches, and, by surrounding the apertures of the cuticle, perform the alternating economy of inhalation and exhalation. Their direction varies in different species of plants, but is always uniform in the same species.

“ Immediately below these lie the adducent vessels, or arteries: they are the largest of all the vegetable vessels, rise immediately from the root, and communicate nutriment in a perpendicular direction: and when the stem of a plant is cut horizontally, they instantly appear in circles. Interior to these lie the reducent vessels or veins; which are softer, more numerous, and more minute than the arteries; and in young shoots run down through the cellular texture and the pith. Between the arteries and veins are situated the air-vessels, which are delicate membranous tubes stretching in a spiral direction, the folds being sometimes close to each other, and sometimes more distant, but generally growing thicker towards the root, and especially in ligneous plants. These vessels also are very minute, and according to numerous observations of Hedwig made with the microscope, seldom exceed a 290th part of a line, or a 3000th part of an inch in diameter.

“ The lymphatics of a plant may

be often seen with great ease by merely stripping off the cuticle with a delicate hand, and then subjecting it to a microscope; and in the course of the examination we are also frequently able to trace the existence of a great multitude of valves, by the action of which the apertures of the lymphatics are commonly found closed. Whether the other systems of vegetable vessels possess the same mechanism, we have not been able to determine decisively; the following experiment, however, should induce us to conclude that they do. If we take the stem of a common balsamine, or of various other plants, and cut it horizontally at its lower end, and plunge it, so cut, into a decoction of Brazil-wood, or any other coloured fluid, we shall perceive that the arteries or adducent vessels, as also the air-vessels, will become filled or injected by an absorption of the coloured liquor, but that the veins, or reducent vessels, will not become filled; of course evincing an obstacle in this direction, to the ascent of the coloured fluid. But if we invert the stem, and in like manner cut horizontally the extremity which till now was uppermost, and plunge it so cut, into the same fluid, we shall then perceive that the veins will become injected, or suffer the fluid to ascend, but that the arteries will not: proving clearly the same kind of obstacle in the course of the arteries in this direction, which was proved to exist in the veins in the opposite direction; and which reverse obstacles we can scarcely ascribe to any other cause than the existence of valves.

“ By this double set of vessels, moreover, possessed of an opposite

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site power, and acting in an opposite direction, the one to convey the sap or vegetable blood forwards, and the other to bring it backwards, we are able very sufficiently to establish the phenomenon of a circulatory system: and, according to several of the experiments of M. Wildenow, it seems probable that this circulatory system is maintained by the projectile force of a regular and alternate contraction and dilatation of the vegetable vessels. Yet the great minuteness of these vessels must ever render it extremely difficult to obtain any thing like absolute certainty upon this subject. Even in the most perfectly established circulatory systems of animals, in man himself, it is not once in five hundred instances, that we are able to acquire any palpable proof of such a fact: we are positive of the existence of an alternating systole and diastole in the larger arteries, because their pulsation gives proof of it to the finger; but throughout all the minuter arteries, which are infinitely more numerous, we reason rather than perceive; we infer a similarity of action, because from mere analogy, we ascribe a similarity of power. How much less then ought we to expect any full demonstration of this point in the vessels of vegetables, in every instance so much more minute than those of the more perfect animals, and seldom exceeding, as I have already observed, a three-thousandth part of an inch in diameter!

“ In fine, the great mass of the facts and phenomena of vegetable life has so close a resemblance and parallelism to the facts and pheno-

mena of animal life, if we except those which relate to the rational and immortal mind, with which I have no concern at present, as clearly to indicate the application of one common system to both, as far as one common system can be made to apply; and, if I mistake not, to demonstrate one common derivation from one common and almighty cause. And having thus far submitted to your attention a brief outline of the general structure of vegetables, I shall now proceed to point out a few of their resemblances to the economy or habits of animals, and shall endeavour to select those which are either most curious or most prominent.

“ Plants then, like animals, are propagated by sexual connection. This, which, as an opinion, was entertained by Aristotle, and, as a doctrine, studied and taught still earlier, by Empedocles and Theophrastus, is in the present day a position incontrovertibly established by the discoveries of Zaluzianski, the still more accurate observations of Linnæus, and the concurrent labours of a host of later botanists who have pursued their footsteps. And although among vegetables we meet with a few instances of propagation by other means, as, for instance, by slips and offsets, or by buds and bulbs, the parallelism, instead of being hereby diminished, is only drawn the closer; for we meet with just as many instances of the same varieties of propagation among animals. Thus the hydra, or polype, as it is more generally called, the asterias, and several species of the leech, as the *hirudo viridis*, for example, are uniformly propagated by lateral sections, or instinctive slips or offsets, while almost

almost every genus of zoophytic worms is only capable of increase by buds, bulbs, or knobs.

“The blood of plants, like that of animals, instead of being simple is compound, and consists of a great multitude of compacter corpuscles, globules for the most part, but not always globules, floating in a looser and almost diaphanous fluid. From this common current of vitality, plants, like animals, secrete a variety of substances of different and frequently of opposite powers and qualities,—substances nutritive, medicinal, or destructive. And as in animal life, so also in vegetable, it is often observed that the very same tribe, or even individual, that in some of its organs secretes a wholesome aliment, in other organs secretes a deadly poison. As the viper pours into the reservoir situated at the bottom of his hollow tusk a fluid fatal to other animals, while in the general substance of his body he offers us not only a healthful nutriment, but, in some sort, an antidote for the venom of his jaw: so the *jatropha manihot*, or Indian cassava, secretes a juice extremely poisonous in its root, while its leaves are regarded as a common esculent in the country, and are eaten like spinach-leaves among ourselves.

“In like manner the *amyris*, in one of its species, offers the balm-of-Gilead tree, in another the gum-eloni tree, and in a third the poison-ash. It is from a fourth species of this genus, I will just observe, as I pass along, in order the more completely to familiarize it to us, that we obtain that beautiful plant, which, under the name of rose-wood, is now so great a favourite in our drawing-rooms.

“The *mimosa nilotica*, or gum-

Arabic tree, is a rich instance in proof of the same observation. Its root throws forth a fluid that smells as offensively as *asafœtida*; the juice of its stem is severely sour and astringent; the secretions of its cutis exude a sweet, saccharine, nutritive gum, the common gum-Arabic of the shops, and its flowers diffuse a highly fragrant and regaling odour.

“But perhaps the *laurus*, as a genus, offers us the most extensive variety of substances of different qualities. This elegant plant, in one of its species, gives us the cinnamon-tree; in another, the cassia, or wild cinnamon; in a third, the camphor-tree; in a fourth, the alligator-pear; in a fifth, the sassafras; in a sixth, a sort of gum-Benjamin, though not the real gum-Benjamin, which is a *styrax*; while in a seventh, the *L. caustica*, it exhibits a tree with the sap as poisonous as that of the manchineel.

“And truly extraordinary is it, and highly worthy of notice, that various plants, or juices of plants, which are fatally poisonous to some animals, may not only be eaten with impunity by others, but will afford them a sound and wholesome nutriment. How numerous are the insect tribes that feed and fatten on all the species of *euphorbia*, or noxious spurge! The *dhamesa*, or Indian bucceros, feeds to excess on the *colubrina* or *nux romica*; and the land-crab on the berries of the *hippomane* or manchineel-tree. The leaves of the *kalmia latifolia* are feasted upon by the deer, and the round-horned elk, but are mortally poisonous to sheep, to horned cattle, to horses, and to man. The bee extracts honey without injury from its nectary, but the man who partakes of that honey after it is deposited

deposited in the hive-cells, falls a victim to his repast. Some very singular cases in proof of this assertion occurred at Philadelphia no longer ago than the year 1790, in the autumn and winter of which an extensive mortality was produced amongst those who had partaken of the honey that had been collected in the neighbourhood of Philadelphia, or had feasted on the common American pheasant, or pinnated grouse, as we call it in our country. The attention of the American government was excited by the general distress, a minute examination into the cause of the mortality ensued, and it was satisfactorily ascertained that the honey had been chiefly extracted from the flowers of the *kalmia latifolia*, and that the pheasants which proved thus poisonous had fed harmlessly on its leaves. In consequence of which a public proclamation was issued, prohibiting the use of the pheasant as a food for that season. The account is given in detail in the fifth volume of the American Philosophical Transactions, by that very accurate and excellent physiologist Dr. Barton, president of the American Linnæan Society, and professor of medicine in the university of Philadelphia; to whom I beg leave thus publicly to return my very sincere thanks for some very valuable physiological observations he has lately transmitted to me, and the rather because I see before me a learned correspondent and friend of the professor's, who will not suffer this public testimony of my gratitude to pass unnoticed.

"So differently constituted are the digestive powers of some animals compared with those of others; and so true is the observation of the

first poet and natural philosopher of ancient Rome, an observation, too, made in the contemplation of this very fact,—

'Tantaque in his rebus distantia, differentiasque est,
Ut quod aliis cibus est, aliis fuit acre venenum.'

"Animals, as we all know, are liable to a great variety of diseases; so, too, are vegetables; to diseases as numerous, as varied, and as fatal; to diseases epidemic, endemic, sporadic; to scabies, pernio, ulcer, gangrene; to polysarcia, atrophy, and, above all, to invagination. Whatever, in fine, be the system of nosology to which we are attached, to Sauvage's, Vogel's, or Cullen's, it is impossible for us to put our hand upon any one class or order of diseases which they describe, without putting our hand at the same time upon some disease to which plants are subject in common with animals. A simple, succinct, and perspicuous vegetable nosology would, indeed, be a production of no small value to the world. M. Wildenow has done much towards putting us into possession of such a treasure; let us hope that some future phytologist will complete what he has so admirably essayed, or that this excellent naturalist may yet live to give perfection to his own labours.

"There are some tribes of animals that exfoliate their cuticle annually, such are grasshoppers, spiders, several species of crabs, and serpents. Among vegetables we meet with a similar variation from the common rule, in the shrubby cinquefoil, indigenous to Yorkshire, and the plane tree of the West Indies.

"Animals are occasionally divided

vided into the two classes of locomotive or migratory, and fixed or permanent; vegetables may partake of a similar classification. Unquestionably the greater number of animals are of the former section, yet in every order of worms we meet with some instances that naturally appertain to the latter, while almost every genus and species of the zoophytic order, its millepores, madreporas, tubipores, gorgonias, isises, corallines, and sponges, can only be included under it. Plants, on the contrary, are for the most part stationary, yet there are many that are fairly entitled to be regarded as locomotive or migratory. The natural order *senticosæ*, the *icasandria polygynia* of the sexual system, offers us a variety of instances, of which the *fragaria*, or strawberry, may be selected as a familiar example. The palmate, the testicular, and the premorse rooted afford us similar proofs:—many of these grow from a new bulb, or knob, or radicle, while the old root; of whatever description it may be, dies away; in consequence of which we can only conclude that the vital principle of the plant has quitted an old, dilapidated, and ruinous mansion, to take possession of a new one. Insomuch, that were a person, on the point of travelling to the East Indies to plant the root of an orchis, or a scabius, in a particular spot in his garden, and to search for it in the same spot on his return home, he would be in no small degree disappointed; and if he were to remain abroad long, he must carry his pursuit to half an acre's distance, for thus far would some of these roots perhaps have travelled in a few years.

“Plants, like animals, have a

wonderful power of maintaining their common temperature, whatever be the temperature of the atmosphere that surrounds them; and hence occasionally of raising the thermometer, and occasionally of depressing it. Like animals, too, they are found to exist in most astonishing degrees of heat and cold, and to accommodate themselves accordingly. Wherever the interest or curiosity of man has led him into climates of the highest northern latitudes; wherever he has been able to exist himself, or to trace a vestige of animal being around him; there, too, has he beheld plants of an exquisite beauty and perfection; perfuming, perhaps, in many instances, the dead and silent atmosphere with their fragrances, and embellishing the barren scenery with their corals.

“It is said that animals of a certain character, the cold-blooded and amphibious, have a stronger tenacity to life than vegetables of any kind. But the assertion seems to have been hazarded too precipitately; for, admitting that the common water newt has been occasionally found imbedded in large masses of ice, perfectly torpid and apparently frozen; and that the common eel, when equally frozen and torpedified, is capable of being conveyed a thousand miles up the country, as from St. Petersburg, for example, to Moscow, in which country, we are told, it is a common practice thus to convey it; and that both, on being carefully thawed, may be restored to as full a possession of health and activity as ever; yet the torpidity hereby induced, can only be compared to that of deciduous plants in the winter months; during which sea-

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son we all know that, if proper care be exercised, they may be removed to any distance whatever without the smallest inconvenience.

“Plants, again, are capable of existing in very high degrees of heat. M. Sonnerat found the *viter agnus castus*, and two species of *aspalathus*, on the banks of a thermal rivulet in the island of Lucon, the heat of which raised the thermometer to 174° of Fahrenheit, and so near the water that its roots swept into it. Around the borders of a volcano, in the isle of Tanna, where the thermometer stood at 210° , Mr. Forster found a variety of flowers flourishing in the highest state of perfection; and conservas and other water-plants, are by no means unfrequently traced in the boiling springs of Italy, raising the thermometer to 212° , or the boiling point.

“Animals are capable of enduring a heat quite as extreme. Air has often been breathed by the human species with impunity at 264° . Tillet mentions its having been respired at 300° ; and Morantin, one instance, at 325° , and that for the space of five minutes. Sonnerat found fishes existing in a hot spring at the Manillas at 158° ; and M. Humboldt and M. Boupland, in travelling through the province of Quito, in South America, perceived other fishes thrown up alive, and apparently in health, from the bottom of a volcano, in the course of its explosions, along with water and heated vapour, that raised the thermometer to 210° , being only two degrees short of the boiling point. This last assertion has been discredited by some naturalists in our own country, but I think too hastily; and I am happy to have it

in my power, on this occasion, to add in no small degree to the testimony of these enterprising and very observant travellers. The manuscript now in my hands is an autographic note, written by the late Lord Bute, himself an excellent zoologist, to his friend the late reverend William Jones, of Nayland in Suffolk, as justly celebrated for his philosophical as for his theological publications, and was communicated to me by Edward Walker, esq. of Gestingthorpe, Essex, (who married Mr. Jones's only daughter,) a gentleman who is himself well versed in botanical science. In this note, after deservedly complimenting Mr. Jones on a philosophical work he had just produced, his noble correspondent adds, ‘Lord Bute cannot help imparting to Mr. Jones a singular observation made by him in June last, at the baths of Abano, near the Euganian mountains, in the borders of the Paduan state, famous in ancient authors; they are strong sulphur boiling springs, oozing out of a rocky eminence in great numbers, spreading over an acre of the top of a gentle hill. In the midst of these boiling springs, within three feet of five or six of them, rises a tepid one, about blood-warm, the only source used for drinking: but the extraordinary circumstance is, that not only conservas, &c. were found in the boiling springs, but numbers of small black beetles, that died on being taken out and plunged into cold waters. How amazingly must the great Author of nature have formed these creatures to bear a constant heat of above 200° !’

“I take it for granted, that the animals

animals here referred to were not species of the *scarabæus* or genuine beetle, which is not a water-insect, but of the *dytiscus* or *hydrophil*, which are so, and which have so near a resemblance to the *scarabæus*, as to be denominated water-beetles by many zoologists. And upon this explanation suffer me to observe that it is impossible for any collusion to have taken place between these different witnesses, unconnected in every respect as they must have been with each other, living at different periods, and travelling to different quarters of the globe; and that hence, in the opinion of every man of candour, the testimony of the one cannot fail in a very considerable degree to establish the testimony of the other.

“In reality, without wandering from our own country, we may at times meet with a variety of other phenomena, perfectly consonant in their nature, and altogether as extraordinary and anomalous, if we only attend to them as they rise before us. Thus the eggs of the *musca vomitoria*, our common flesh-fly, or blow-fly, are often deposited in the heat of summer upon putrescent meat, and broiled with such meat over a gridiron in the form of steaks, in a heat not merely of 212° , but of three or four times 212° . And yet, instead of being hereby destroyed, we sometimes find them quickened by this very exposure into their larva or grub state. And although I am ready to allow that, in the simple form of seeds or eggs, plants or animals may be expected to sustain a far higher degree of heat or cold with impunity, than in their subsequent and more perfect state; yet it cannot appear more extraordinary that

in such perfect state they should be able to resist a heat of 210° or 212° , than that in the state of seeds or eggs they should be able to exist in, and to derive benefit from a heat three or four times as excessive.

“In the vegetable world we meet with phenomena quite as anomalous. Thus the *byssus asbestos* (an *alga*, whose specific name explains the peculiarity of its properties) is altogether incombustible. Throw this plant into the fire, and instead of burning, it becomes instantaneously converted into glass. So among the mosses, the *Fontinalis antipyretica* (thus specifically denominated for the very same reason) is nearly as incombustible. This moss is indigenous to the Highlands, but is found still more generally in Scandinavia; and in this last country, the lower orders of the inhabitants, on account of its extreme inaptitude to burn, collect it as a lining for their chimneys, to prevent them from catching fire.

“Animals are often divided into the three classes of terrestrial, aquatic, and aerial. Plants are capable of a similar division. Among animals, it is probable that the largest number consists of the first class; yet, from the great variety of submarine genera that are known, and from nearly an equal variety, perhaps, that are not known, this is uncertain. Amongst vegetables, however, it is highly probable that the largest number belongs to the submarine class, if we may judge from the almost countless species of *fuci* and other equally prolific tribes of an aqueous and subaqueous origin, and the incalculable individuals that appertain to each species; and more especially, if we take into

consideration the greater equality of temperature which must necessarily exist in the submarine hills and valleys.

"Many animals are amphibious, or capable of preserving life in either element; the vegetable world is not without instances of a similar power. The *algæ*, and especially in the *ulva* and *fucus* tribes, offer us a multitude of examples. The *juncus*, in many of its species, is an amphibious plant; so, too, is the *oryza*. In other words, all will flourish entirely covered with water, or with their roots alone shooting into a moist soil.

"Animals of various kinds are aerial: perhaps the term is not used with strict correctness. It will, at least, apply with more correctness to plants. All the most succulent plants of hot climates are of this description: such are several of the palms and of the cannas; and the greater number of plants that embellish the arid Karro fields of the Cape of Good Hope. Succulent as they are, these will only grow in soils or sands so sere and adust, that no moisture can be extracted from them, and are even destroyed by a full supply of wet or by a rainy season. And hence it is an opinion common to many of the ablest physiologists of the present day, that they derive the whole of their nutriment from the surrounding atmosphere; and that the only advantage which they acquire from thrusting their roots into such strata is, that of obtaining an erect position. There are some quadrupeds that appear to derive

nutriment in the same manner. Thus the *bradypus*, or sloth, never drinks, and trembles at the feeling of rain; while the *olive-cary* avoids water of every kind almost as pertinaciously, and yet these are animals almost as succulent as any we are acquainted with.

"But however true this may be with regard to animals, we have palpable proofs that vegetables of certain tribes and descriptions are altogether supported by the atmosphere that surrounds them; for, important as is the organ of a root to plants in general, there are several which have no root whatever, and can derive nutriment in no other way."

On the instantaneous Production of Fire, by the mere Compression of Atmospheric Air. By Frederick Accum, M. R. I. A. Operative Chemist, Lecturer on Practical Chemistry, and on Mineralogy and Pharmacy, &c.

IN the xivth volume of the Philosophical Magazine, p. 363, professor Pictet communicates the ascension of combustible substances by the rapid compression of atmospheric air. The discovery of this curious fact is due to Mollet, as appears from the *Journal de Physique* for Messidor, An. XII. It is there stated, that if the air be very suddenly compressed in the ball of an air-gun, the quantity of caloric liberated by the first stroke of the piston is sufficient to set fire to a piece of *amadou** placed with-

* The name *amadou* is given to a kind of tinder which is imported from Germany. It is made of a large fungus, which grows on old trees, especially on the oak, ash, and fir. This substance, being first boiled in common water, and afterwards dried and well beaten with a mallet, is then soaked in a solution of salt-petre, and again put to dry in an oven.

in the canal of the pump. And if the instrument be furnished by a lens firmly secured, a vivid flash of light is said to be perceived at the instant of this condensation. The evolution of light seems to have been first noticed by a workman employed in the manufacture of arms at St. Etienne, who discharged an air-gun highly loaded, observed a vivid flash at the orifice of the barrel.

These curious discoveries of the foreign philosopher have lately been applied to practical utility in this country. Ingenious workmen have shown, that for the ascension of combustible bodies by compressed air, the air-gun is by no means necessary, but that the experiment may be performed, and even with more ease, by means of a common condensing syringe of good workmanship. The number of instruments of that kind which have been called for at my laboratory, and with which the scientific public has been supplied, gives me reason to think, that men of science deem this simple apparatus worthy of notice. The instrument I have furnished, consists of a common syringe, as usually sold, about ten inches long, and not more than five-eighths of internal bore. At the lower extremity it is furnished with a cap, which serves as a chamber to receive the substance intended to be fired, and which cap is attached to the instrument by a male and female screw, or instead of this cap a common stopcock may be used; the former contrivance, however, is more elegant, more durable, and less expensive.

To use this instrument the cap is unscrewed, or the stopcock turned, a small piece of *amadou*, or

common tinder, is placed in the chamber, and the cap screwed on again. If the piston of the instrument be now depressed with as quick a motion as possible, the condensation of the air is so active as to set the *amadou* on fire.

From the result of a few experiments which I have made with this instrument, I am induced to believe, that the ascension of the combustible bodies, which is effected in the manner stated, is not simply owing to the mere instantaneous condensation of the air which takes place in the syringe, and subsequent liberation of caloric, as stated by the continental philosophers; but that, on the contrary, it appears to be owing to the intense and rapid mechanical motion, vibration, or friction, produced in the particles of the body, placed in the chamber of the instrument against each other by the rapid current produced. For it was found that only such bodies as are exceedingly porous, or are made up of a multitude of minute fibres, could be set on fire by means of this instrument; and that the ascension of compact combustible substances, or bodies of a different texture, when attempted, always failed. Hence phosphorus, phosphuret of sulphur, camphor, ether, naphtha, fulminating gold, fulminating mercury, and other inflammable substances, which so readily take fire, cannot be inflamed, nor can the thinnest piece of foil, made of the fusible alloy which liquefies in boiling water, be melted by the current of compressed air thus effected. The case is otherwise when a porous or fibrous inflammable body is suddenly struck upon: a piece of common tinder, a piece of *amadou*, very

very dry tow, rolled up in a coil, common touch-wood, and the scrapings of dry paper, or linen rag, are instantly inflamed by a stream of condensed air. Hence it appears, that the ascension of these bodies is not solely owing to the mere disengagement of caloric, of which the air is deprived when its volume is suddenly contracted. Biot has, indeed, announced in the *Magas. Encyclop.* for April 1805, that the effect of a very instantaneous compression of oxygen and hydrogen gasea might be substituted for the electric spark, in the performance of the famous experiment elucidating the production of water. He states, that having introduced

into an air-gun a mixture of the two gases, and having given a sudden stroke to the piston, a vivid light, accompanied with a violent detonation, took place, indicating the combination of the bases of the two gases. This important experiment, which no doubt will be repeated by others, stands, nevertheless, unconnected with what has been advanced. And although the performance of the instrument I have described is absolutely harmless, when applied for the purpose it is intended, the experiment of Biot requires, nevertheless, precaution to prevent dangers to which those who make it are exposed.

USEFUL PROJECTS.

Plan for the Relief of the West-India Planters. By Alexander Thomson, Esq. of Old Brompton, Major in the Royal York Mary-le-bone Volunteers.

THE author, after stating the distress of the planters, the causes of the same, and considering two temporary remedies, the distilling spirits from sugar, and granting permission to neutrals to carry it directly from the colonies, proceeds to point out the most effectual permanent remedies, and tells us, that

“It appears by the returns made by the victualling-board to the committee of the House of Commons, in July 1807, that their contracts for spirits amount to about a million gallons annually, probably at this time to much more. At all events, the consumption of rum, if used exclusively by the army and navy, may be taken at one third of the imports of that article, as stated to the same committee in Mr. Irving's Report. A rise in price of two shillings, or even one shilling per gallon on all the rum made, would at this time afford a substantial relief to the planter, and

could scarcely be deemed a great sacrifice on the part of the public, who receives at this time a duty upon the article of four times the amount of the price the planter receives for it at this market. An increase of one shilling per gallon on the victualling-board's supplies would not much exceed fifty thousand pounds per annum. It is presumed that no one would deem this a great national sacrifice, while the object is the relief of a body of men, whose interests are so closely connected with those of the public. It may be expedient to ascertain, by the evidence of persons competent to judge, whether a spirit cannot be obtained from sugar, resembling in taste and flavour very nearly those of brandy, for which the public, from long custom, has so great a predilection. If this can be effected, the consumption and sale of rum would thereby be materially increased.

The lowering and levying the duties *ad valorem* on sugars have been suggested by many respectable evidences before the committee of the house of commons, as well as by the house of assembly of Jamaica, as likely to afford a substantial

stantial, effectual, and permanent, relief to the British planter.

It is true that some persons have doubted whether the lowering, or even the total abolition, of all duties (which are assumed by them to be paid entirely by the consumer, and not by the planter) would afford any relief. Without entering minutely into the disputed point of who pays the duty, it may be assumed as a fact, that the cheaper an article is for which there is a demand, the greater the consumption will be, till that consumption reaches a point, beyond which there will be no demand. What is the relief the planter is now asking for?—An increased consumption in the home-markets. That the abolishing, or even lowering the duties, would have this effect, seems capable of demonstration.

The use of sugar has for many years past been so extended, in comparison with what it formerly was, that it has been doubted if the consumption of it was likely to be susceptible of farther augmentation. What is the fact?—The consumption of sugar has been gradually and rapidly increasing for these thirty or forty years past. Without going farther back than the year 1804, when sugar was sold at a high price, and the duty was the same as it now is, the quantity consumed in Great-Britain and Ireland was much less that year than it was in the preceding year, 1803, when the price was much lower. During the years 1805, 1806, and 1807, sugars have fallen in price; the consumption has increased: the consumption in Great-Britain and Ireland, on an average of five years, ending in 1800, has been computed from the custom-house returns at

148,000 hogsheads, of 13 cwt. each annually. The consumption, on a like average of five years, ending the 31st of December, 1806, has been computed from the same documents at 185,000 hogsheads; and that of the year 1807 is said to have reached nearly to 200,000 hogsheads. Is this rapidly-augmented consumption to be attributed to the low price of the article, or to the effect of an unusually increased population during these short periods? Certainly not to the latter. Lowness of price is, no doubt, the real cause. In a pamphlet lately published, and much read, a question to this effect is confidently put, “Whether any rational man, who knows the extended use of sugar in this country, can believe that an abolition of the whole duty on it would be likely to increase the consumption much farther?” Facts and experience must determine the answer. Experience, it has been seen, proves the affirmative for the past; to enable us to judge of the future, let it be inquired to what probable and possible extent the consumption of sugar, either as an article of diet or of luxury, may be carried.

On minute inquiry, eight ounces, or half a pound, of refined sugar, is the lowest weekly consumption of one individual using it twice a day with tea or coffee only—many use a pound; but, as coarse muscovado, much used by the lower orders of people, does not go so far as refined sugar, the average weekly consumption of each individual may be taken at three quarters of a pound. Assuming it as a fact (of which no one will doubt) that the taste for sugar, among people of all classes and ages, is so general, and has so few.

few exceptions, that, without affecting the justness of any calculation for practical purposes, that taste may be taken to be universal; the whole population of Great-Britain and Ireland would therefore use it if they could; if they do not, the reason is that they cannot afford it.

A population of seventeen millions, at the rate of three quarters of a pound each per week, would use annually 663 million pounds, equal to 455,357 hogsheads of 13 cwt. each—This calculation is for sugar used as an article of diet only.—If to this were to be added the sugar used in home-made wines, pastry, confectionery, and other purposes of luxury, (the extent of which is not, like the other, susceptible of accurate calculation,) the aggregate result might safely be estimated at 500,000 hogsheads. The inference is, that, as 200,000 hogsheads is the greatest quantity yet known to have been annually used, nearly three-fifths of the whole population of the empire, either go without sugar altogether, or, if they do use it to a small extent, the other two-fifths have not the quantity that they would desire. It is not pretended, by this calculation, to shew that the consumption of sugar can soon, or even at a remote period, be brought up to 500,000 hogsheads annually,—all that is meant is that it is possible it may be so.—An augmentation of 300,000 hogsheads is not wanted by the British planter.—An augmented consumption of 100,000 hogsheads, (and the experience of the past proves this not only to be possible but probable,) would afford to the British planter effectual and permanent relief. Sixty years ago, the national debt of

England did not much exceed 60 millions; it would have appeared much more improbable to have foretold that it would now be 600 millions, than it is at this time to state a possibility of the use of sugar being extended from 200,000 to 500,000 hogsheads annually, inasmuch as mankind have a better relish for sugar than for public burthens.—Be this as it may, it will lie with those who maintain that the consumption can hardly be extended, and that the abolition of the whole duty would have no such effect, to shew how the sale of an article of general taste and demand (the consumption of which has been shewn to be very much under what it is possible to carry it to) would not be augmented by a reduction or abolition of the duty; for, the retail price of the coarsest Muscovado sugar, such as is used by the lower orders, that is, the bulk of the people, is at this time at and under *sixpence* per pound; the duty is a fraction under *three pence* per pound, that is to say, the duty is equal to the cost: if a reduction of *cent. per cent.* in the price would not tempt purchasers to increase their consumption, it is difficult to say what would. There is no retail grocer or chandler who will not say that the sale of sugar has uniformly increased in proportion to the reduction of its price; indeed, the information contained in the evidence of Mr. Inglis, before the committee of the house of commons, on this subject, appears to be conclusive.

It is true, that a very strong objection to the abolishing or even lowering the duties on sugar arises out of the supposed effect that such a measure would have upon the revenue

revenue of the country. On mature consideration, however, great as this difficulty may be, it is perhaps not insurmountable. If it were possible that the consumption of sugar should continue to increase as rapidly in time to come as it has for years past, the public would be no loser, on the score of revenue, by reducing the duty gradually lower and lower :—a proof of this position may be found by a reference to the actual excess of duty received at the Custom-house over the calculation at which the ministers in succession, who laid on the additional duties, estimated them in their budgets. This excess can only arise from an increased consumption ; that is to say, duty has actually been levied upon a quantity greatly exceeding that on which the chancellors of the exchequer reckoned at the time. It may be asked, whether it would be safe to attempt to barter a certain duty now payable upon sugar for one of expected equal amount, to arise from diminished duty on increased consumption ; or whether it would be possible or safe to commute the whole existing duties on sugar, for duties to be levied to an equal estimated amount on some other article of general use or consumption.

Notwithstanding that the national debt has been doubled since the conclusion of the American war, yet the state of public credit and of the funds was, beyond all doubt, at that time in a much worse condition than at this period ; yet Mr. Pitt did not hesitate, in 1784, to take off almost the whole duty on tea, and to make up the difference by a tax on windows ; he avowed his objects to be as well the relief of the East-India company, then in

distress, as the prevention of smuggling. He was told, at that time, that the use of tea was extended as far as it was probable it could be ; and also that it was a luxury better fitted for taxation than windows. What has been the effect of that commutation-tax ?—An immense relief to the East-India company by an increased consumption of their teas, an increase in the revenue in two ways, and a great increase in the shipping and sailors in the employment of the East-India company. No doubt can be entertained, that if the duties on sugar could be lowered and commuted, as in the instance just alluded to, the public would receive a great increase of revenue, the commercial marine of Great-Britain, a great augmentation of ships and sailors, and the planter effectual relief. It might deserve consideration, whether a small additional tax upon houses equal to the amount of the duty on sugar consumed in each, or whether a tax upon raw and manufactured cottons for home use, and capable at this time, from their lowness of price, to bear an augmented duty, might not offer fit objects for a commutation-tax, if the legislature should think it fit. The reducing the duty on sugar to 7s. per cwt. at which it stood at no very distant period, might have the effect of increasing, prodigiously and speedily, the consumption of it ; and, when once its use shall have become almost universal, small additions to that duty would be borne, and prove a great source of future revenue in times of need, if ever it should be deemed wise policy to re-tax it.

The various modes of relief from the distilleries, permission to neu-
trals

trials to carry sugar from the colonies, lowering the duties on rum, and the lowering, abolishing, or commuting, the duties on sugar, having been discussed, the fourth head of inquiry remains for consideration, namely,

The Grounds, &c. on which the Planter claims and solicits Relief.

It is presumed that it will be admitted, that, though sugar is, in some of the uses to which it is applied, a mere luxury, yet the great consumption of it is by no means to be regarded as such; but as a necessary article of nutritious and salutary diet; and, though it may not rank with bread-corn, as being of primary necessity, yet, with those who are in the habit of using it, it forms so great a part of food as to be at this time as necessary as animal food and vegetables; consequently, supposing that, by the ruin of the planters, and the enemy's excluding us from the use of the sugars of their colonies, this article should be suddenly withdrawn from human sustenance, or for a time be inadequately supplied, much distress would ensue to the present consumers, before they could find a substitute; for, it must be admitted that 200,000 hogsheads of sugar, amounting to three hundred millions of pounds, whether used in a solid or liquid state, if withdrawn from the food of seven or eight millions of people. (which is, perhaps, as many as yet use it to the full extent,) would require to be replaced by the same quantity of some other solid and liquid food, equally nutritious. Sugar is used by most people twice a day. It makes a part of the breakfast and supper of the lower orders of peo-

ple, and there is no doubt but many of them use it three times a day. The substitutes for tea and sugar for breakfast and supper would probably be, milk, small-beer and cheese, or tea from butcher's-meat, in the nature of French bouillon. From the calculations which Mr. Corrie, in his pamphlets on coffee, makes of the cost of seven quarts of tea, (which may be presumed to be the weekly consumption of an individual,) it seems that seven quarts of small-beer with cheese, or seven quarts of beef or mutton tea, would cost more than twice as much as tea; and it is doubted, whether milk could at this time be procured in sufficient quantity to replace tea. At all events, in the case we are contemplating, the price of milk, or indeed of all these articles, would be prodigiously enhanced. The British planter, therefore, in raising an article of necessary diet, has a claim, when in distress, to public consideration. Every one knows the claim which the growers of bread-corn successfully set up, whenever, from a succession of good seasons, over cultivation, or other causes, they find themselves reduced to sell at prices by which they cannot live; legislative relief is instantly afforded to them, by stopping all import and competition, and by saddling the public with a bounty upon export; if neither should be effectual, no doubt other remedies would be resorted to—such as increasing the duties on or prohibiting foreign spirits, in order to give their surplus grain a monopoly of the distilleries, &c. and all this would be wisely done. The British planter may not, on the score of diet, have so strong a claim as the British farmer,

mer, yet, as his article of diet is highly taxed, and consequently he contributes much to the public revenue, as well as to the augmentation of the marine and commerce of the country, he may equitably put in his claim for a share of that legislative indulgence, which, under similar circumstances, would be shewn to a British farmer.

His majesty's ministers, in directing, at different times within these late years, conquests to be made of the colonies of the enemy, were actuated by the very best motives, namely, those of distressing the enemy, increasing the import and export trade and shipping of Great-Britain, and obtaining the means of bringing the enemy to honourable terms of peace. But the produce of these colonies comes in competition with that of our own; and, however beneficial these conquests may be to the public in general, they are ruin to the British planter. If the days of our Henries and Edwards were again to be revived, and the province of Picardy, opposite to the coast of England, and so fertile in grain, was to be added to the British dominions, and the surplus grain thereof prohibited to be exported to any place but to Mark-lane, we should soon have the farmers of the Isle of Thanet at the doors of the house of commons. It must be evident to every liberal and just mind, that, if the public in general has derived an advantage from the conquest of the enemy's colonies, to the loss, prejudice, and threatened ruin, of our own, there exists a fair and just claim on that public to grant relief in some shape or another."

After a good deal of reasoning, and instances of particular facts, in

support of what he says, the ingenious author proceeds, and observes, "It is now the fashion to find fault with the late Mr. Pitt for having applauded the doctrines of Adam Smith, but never having introduced them into practice. Mr. Pitt, no doubt, like every other man, found much to commend, applaud, and admire, in Dr. Adam Smith's works; but Mr. Pitt was too enlightened not to see the impracticability and danger of carrying into practice some of this author's theories.

When the economists assert that labour is one of the greatest sources of wealth, they state a fact to which every man who thinks at all, will readily assent. Whatever has a tendency to keep down the price of labour, would seem to augment wealth; now, as cheap food makes labour cheap, it is not the policy of wise governments to impose direct taxes on necessary articles of diet, at least as long as it can be avoided. It has been shewn that sugar composes now much of the diet of the labouring and lower orders of people, as well as of the rich; the West-India planter will be much obliged to those favourers of the new doctrines of the political economists, to extend their admiration to their old doctrines also, and to persuade the minister, if they can, to exempt sugar, as an article of food, from all direct imposts."

Hints for Domestic Improvement.
[From the Reasoner, an independent Publication. By John Bone.]

London, Saturday, Feb. 6, 1808.

OF all the reforms, the necessity of which is most loudly and generally insisted upon, a reduction

tion of the poor's rate is the most conspicuous. It is a concern in which scarcely an individual is uninterested, and yet all descriptions of people are so supine and effeminate, that they are afraid to undertake any means for accomplishing the object of their wishes. The Yorkshire petitioners could not pass their resolutions in favour of peace, without re-echoing the complaint about the pressure of their poor's rate; and the columns of the newspapers daily announce new volumes of remedies for this increasing evil; yet all the complainers and prescribers seem equally to work without end, for they will not lend the smallest assistance to any proposition for removing the evil. I have long said, that it is from the people alone, and not from the government, that any essential measure will proceed for diminishing the poor's rate; and, after the exertions of Dr. Price, Mr. Baron Maseres, and others who have followed in their track, I think it is a very faint evidence of our patriotism, that no association has been formed of persons willing to unite in the inquiry—what it would be most proper to do? I wish particularly to address these remarks to persons who are in the habit of complaining of public grievances; because I think every one who opposes the government under which he lives, ought to make it a point of conscience to demonstrate, that his opposition is not a mere faction's determination to murmur; and I cannot see what other character his complaints can merit, if he use not all the means that he himself possesses to diminish the evils on account of which he condemns the government. Now, the poor's rate is

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an evil which, without entering upon the question of peace or war, arises out of the vices of the people, as well as out of the vices of the system under which we live; and the correction of those vices depends as much upon a change of habits and customs, that may be effected by social and neighbourly intercourse, as upon a revolution in the laws. The patriotism of the people would, I think, flow in its regular channel, if it were to assume the possibility of being able to discover what would be the first steps to be adopted, for arresting the progress of the pauper system. Such an admission would lead to an association for going into the details; and the difficulties attending it need not, in any instance, be greater than the people submit to in attending their common ribaldry clubs. To object to enter upon the inquiry on account of trouble and difficulty is truly absurd, in those who are willing to attend meetings to pass resolutions for peace; because the courage necessary for the one would be fully equal to the accomplishment of the other; and it is possible, that if a trifling mistake were corrected, the task might be entered upon without reluctance.

It would probably be some inducement to a few active and intelligent persons to associate, with a view of effecting a reduction of the poor's rate, if it were understood, that without a close and minute research into the latent causes of pauperism, much good might be effected by the removal of the obvious and apparent causes; to this simple endeavour, I am desirous of directing the public attention. There can be no doubt, but the poor's rate itself has a powerful tendency to increase

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crease the number of paupers ; and it must be admitted, that the improvidence of a considerable part of the people produces the same effect. To be more explicit—the poor's-rate, by being assessed upon persons whose incomes barely supply their wants, in a great number of cases disables the people from preserving themselves above poverty, whilst a great number of other persons (who with their families equally liable to become paupers) are not charged with the rate ; and though able, at many periods of their lives, to make provision for their age, decline doing so, because they are not under compulsion. I have, in former publications, taken much pains to prove, that the whole system of poor-laws is founded on a principle of injustice ; but it is not necessary to take so extensive a view of the subject in the outset ; it is simply necessary to adopt a position which I think will not be denied—that it is unjust to assess a poor man, in order to make provision for an unassessed man less poor than himself ; and such is the effect of taxing householders, in proportion to the amount of their rent. When I say this is unjust, I am not unaware of the different reasonings upon which it is defended ; and I make the observation more for the sake of meeting the question fully, than from any attachment to asperity or harshness of expression ; I urge the consideration of the subject in this point of view, because the whole country has declared the pauper system to be an evil, and because, amidst the general anxiety to get it reformed, the only conclusion in which as yet we are all agreed, is—that something must be done. Here I meet the whole English nation, and

challenge it to begin that “ something,” by endeavouring, as a first step, to get the principle of justice, in the simplest of its operations, introduced into the poor-laws. What I propose is little more than extending the principle of the Friendly Societies, and making such institutions, under a trifling modification, the mean of providing for age, so as to supercede, by a gradual progress, our system of parish charity. And this work, as I have laboured much to prove, I believe would be very beneficially advanced, if the legislature were prevailed upon to exempt from contributions to the pauper fund, all persons making other provision for their old age.

I can see nothing mysterious—nothing visionary—nothing difficult—nothing disgraceful—that ought to deter any person from uniting with an association, for petitioning parliament to adopt this principle—The immediate effects of such a law, I think, would be—first, that a great number of clerks, journeymen tradesmen, and others, receiving middling good salaries and wages, would become early subscribers to economical banks, and thus prevent the pauper fund from being burdened by them in old age.—Secondly, that, that class of small renters upon whom the poor's rate operates like Solomon's ‘sweeping rain,’ just at the time when they begin to feel the burdens of a family and the expences of life, would contribute with greater cheerfulness to a fund which would secure to them absolutely all the advantages of their own payments, and would instruct their successors to secure such advantages more conveniently, by beginning to make provision earlier in life. So much might be done, without

not once questioning the policy of the act passed in the 43d of Elizabeth; and if the people would enter into the spirit of an association formed for such a purpose, as zealously as they attend their meetings for peace, I think all the information would be soon obtained; the want of which has enabled prejudice and ignorance to triumph over all the reformers, from sir Josiah Child, down to Mr. Whitbread.

On drying Articles of Manufacture, and heating Buildings, by Steam. By R. Buchannan, Esq. Civil Engineer, Glasgow. [In a Letter to the Editor of the Philosophical Magazine.]

To Mr. Tilloch.

SIR,
MANY additional facts with regard to heating by steam have lately been ascertained in this neighbourhood, and its application to various processes in manufactures continues to increase. Mr. Richard Gillespie is highly pleased with its effects upon copper-plate calico-printing at his works, as also for heating his calenders. For this last purpose, and to warm his warehouse and counting-house, the steam is conveyed to a distance of above ninety-three yards.

Steam was, I believe, tried many years ago at Leeds, for drying goods, as a substitute for stoves; but for some reason, of which I am ignorant, was abandoned. Mr. Lounds, at Paisley, however, has for a considerable time used it with great success in drying fine muslins. Messrs. Leys, Mason and Co. now also use it at their bleaching works, at Aberdeen.

Some kinds of muslins have for several years been dried by being

rolled round cylinders of tin plate filled with steam, but I do not here allude to that mode.

For drying of dyed yarn and pullicates, (a kind of coloured chequed cotton handkerchiefs,) a higher temperature than for fine muslin is required. I am glad, however, to have it in my power to say, that Messrs. Muir, Brown, and Co., at their dyeing and bleaching works here, have found steam to answer those purposes much better than the usual mode by stoves. Mr. Muir informs me, that, although they formerly gave out their pullicates to be bleached to some of the local bleachers in this part of the country, they never had their colours in the same perfection which they now have, and which they attribute entirely to the superior effect of the steam.

It occurs to me, that steam might be applied for warming buildings in London, in many instances, with great advantage. For instance, the bed-rooms of large inns and hotels; as also large warehouses or shops, where a number of neighbouring buildings might be warmed from one boiler, which would save much in attendance and fuel, as well as in the cost of the apparatus. It is also well adapted to the purpose of warming churches, hospitals, and other large public buildings.

I am, Sir,

your most obedient servant,

ROBERTSON BUCHANNAN.

Glasgow, April 2, 1808.

On the Utility and Advantage of Gas Lights. By William Murdoch. Communicated by the Right Hon. Sir Joseph Banks, K. B. P. R. S. [From the Transactions
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of the Royal Society. Read Feb. 25, 1808.]

THE facts and results intended to be communicated in this paper, are founded upon observations made, during the present winter, at the cotton manufactory of Messrs. Philips and Lee at Manchester, where the light obtained by the combustion of the gas from coal is used upon a very large scale; the apparatus for its production and application having been prepared by me at the works of Messrs. Boulton, Watt and Co. at Soho.

The whole of the rooms of this cotton mill, which is, I believe, the most extensive in the united kingdom, as well as its counting-houses and store-rooms, and the adjacent dwelling-house of Mr. Lee, are lighted with the gas from coal. The total quantity of light used during the hours of burning, has been ascertained, by a comparison of shadows, to be about equal to the light which 2,500 mould candles of six in the pound would give; each of the candles, with which the comparison was made consuming at the rate of 4-10ths of an ounce (175 grains) of tallow per hour.

The quantity of light is necessarily liable to some variation, from the difficulty of adjusting all the flames, so as to be perfectly equal at all times; but the admirable precision and exactness with which the business of this mill is conducted, afforded as excellent an opportunity of making the comparative trials I had in view, as is perhaps likely to be ever obtained in general practice. And the experiments being made upon so large a scale, and for a considerable pe-

riod of time, may, I think, be assumed as a sufficiently accurate standard for determining the advantages to be expected from the use of the gas lights under favourable circumstances.

It is not my intention, in the present paper, to enter into a particular description of the apparatus employed for producing the gas; but I may observe generally, that the coal is distilled in large iron retorts, which during the winter season are kept constantly at work, except during the intervals of charging; and that the gas, as it rises from them, is conveyed by iron pipes into large reservoirs, or gazometers, where it is washed and purified, previous to its being conveyed through other pipes, called mains, to the mill. These mains branch off into a variety of ramifications (forming a total length of several miles), and diminish in size, as the quantity of gas required to be passed through them becomes less. The burners, where the gas is consumed, are connected with the above mains, by short tubes, each of which is furnished with a cock to regulate the admission of the gas to each burner, and to shut it totally off when requisite. This latter operation may likewise be instantaneously performed, throughout the whole of the burners in each room, by turning a cock, with which each main is provided, near its entrance into the room.

The burners are of two kinds: the one is upon the principle of the Argand lamp, and resembles it in appearance; the other is a small curved tube with a conical end, having three circular apertures or perforations, of about a thirtieth of an inch in diameter, one at the point

point of the cone, and two lateral ones, through which the gas issues, forming three divergent jets of flame, somewhat like a fleur-de-lis. The shape and general appearance of this tube, has procured it among the workmen, the name of the cockspur burner.

The number of burners employed in all the buildings, amounts to 271 Argands, and 633 cockspurs; each of the former giving a light equal to that of four candles of the description abovementioned; and each of the latter, a light equal to two and a quarter of the same candles; making therefore the total of the gas-light a little more than equal to that of 2,500 candles. When thus regulated, the whole of the above burners require an hourly supply of 1250 cubic feet of the gas produced from cannel coal; the superior quality and quantity of the gas produced from that material having given it a decided preference in this situation, over every other coal, notwithstanding its higher price.

The time during which the gas-light is used, may, upon an average of the whole year, be stated at least at two hours per day of twenty-four hours. In some mills, where there is over-work, it will be three hours; and in the few, where night-work is still continued, nearly twelve hours. But taking two hours per day as the common average throughout the year, the consumption in Messrs. Phillips' and Lee's mill, will be $1250 \times 2 = 2500$ cubic feet of gas per day; to produce which, seven hundred weight of cannel coal is required in the retort. The price of the best Wigan cannel (the sort used) is $13\frac{1}{2}d.$ per cwt. ($22s. 6d.$ per ton),

delivered at the mill, or say about eight shillings for the seven hundred weight. Multiplying by the number of working days (313), the annual consumption of cannel will be 110 tons, and its cost 125*l*.

About one-third of the above quantity, or say forty tons of good common coal, value ten shillings per ton, is required for fuel to heat the retorts; the annual amount of which is 20*l*.

The 110 tons of cannel coal when distilled, produce about 70 tons of good coak, which is sold upon the spot at $1s. 4d.$ per cwt. and will therefore amount annually to the sum of 93*l*.

The quantity of tar produced from each ton of cannel coal is from eleven to twelve ale gallons, making a total annual produce of about 1250 ale gallons, which not having been yet sold, I cannot determine its value; but whenever it comes to be manufactured in large quantities, it cannot be such as materially to influence the economical statement, unless indeed new applications of it should be discovered.

The quantity of aqueous fluid which came over in the course of the observations which I am now giving an account of, was not exactly ascertained, from some springs having got into the reservoir; and as it has not been yet applied to any useful purpose, I may omit further notice of it in this statement.

The interest of the capital expended in the necessary apparatus and buildings, together with what is considered as an ample allowance for wear and tear, is stated by Mr. Lee at about 550*l*. per annum: in which some allowance is made for

this apparatus being made upon a scale adequate to the supply of a still greater quantity of light, than he has occasion to make use of.

He is of opinion, that the cost of attendance upon candles would be as much, if not more, than upon the gas apparatus; so that in forming the comparison, nothing need be stated upon that score, on either side.

The economical statement for one year then stands thus:

Cost of 110 tons of cannel coal £.125

Ditto of 40 tons of common ditto 20

—
145

Deduct the value of 70 tons of coak 93

The annual expenditure in coal, after deducting the value of the coak, and without allowing any thing for the tar, is therefore 52

And the interest of capital, and wear and tear of apparatus 550

Making the total expence of the gas apparatus, about 600*l.* per annum.

That of candles, to give the same light, would be about 2000*l.* For each candle consuming at the rate of 4-10ths of an ounce of tallow per hour, the 2500 candles burning upon an average of the year two hours per day, would, at one shilling per pound, the present price, amount to nearly the sum of money abovementioned.

[On the subjects of gas-lights, the committee, in a memorial presented to his majesty by Mr. Winsor and others, having stated a variety of facts resulting from repeated experiments on the gases, coke, ammo-

nial liquor, arising from coals, ignited in a certain way, say:] That your memorialists having now shewn the practicability of gaining certain products from coal, and their estimated value, wish they were enabled to state in the same distinct and accurate manner to your majesty, the probable amount of profit to be derived from the disposal of them, (but as your majesty's memorialists have already intimated) the quantum of profit must necessarily be regulated in a great measure by the extent of the consumption and demand, of which your memorialists are at present not competent to form any tolerable estimate.

That your memorialists must content themselves therefore with humbly observing to your majesty that they verily believe, that Mr. Winsor's gas may be applied, with perfect safety and eminent advantage, for lighting the public streets, for fixed lights in private families, for light-houses upon the sea-coast, and for a great variety of other useful purposes; that Mr. Winsor's coke affords double the heat of coal, and is much preferable to coal as fuel, in cleanliness, in security from fire, and in every other respect; and that both his coke and coal-tar are much superior to any other description of coke and coal-tar which have yet been produced.

That your majesty's memorialists have reason to believe Mr. Winsor's coke may be applied with great national advantage, in the manufacture of gunpowder. The great superiority in quality and power of the French gunpowder being principally to be attributed to the superior properties of their charcoal, the powers of which your memorialists

memorialists conceive are at least equalled by certain parts of Mr. Winsor's coke when pulverised. And your memorialists are assured that Mr. Winsor's ammoniacal liquor will be found extremely useful in dyeing and tanning, and for many other purposes.

That your majesty's memorialists upon these general views of the subject, entertain sanguine expectations, that any prejudices, which may now exist, will shortly be removed, and that the demand for the products of Mr. Winsor's process will probably produce, in the course of a short time, a profit amounting to two millions per annum.

Specifications of Patents.

MR. CONGREVE's, for a new principle of measuring time, and constructing clocks and chronometers.

Mr. Cook's, for a method of making barrels for fowling-pieces, muskets, pistols, and other similar fire-arms; and ramrods for the same.

Mr. Curr's for a method of applying flat ropes, flat bands, or belts of any kind, to capstans and windlasses of ships and vessels; and also a method of applying them for the purpose of catching and detaining whales.

Mr. Bell's, for an improvement in making pipes or pumps for conducting water and other liquids.

Mr. Fothergill's, for a machine for dressing hemp, and making and spinning the same into ropes and cordage.

Mr. Dickinson's, for his invention of a-cannon cartridge-paper,

manufactured on an improved principle.

Mr. Jones's, for a method of discharging colours from shawls, and other dyed silks, and silk and worsted of every description, and such part or parts thereof as may be required for the purpose of introducing, by printing or staining, various patterns on such discharges, or otherwise.

Charles Grant, Viscount de Vaux's, for a machine which will shew the latitude and longitude at sea; serving also for weighing any object, for measuring space, or the course of a ship, and time, shewing and keeping account upon dials, and upon cosmographical columns, which are part of such machine; and also shewing the leeway of a ship: part of which machine may also be applied to other useful purposes.

Mr. Dodd's, for improved bridge-floorings or platforms, and fire-proof floorings and roofings for extensive dwelling-houses, warehouses, and mills.

Mr. Seward's, for improvements in the construction of lamps.

Mr. Barratt's, for a machine for washing linen and cotton clothes, and other similar things; to which there may be affixed, or omitted at pleasure, a contrivance for pressing the water from them, now commonly done by wringing.

Mr. Crackles's, for a method of making and manufacturing of brushes from whalebone, which have hitherto been usually made and manufactured from bristles.

Mr. Shotwell's, for certain improvements in the manufacturing of mustard.

Mr. Dampier's, for certain machinery for rasping, grating, or reducing

ducing into small parts or powder, such woods, drugs, and other substances, for the use of dyers and others, as are not easily to be pulverized by mere percussion.

Mr. Thomas's, for a perforated vesel, percolator, and frame, for making and preparing potable coffee.

Specification of the Patent granted to William Congreve, of Garden-court, in the County of Middlesex, Esq. for a new Principle of Measuring Time, and constructing Clocks and Chronometers. Dated Aug. 24, 1808.

TO all to whom these presents shall come, &c. Now know ye, that in compliance with the said proviso, I the said William Congreve, do declare that my invention is described in manner following; that is, so say: the new principle or system of measuring time, and constructing clocks and chronometers, which is the basis of this patent, is founded on certain modes, hereinafter specified, of detaching the time-measurer from the first mover for an extent of duration far beyond any thing ever yet effected or proposed, and which is not confined within the limits of ordinary detachments. Thus, the only detachments hitherto effected have either been limited to a period somewhat less than the smallest portion of time indicated by the vibrations of their time-measurer, and have therefore seldom been extended beyond seconds; or they have been effected by the intervention of an auxiliary power between the first mover and the time-measurer, which indeed ought scarcely to be considered as falling within the class of de-

tached movements, as the time-measurer when discharged from the maintaining power is, in this case, still combined with another force. But by the system here specified, the duration of the detachment of the time-measurer from the first mover may, without the intervention of any intermediate power, be extended to a period comprehending any number of the smaller portions of time indicated by the time-measurer; in other words, the time-measurer shall indicate seconds, or any smaller division, and yet it shall be absolutely detached from the maintaining power for a period of one or more minutes.

This, therefore, gives a most distinct and definable character to this new mode of measuring time; the leading property of which is, a new and extremely extended detachment, and which I have therefore denominated the *mode of extreme detachment*. Before I proceed, however, to the several plans for effecting it, I shall briefly state its principal advantages.

The great difficulty of combining the actions of the regulating principle of clocks with the maintaining power, so that the regulating organ should be operated upon freely and uniformly by the pure action of gravity, neither accelerated nor retarded by the non-accordance of the first mover, has long since pointed out that the only true system of effecting this desideratum was by detaching them, as much as possible, rather than by combination. With the ordinary regulators, that is to say, with the common pendulum or balance-wheel, the extent of this principle of detachment, as already observed, is extremely limited; for, as with the most perfect detached escapement

escapement in use, the maintaining power is allowed to act on the pendulum for a certain portion of every oscillation, it follows, that with the common pendulum it would be extremely inconvenient to detach the first power for an interval much longer than a second, in so high a law do the lengths of pendulums increase as to their times; so that to obtain a detachment of two seconds would require a pendulum of 13 feet 0,512 inches in length; to obtain one of a minute would require no less than 11,738 feet 4,800 inches; the first, therefore, which would still be very limited as to any important correction in its effect, would be of a most inconvenient, and the latter of an impossible length. By adopting the mode of this patent, however, it will be found that such, or even a greater extension of detachment than a minute is practicable without any difficulty or inconvenience whatever, and even in a smaller space than is required for the common seconds clock.

The next general advantage is, that a clock made on this principle of extreme detachment requires a much less first power than a common clock, for the power of the former may be organized so as to rest altogether for intervals of minutes, and to be limited when in action to less than half-seconds, between those intervals, while that of the latter is constantly exerted every second; nevertheless, the maintaining power of the former need not have more to perform every minute than the other has every second. It follows, therefore, that a clock may be constructed on this principle to require only one-sixtieth of the weight or power

of a common clock, or that with the same power it will go sixty times as long.

Again, the mode of extreme detachment by diminishing the quantity of the first force to so great a degree, and by the constant state of repose which it preserves in the train of the clock, removes almost entirely the strain and friction to which the works of a common clock are subject; so that the wear of the patent clock becomes next to nothing, and it can therefore scarcely ever require the application of oil, or get out of order.

So also this system of detachment will be found greatly to simplify the train: in fact, the greater the extent of the detachment, the more simple will it be, by working from minutes instead of seconds. Notwithstanding which, however, the seconds, or any less division of time, may be indicated with as much accuracy as in the more complicated train of the common time-piece.

Such then are the general advantages of this patent: and whether they be viewed with reference to the extent of the detachment or the diminution of the maintaining power required, the increase of time, the reduction of friction, and wear in the works, or the simplification of the train, I conceive that no farther discussion of the principles is necessary with those who are at all conversant with the principles of time-keeping, to convince them that the attainment of these points is of the utmost importance to the final perfection of a true measure of time. I shall therefore now proceed to the specification of the first plan which I have practised for their accomplishment; and here I have introduced a new modification of the action

tion of gravity as applied to time-keeping, by taking as the time-measurer "a perfectly detached body, descending freely down an inclined plane:" which modification, although it has never yet been applied to the measurement of time, is as immutable in its operations as the oscillations of a pendulum, and is in fact governed by the same law. The extreme detachment of which it is capable, and certain specific advantages, which the pendulum does not possess, have pointed it out to me as an important agent in the measurement of time.

New Patents lately enrolled.

Mr. William Hawkes's (Newport, Salop.) for Improvements on Musical-keyed Instruments of Twelve fixed Tones.

THE improvements in the organ are effected by a pedal under key-board, and an extra slide to every stop in the sound-board to the extra pipes, viz. sharps and flats; which by depressing the pedal with the foot, brings on the sharp scale, and by elevating the pedal brings on the flat-scale; and as the flats go off, the sharps are brought on, and inversely as the sharps go off, the flats are brought on by the action of the pedal communicated to the additional slide, with double holes adapted to the additional pipes; namely, five pipes to each octave. The improvement in the piano-forte is effected by adding seven diatonic and five flat tones to the present scale of twelve fixed tones, which form two chromatic scales; the one is termed a flat scale, and the other a sharp scale: this is done by two sets of springs, of two unisons to each set, which are acted upon,

without the addition of a key to the key-board, by a pedal, by which the key-board is made to move forward and backward, about one-fourth of an inch, the same hammers striking each set of strings, both in the flat and sharp scale, by depressing the pedal with the foot when the sharp scale is wanted, and elevating the pedal when the flat scale is wanted.

Mr. Samuel Phelps's (Lambeth,) for certain Improvements in the Manufacture of Soap.

The first thing we notice in this specification, is, an increase of size in the boiler, and instead of raising the temperature of the "goods," viz. the leys, &c. to the boiling heat by the application of fire alone, Mr. Phelps introduces steam through a pipe or pipes, into the said goods; and he finds that the re-action, or pressure afforded, by suffering the steam to pass into the goods at about four feet below the surface, is sufficient to cause the same to boil very speedily, and to produce a perfect union of the parts in less time, and with a less expenditure of leys than in the ordinary process of making soap. He prevents the rising of the goods from the boiler or vessel, into the steam boiler, by interposing cocks, or valves, between the steam boiler, and that in which the soap is made. Since by the introduction of steam, the strength of the leys is somewhat altered by the condensation of the steam, allowance for the same is made by using leys of much greater strength, or in larger quantities.

Messrs. Fourdrinier's (London), for making

making Paper by means of Machines, &c.

The term of this patent, which has been obtained at different periods, is extended to fifteen years from August 14, 1807. The improvements now given, as the last and most perfect, consist in using a revolving web of wove wire, or other similar material applicable in like manner as a web; the same being made endless by joining its ends together, similar to a round towel, or by having it wove endless, and in applying such web to the making or manufacturing of paper, according to the arrangement and application of the revolving or endless web, in connection with other mechanical apparatus.

In this manufacture, the pulp or material of which the paper is intended to be made, having been prepared in the usual way, is deposited in a proper receptacle or vat. It is there brought to its proper consistency, by mixing it with water. It is then suffered to run through certain apertures in the side or front of the vat, and conducted from thence by an inclined plane, in an uniform stream upon the surface of the revolving web, which is so placed, that its surface shall be as nearly level as possible, and shall have its revolving motion in the direction in which the stream of pulp runs from the vat. This web is kept extended longitudinally by two principal or extreme rollers, upon which it revolves; and the upper part thereof, upon which the paper is formed, is supported and kept level by a number of small rollers placed parallel with the other two, and at such distances from each other, as to prevent the web from being pressed or weighed

down by the pulp into the spaces between them, and also to cause the pulp to spread itself uniformly upon the surface of the web or sheet, thereby producing a sheet of paper of an uniform thickness. The width of the sheet of paper is determined by two pieces of wood, set edgeways upon the web, exactly parallel with each other, and with the line of motion of the web. These pieces require no particular precision as to their dimensions, but are generally about three inches in depth, one inch and a quarter thick, and about four feet long, extending from that part of the web which is next the vat, in the direction of the line of motion. Between, and in contact, as well with the under-edges of these pieces, as with the upper surface of the web, are placed two endless straps of leather of a width corresponding to the thickness of the pieces; which cause them to revolve upon pulleys with a velocity exactly equal to the velocity of the revolving web. There are similar pieces and straps in contact with the under-surface of the web, and exactly opposite to those upon the upper surface; so that the web is pressed between the upper and under straps and pieces, and the liquid pulp is thereby prevented from running off towards the sides. These pieces and their straps are called *dickles*. Near that part of the web upon which the pulp falls from the inclined plane, and between it and the vat, is placed a flap of oiled silk, or other flexible material; one edge of which rests upon the web, the other being fastened to a piece of wood laid across the surface of the web, but not touching it; the length of the said piece corresponding to the width between, and being

the table over which the reel is suspended, and exactly parallel with the former ones, and at such a distance from them, as corresponds to the dimensions of the sheets of paper to be cut, from the larger or longer one upon the reel or roller; and by applying two of the above described hardened steel wheels at a convenient distance from each other, upon the edges of one pair of the steel plates, and by connecting the said three wheels firmly together by means of proper frame-work, in which the arbors or axes of the said wheels turn, and whereby the wheels themselves are held in a proper position, and their edges falling into the space between the edges of each pair of steel plates respectively, we obtain a carriage with three wheels, capable of supporting itself upon those wheels, two on one side, and one upon the other; and upon the said carriage we place a box containing a weight, or a number of weights, sufficient to produce the effect above described, viz. occasioning such a resistance between the hardened steel wheels, and the edges of the steel plates, as to separate or cut the paper placed between them. The iron bars supporting the second pair of steel plates, or those furthest from the reel, are so affixed to the frame of the table, that they may be moved nearer to, or further from the other pair of steel plates, and again set parallel therewith; and likewise the frame-work to which the steel wheels are affixed is so constructed, that the distance between the one wheel on one side, and the two other wheels on the opposite side, may be made equal to the distance between the edges of the two pair of steel plates, accord-

ing to the intended dimensions of the sheets of paper required.

“Having, as above, described and ascertained the application and use of the instruments, as well as the instruments themselves, which we now use for cutting or subdividing the paper, so as to render it perfectly intelligible to a mechanist, we need not here enter more particularly into any further description in relation to the construction or conformation of the said instruments; but, for the better understanding their application, we do further describe the operation of cutting or subdividing the sheets of paper, as the same is performed by us; that is to say—the table and instruments are to be placed at or near the end of the machine by which the paper is made, and as soon as one of the reels or rollers becomes charged or filled with paper, we remove the said reel or roller from the machine, and place it upon the supports or posts affixed to the end of the cutting table, upon which the steel plates and wheels have been previously adjusted to their proper distances, &c. Two workmen, one stationed on each side of the table, draw the paper from the reel, and spread it upon the said table, depositing the first end of the paper, which is always rough and uneven, over or beyond the pair of steel plates furthest from the reel, taking care at the same time to lay the edges of the paper parallel with the edge of the table, or rather at right angles with the edges of the steel plates, in order that the angles or corners of the sheets of paper, when cut, may be square; and these workmen are guided or directed in this operation, by having several conspicuous lines drawn

drawn along the table in the proper direction, parallel to which lines they lay the edges of the sheet. The paper being thus deposited or spread uniformly upon the table, and over the edges of the steel plates, the man on whose side the carriage with the three-cutting wheel stands, pushes it across the table to the man on the opposite side, where it is retained ready for a second operation. By thus passing the wheels over for the first time, the rough or uneven end of the sheet is separated at the plates farthest from the reel, another separation being made at the same time by the plates nearest to the reel, leaving one whole sheet of paper between the two pair of steel plates. The paper is again drawn from the reel, and spread upon the table; and the end of the sheet being now square and even, is laid so much over or beyond the edges of the steel plates furthest from the reel, as will leave a sheet of paper when the next separation or cutting is made. Two sheets being now separated by each cutting after the first, the wheels are again passed over, and the sheets thus separated at each cutting are removed, and laid into packs by children employed for that purpose."

should be formed into a class, as their proficiency will be nearly doubled, by being classed, and studying in conjunction. A class may consist of any number of scholars, more or less, without limitation to any particular number.

The Rule by which Classes are to be formed.

Any number of boys, whose proficiency is nearly equal in what they are learning, should be classed and taught together. Of course the whole school must be arranged into classes.

Of the Two kinds of Classes.

As there are two descriptions of boys in every school, viz. those who are learning, and those who have learned, so there are two kinds of classes. To the first, the object of study is a progressive series of lessons, rising step by step, to that point, where children may take an interest in, and store their minds with knowledge for use in future life: to the last the different branches of learning, are not so much objects of study as mediums of mental improvement.

I intend, in the course of this tract, to point out a series of lessons adapted to both descriptions of scholars:

Gradation of Classes in learning to Read.

<i>Class.</i>	<i>Lessons.</i>
1.—A, B, C.	
2.—Two letters, as ab, &c.	
3.—Three letters.	
4.—Four letters.	
5.—Five and six letters.	
6.—Testament, or selection of Scripture lessons.	
7.—Bible.	
8.—A selection of the best proficient in reading.	
	The

Method of arranging a School into Classes. [From Lancaster's Improvements in Education, abridged.]

FIRST, the object in view, in forming a school into classes, is to promote improvement. If only four or six scholars should on examination be found in a school learning the same thing, as A, B, C, ab, addition, subtraction, &c. they

The children learning the alphabet as hereafter described, may learn to print their letters in the sand, or on a slate.

After a learner has improved beyond the first class, whatever class he may be in, he must learn to make his writing alphabet on the slate.

After having learned the writing alphabet, whatever class the scholar may be in, he must write on the slate the same as he reads or spells in his reading or spelling lesson. If in the two-letter class, he will write words of two letters; if in the three-letter class, words of three letters, &c. &c.

Gradation of Classes in learning to Write.
Class.

- 1.—Printing A, B, C.
- 2.—Writing alphabet, or words of two letters.
- 3.—Words of three letters.
- 4.————— Four letters.
- 5.————— Five and six letters.
- 6.————— Two syllables, &c.
7. & 8. A particular series of spelling lessons, published by J. L.

The mode of tuition in writing, being connected with a new method of spelling, will be hereafter described under the head Spelling.

Gradation of Classes in learning Arithmetic.

Class 1. Pupils who are learning to make and combine, units, tens, &c.

2. Addition.
3. Compound ditto.
4. Subtraction.
5. Compound ditto.
6. Multiplication.
7. Compound ditto.
8. Division.
9. Compound ditto.

10. Reduction.
11. Rule of Three.
12. Practice.

The Mode of examining Pupils for, and arranging them into Classes, to learn Reading and Writing.

On the entry of a scholar, the superintendant should examine his proficiency in distinguishing the letters of the printed alphabet; if he does not know them all, he must be placed in the first class.

If the superintendant finds the pupil knows his alphabet perfectly, he must place him in the second class.

If the scholar can perfectly repeat all the lessons belonging to the second class, he must be placed in the third; if he can repeat well all the lessons appropriated to the third class, he must be placed in the fourth: the same rule to be observed in forming the fifth, sixth, and seventh classes.

The eighth class to be a selection from the best readers in the seventh; they may be admitted to the use of books, for the improvement of their minds, which the other classes are not allowed; on this subject more will be said in the sequel.

Of Writing in Classes.

By the usual method of teaching to write, the art of writing is totally distinct from reading or spelling. On the new plan, spelling and writing are connected, and equally blended with reading. When a boy is classed for learning to read by the arrangement of reading classes, he is consequently classed for learning to write at the same time.

On the admission of every scholar, the superintendant will enter the name, residence, and every other particular

particular relative to him, under its proper head, in a school-list; a printed plan of which is annexed.

On forming a School into Arithmetical Classes.

On the new plan, the first great care of the master must be wholly to discard the numeration table, and the practice of learning numeration by it, as it is entirely superseded by the new method, which teaches the same thing, in a much shorter, and more practical way.

Whenever a pupil is admitted into the school, and has never before learned any arithmetic, he must be placed in the first class. If he has made any apparent progress, unless that progress be found on examination to be real, he must begin again at the first class. In forming a new school with the above exception, it will be best for all the pupils to begin arithmetic, from the first class.

Of the Arrangement of Lessons for Classes.

In the course of this epitome, an abridged specimen of the lessons for the classes will be given. At present it is only requisite to say, that on my new system of education, there is a series of lessons to be pasted on boards, adapted to each class, as the classes rise above each other, progressively. These lessons being regularly numbered, should be placed on the school-walls, on nails, numbered, in like manner. The card lesson, No. 1, (for the second, or any other class) to be placed on the nail No. 1; lesson No. 2, on the nail No. 2, &c. Each series of lessons to be placed by itself. Each class to study only that series of lessons adapted to it; this rule must be invariably attend-

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ed to, or the classes which are learning, will be particularly liable to confusion. When pupils are removed from one class to another, it is then only, they may enter on a new series of lessons.

The method of rewards attached to this plan of classification will be detailed by itself.

Of Monitors who teach, and the Qualifications requisite for that Duty, and Mode of ascertaining those Qualifications.

On this head, the duty of the superintendant, or master, will be, to ascertain that each monitor is fully competent to teach the lessons of the class he is appointed to. This certainty can be obtained only by actually examining the intended monitor in the lessons he will be required to teach. The master must never appoint a new monitor without such examination. I have known some persons, who pretend to teach on my plan, appoint a boy as a monitor, merely because they judged him to be a good reader; no master should appoint monitors by guess, when an actual certainty is in his power: but this cannot be attained without an examination and progressive series of lessons on my plan adapted to the mode of tuition.

The necessity for such examination is more urgent, as in the minor lessons, the sounds of letters often vary from soft to hard, and a number of words admit of different meanings, and are consequently pronounced different ways. A pupil may read well in general, and yet either not know, or may forget after some time such local variations. If then, he is not carefully examined by the superintendant, he will teach some words improperly.

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As it respects arithmetic, the superintendant should ascertain by individual examination, whether the pupil he selects as a monitor, is fully master of the mode of teaching each particular sum, or lesson appointed to be taught to his class. The monitors of reading, and spelling, should not only be able, as scholars, to understand and perform the lessons they are appointed to teach, but be instructed under the inspection of the superintendant; in the mode of teaching, and any locality, which may be attached to particular lessons.

It should be considered that monitors on the new plan are of two descriptions, those for tuition, and those for order. Duties, which, as will be shewn in the sequel, are in some instances, wholly distinct from each other.

To these, we must add a third description, who are called inspecting monitors. Of these, even in a very large school, but few are requisite.

Monitors of every kind are sometimes stated, and sometimes occasional.

Monitors are stated, when they are appointed to attend the regular duties of the school, in tuition, order, or inspection. Monitors are occasional, when acting as substitutes for regular monitors, whom ill health, or any other cause, may detain from school.

Rules for appointing Monitors of Tuition.

Firstly, the monitors appointed, must understand and be quite perfect in the lessons they are to teach, as to good reading and spelling.

Secondly, they must understand the mode of teaching.

Thirdly, in the first five classes,

monitors may be appointed from the next superior class to teach the one immediately below it. Thus, the second or two-letter class will furnish monitors who may teach the first, or alphabet class, the third will supply monitors for the second, the fourth for the third, and the fifth for the fourth, the sixth class will supply a choice of monitors for the fifth, for itself, and for the order of the school. Before the seventh class, each class will supply boys to teach the class below it; this will ground the monitors in the lessons they have themselves last learned, by the act of teaching them. From the sixth class upwards, the classes will supply boys to act as monitors and teach themselves; the teachers of the sixth, seventh, and eighth classes, may be chosen out of the said classes, as any boy who can read can teach, and the art of tuition, in those classes, depends only on the knowledge of reading and writing. The system of inspection of progress in learning, as respects the scholar, is only on his part mental; neither inspection nor the mode of instruction, require any other qualification on the part of the teacher than the mere art of reading and writing, united with orderly behaviour.

Of Monitor's Tickets, Superintendant's List, and the Office of Monitor-general.

Every monitor should wear in school, a printed or leather ticket gilt, and lettered thus—monitor of the first class—reading monitor of the second class—monitor of the third class, with variations for arithmetic, reading, spelling; &c.

Each of these tickets to be numbered.

bered. A row of nails with numbers on the wall marking the place of each ticket, to be placed in every school-room. The nail numbered one, being the place for the ticket, No. 1. When school begins, the monitors are to be called to take their tickets; every ticket left on a nail, will shew a regular monitor absent, when an occasional monitor must of course be chosen.

One monitor of order, to be appointed by the master, to see what monitors are absent daily, and to appoint others in their place for the occasion; this in a large school, will be found a great relief to the master.

As nothing should in any case be left to the monitor, the superintendent should in the first instance appoint every stated monitor himself, he should then examine the school to find a number of boys fit to be occasional monitors; of these he should make two lists, one for himself, and one for the lad appointed as monitor-general, and from that list he will appoint substitutes. The monitor-general's office is merely to take an account of monitors present and absent, and to appoint substitutes from the superintendent's list of boys fit for the different offices of monitors.

Of the Duties of Monitors.

In large schools on the old plan of education, the burden of the master's duty increases in a great degree, with the increase of numbers, till it becomes insupportable. On the new plan, the burden increases in a very small degree in comparison of the number, and admits of dividing the master's labour among many, which would otherwise rest only on himself. Some classes in a school will occasionally

be extinct in consequence of the improvement of the scholars. If all the children who are in the alphabet class, improve so as to be removed to the second, the alphabet class must be extinct, unless fresh scholars are admitted. The same, if all the boys in the subtraction class become masters of that rule, they must be removed to another class, and there will be no subtraction class in the school, until more boys are admitted, or are brought forward from an inferior class. Where children continue at school for some time, and no new scholars are admitted, it appears possible, the whole of the minor classes may become extinct, and not be revived till an admission of new scholars.

In a very large school, more monitors are wanted than in a smaller one; the system remains the same, only the number of agents for effecting it are greater. In a small school, some duties may be done by the master, because they relate to a few pupils or monitors, and are immediately under his own eye. In a small school of 100 children, no monitor-general will be needed, as from the fewness of the monitors, that duty may be performed by the master; but in a large school, it becomes an alleviation of the master's labour, to appoint such a monitor.

All the monitors should have a written or printed paper of their 'duties,' which they should particularly study, and repeat once a week. The larger series of papers on the duties of monitors, should be read for a class lesson by all boys selected as regular, or auxiliary monitors, in order to prepare them, by a knowledge of their duty,

duty, for the proper discharge of it.

Assistant monitors are only needful when a class is more than 20, or 25, then the monitor should be relieved from continual attention to his class, to give him time for his studies, but the class must by no means be divided between two equal monitors, both acting at the same time.

Instruments of Punishments.

Of Logs.—On a repeated or frequent offence, after admonition has failed, the lad to whom an offender presents the card, places a wooden log round his neck, which serves as a pillory, and with this he is sent to his seat. This log may weigh from four to six pounds, some more and some less. The neck is not pinched or closely confined—it is chiefly burthensome by the manner in which it incumbers the neck, when the delinquent turns to the right or left. While it rests on his shoulders, the equilibrium is preserved; but, on the least motion one way or the other, it is lost, and the log operates as a dead weight upon the neck. Thus he is confined to sit in his proper position and go on with his work.

Of Shackles.

When logs are unavailing, it is common to fasten the legs of offenders together with wooden shackles: one or more, according to the offence. The shackle is a piece of wood mostly a foot long, sometimes six or eight inches, and tied to each leg. When shackled, he cannot walk but in a very slow, measured pace; being obliged to take six steps when confined, for two when at liberty. Thus accoutered he is ordered to walk

round the school-room, till, tired out, he is glad to sue for liberty and promise his endeavour to behave more steadily in future; with this he is sent to his seat and goes on with his work. Should not this punishment have the desired effect, the left-hand is tied behind the back, or wooden shackles fastened from elbow to elbow, behind the back. Sometimes the legs are tied together..

The Basket.

Occasionally boys are put in a sack, or in a basket, suspended to the roof of the school, in sight of all the pupils, who frequently smile at the birds in the cage. This punishment is one of the most terrible that can be inflicted on boys of sense and abilities. Above all, it is dreaded by the monitors: the name of it is sufficient, and therefore it is but seldom resorted to on their account.

The Caravan.

Frequent or old offenders are yoked together sometimes, by a piece of wood that fastens round all their necks; and, thus confined, they parade the school, walking backwards—being obliged to pay very great attention to their footsteps, for fear of running against any object that might cause the yoke to hurt their necks, or to keep from falling down. Four or six can be yoked together this way.

Proclamation of the Faults of an Offender before the School.

When a boy is disobedient to his parents, profane in his language, has committed any offence against morality, or is remarkable for slovenliness, it is usual for him to be dressed up with labels, describing his offence, and a tin or paper crown on his head. In that manner

ner he walks round the school, two boys preceding him, and proclaiming his fault; varying the proclamation according to the different offences.

Slovenliness.

When a boy comes to school with dirty face or hands, and it seems to be more the effect of habit than of accident, a girl is appointed to wash his face in the sight of the whole school. This usually creates much diversion, especially when (as previously directed) she gives his cheeks a few gentle strokes of correction with her hand.

Confinement after School Hours.

Few punishments are so effectual as confinement after school hours. It is, however, attended with one unpleasant circumstance. In order to confine the bad boys in the school-room, after school hours, it is often needful the master, or some proper substitute for him, should confine himself in school, to keep them in order. This inconvenience may be avoided, by tying them to the desks, or putting them in logs, &c. in such a manner that they cannot loose themselves. These variations in the modes of unavoidable punishment, give it the continual force of novelty, whatever shape it may assume. Any single kind of punishment, continued constantly in use, becomes familiar, and loses its effect. Nothing but variety can continue the power of novelty. Happily, in my institution, there are few occasions of punishment; and this conduces much to the pleasure it affords me. The advantages of the various modes of correction, are, that they can be inflicted, so as to give much uneasiness to the

delinquents, without disturbing the mind or temper of the master. The object of these different modes of procedure is to weary the culprit with a log: or by placing him in confinement of one kind or another, till he is humbled, and likely to remove the cause of complaint by better behaviour in future. When he finds how easily his punishments are repeated—that he himself is made the instrument—and no respite or comfort for him, but by behaving well, it is more than probable he will change for the better. It is also very seldom that a boy deserves both a log and shackle at the same time. Most boys are wise enough, when under one punishment, not to transgress again immediately, lest it should be doubled. They are mostly so prudent, as to behave quiet and well, in hopes of being set at liberty from the one they already suffer, which is mostly in a few minutes. It ought to be understood in a school, that whatever mode of punishment a master may adopt, on a repetition of the fault, a repetition of the punishment will unavoidably ensue; this will avoid recurring too often to modes of punishment, which are not effectual without interrupting the pupil's attention to business, as the log, the shackle, the badge of disgrace—at the same time the offenders are the instruments of their own punishment. Lively, active-tempered boys, are the most frequent transgressors of good order, and the most difficult to reduce to reason; the best way to reform them is by making monitors of them. It diverts the activity of their minds from mischief, by useful employment, which at the same

time adds greatly to their improvement. I have experienced correction of any kind, only to be needful in proportion as boys were under the influence of bad example at home. Nothing is unhappily more common, than for parents to undo, by their bad example at home, all the good their children obtain at school. This occasions the first trouble to be renewed many times; and many punishments fall to the lot of that child, who, however well regulated at school, is spoiled at home. But, certain it is, that, if punishments must exist, such as those mentioned in the preceding detail, are preferable to others more severe, and in common practice. I wish they were never in sole practice, without any thing of a more generous nature existing in schools where they are made use of: but some persons will plead for the rod, as the partisans of Robespierre did for the guillotine, with an unrelenting fury.

Singing Tone of Reading.

When a boy gets into a singing tone in reading, the best cure that I have hitherto found effectual, is by force of ridicule.—Decorate the offender with matches, ballads; (dying speeches, if needful;) and, in this garb send him round the school, with some boys before him, crying matches, &c. exactly imitating the dismal tones with which such things are hawked about the streets in London, as will readily occur to the reader's memory.

Labels of Disgrace.

When boys are in habits of talking, or being idle in school-time, it is common in the free schools under my direction, as va-

riety in punishment, to make an offender stand up and suck his fingers, with the label 'Idle' or 'noisy' "suck-finger baby."

Other Modes of Punishment.

The following punishment is most tremendous; when a boy is found to deserve punishment, instead of recurring as to the rod, make him a bashaw of three tails. The use of a famous coat, called the fool's coat, is well known in schools; let such a coat be suspended in the public school; the name of the offender printed in large letters, that the whole school may read, and fastened on it; the words Bashaw of three tails also on the back of the coat, and three birchen rods suspended from the tail of the coat, at due and regular distances. This punishment is excellent for the senior boys and will not need many repetitions. Sometimes an idle boy may have a pillow fetched from a feather bed, and placed on the desk for him to lay his head on, as if asleep; in the face of the school. A go-cart is another excellent punishment for an idle boy, but rocking in a cradle is better. Exhibitions of this sort soon bring a large school into order. Under this head I may repeat an anecdote, but do not recommend it to practice, as I have never tried it. A respectable female kept a small school for children of that sex. Her health was delicate, and the task became so arduous from the noise of the children, when at school, that she had no prospect but that of declining school altogether. In the interim she was advised to make one trial more; to have a cup of camomile tea always by her, and whenever any

any child was found talking, to regale her with a tea-spoonful ; and if she repeated her offence, to repeat the punishment. We may suppose many wry mouths were made on the occasion, but the pu-

nishment wanted little repetition, it was too bitter to be endured, and almost immediately ceased to be deserved, and the school continued an example of order and usefulness.

ANTIQUITIES.

ANTIQUITIES.

First Presbyterian Church in England. [From the History and Antiquities of Dissenting Churches in England.]

THE first Presbyterian church in England was erected at Wandsworth, near London, in the year 1572.

The Reformation, as established in England by queen Elizabeth, was materially defective, and came far short of what was designed by those who had the chief hand in promoting it. The queen imbibed much of her father's temper; she was vain, cruel and intolerant, fond of popish rites and ceremonies, and affected great magnificence in her devotions. Her own arbitrary will was the supreme law of the land, from which she would suffer no deviation. By sanguinary laws she attempted to bring all her subjects to one uniform opinion in religious matters; but this being impossible, persecution followed, and fines, bonds and imprisonment, and sometimes death itself, awaited those who presumed to differ from her.

Most of our English reformers were much averse to every thing that savoured of popery, and aimed to abolish gradually all the remaining vestiges of it from the church. Those who were exiles for religion

in queen Mary's days, returned home upon Elizabeth's accession, hoping to obtain such a form of worship as they had observed in the best reformed churches abroad. But in this they were disappointed, the queen had modelled the church according to her own fancy, and preferred those only who would fall in with her establishment; leaving the rest in the same threadbare, starving condition they exhibited, when first returned from abroad. Among these were the learned and industrious John Fox, the martyrologist, old father Miles Coverdale, and many other excellent divines, who were some of the greatest ornaments of our church. These desired a further reformation; but not being able to obtain it, petitioned the queen for an indulgence in things that were indifferent. This being denied, the heads of the Puritans held a solemn consultation, in which, after prayer, and a serious debate about the lawfulness and necessity of separation, they came to this conclusion, that "since they could not have the word of God preached, nor the sacraments administered without idolatrous gear, and since there had been a separate congregation in London, and another at Geneva,

in

in queen Mary's time, which used a book and order of preaching, administration of the sacraments and discipline, that the great Mr. Calvin had approved of, and which was free from the superstitions of the English service; that therefore it was their duty, in their present circumstances, to break off from the public churches, and to assemble as they had opportunity, in private houses, or elsewhere, to worship God in a manner that might not offend against the light of their consciences." This was the era of the separation, A. D. 1566. After which they continued to hold private assemblies for worship; but the queen and her bishops soon made them feel their vengeance; their meetings were disturbed, and those who attended them apprehended, and sent in large numbers to Bridewell, and other prisons, for conviction.

There being no further prospect of a reformation by the legislature, some of the leading Puritans agreed to attempt it in a more private way; for this purpose they erected a Presbytery at Wandsworth, a village five miles from London, conveniently situated for the brethren, as standing on the banks of the river Thames. The heads of the association were Mr. Field, lecturer of Wandsworth; Mr. Smith, of Mitcham; Mr. Crane, of Roehampton; Messrs. Wilcox, Standen, Jackson, Bonham, Saintloe and Edmunds; to whom afterwards were joined Messrs. Travers, Clarke, Barber, Gardiner, Crook, Egerton, and a number of very considerable laymen. On the 20th of November, 1572, eleven elders were chosen, and their offices described in a register intitled, "The

Orders of Wandsworth." This (says Mr. Neal) was the first Presbyterian church in England. All imaginable care was taken to keep their proceedings setret, though without success; for the bishop, whose eye was upon them, gave immediate intelligence to the high commission, upon which the queen issued out a proclamation for putting the act of uniformity in execution. But though the commissioners knew of the Presbytery, they could not discover the members, nor prevent others being erected in neighbouring counties.

Most of the above persons were divines of considerable eminence, beneficed in the church of England, and much esteemed by the people for their useful preaching, and exemplary lives. But this could not protect them from the fury of the queen and her bishops, who were infinitely more concerned to preserve a few unprofitable rites and ceremonies, than to promote the instruction of the people, and the peace of the church. A rigorous conformity was the idol they set up, and those who would not worship that idol, were deprived of their livings, and hurried to jails, as wholesome methods to remove their scruples. But the harder the Puritans were pressed, the more were they disaffected to the national establishment, and the more resolute in their attempts for a reformation of discipline. There was a book in high esteem among them, intitled, *Disciplina Ecclesiæ sacra ex Dei verbo descripta*; that is, "The holy discipline of the Church described in the word of God." It was drawn up in Latin by Mr. Travers, a learned Puritan, and printed at Geneva about the year

1574.

1574. Afterwards, being reviewed and corrected, it was translated into English, in 1584. A preface was added by Mr. Cartwright, for general use; but, while printing at Cambridge, the archbishop ordered it to be seized, and advised that all the copies should be burnt as factious and seditious. After Mr. Cartwright's death, a copy was found in his study, and reprinted in 1644, under this new title, "A Directory of Government anciently contended for, and as far as the times would suffer, practised by the first Nonconformists in the days of Queen Elizabeth; found in the study of the most accomplished Mr. Thomas Cartwright, after his decease, and reserved to be published for such a time as this. Published by authority." This book contains the substance of those alterations in discipline, which the Puritans of those times contended for, and was subscribed by a number of their most eminent divines. A copy of it may be seen in the Appendix to Neal's History of the Puritans.

The history of the church during the reign of Elizabeth, presents a melancholy picture of discord, bigotry, and intolerance. It is much to be lamented, that the bishops of those times, many of whom were men of learning and piety, should condescend to become so far the tool of the prerogative, as to oppress their brethren, and be the instruments of sowing divisions in the church. If the Reformation had been formed upon a broader basis, the confusions that followed would, in all probability, have been prevented. The rights of conscience, however, were not then fully understood, nor indeed, were they

publicly asserted for above a century afterwards. Though the doctrines of the reformed were established by law, that most objectionable part of popery, which erected an inquisition into the consciences of men; was still retained. The supremacy of the pope was abolished, together with his infallibility; but the name only was discarded—not the thing. A woman became the head of the church; her opinions were the infallible rule of faith; and she was declared the supreme arbiter of the consciences of her subjects. The monstrous absurdity of these claims was left for subsequent times to explode, and it was not till above a century afterwards, that the genuine principles of religious liberty were thoroughly discussed and explained. A faithful and elegant delineation of those times may be found in "The History of the Puritans," by the Rev. Daniel Neal, who has done ample justice to his subject. This is a work that does honour to the Dissenters, and will perpetuate the name of its worthy author, as long as just notions of liberty shall be entertained by mankind.

MR. Cannington opened various barrows in the neighbourhood of Stonehenge, under the direction of sir Richard Hoare, bart, and with the aid and assistance of A. B. Lambert, esq. and found a number of curious remains of Celtic ornaments, such as beads, buckles, and broaches in amber, wood, and gold; one of which, for its elegance and appropriate form, is at once a proof of the nobility of the person for whom the barrow was raised, and the elegance of the arts at the period of the

the interment, about 3000 years from the present period. The shape of this curious article is conical, and the exact form of the barrow itself; which it was most probably intended to figure. Conceive a piece of wood, imbricated in layers, one over the other, to the summit of the cone, and covered with thin plates of pure gold, and adorned with circles round the middle, and near the bottom with a triangular festoon about the lower edge, in which are two holes for a thread or wire to suspend it.

Lincolnshire.—A considerable quantity, supposed to be about 14 or 15 hundred of small Roman copper coins were lately discovered at Timberland, near Sleaford, in ploughing a close of Mr. Ward, of that place. They were in a Roman earthen pot, which was broken by the plough, and are coins of Augustus, Tiberius, and the first Claudius: many of them are in fine preservation.

Hertfordshire.—A curious piece of antiquity has lately been discovered in the church-yard of Hemel Hempstead. In digging a vault, the sexton, when he had excavated the earth about four feet below the surface of the ground, found his spade strike against something solid, which, upon inspection, proved to be a large wrought stone, the lid of a coffin, and under it was found the coffin entire, which was afterwards taken up in perfect condition; but the bones contained therein, on being exposed to the air, crumbled to dust. On the lid of the coffin is an inscription, part-

ly effaced by time, but still sufficiently legible, decidedly to prove that it contained the ashes of the celebrated Offa, king of the Mercians, who rebuilt the abbey of St. Alban's, and died in the eighth century. The coffin is about 6½ feet long, and contains a niche or resting place for the head, and also a groove on each side for the arms, likewise for the legs; it is curiously carved, and altogether unique of the kind.

Solution of the Mystery, "Who was the Man who Beheaded Charles the First." [From Pièces Intéressantes et peu Connues.]

GEORGE II. on his return to London, after the battle of Dettingen, could with difficulty bear the sight of lord Stair. He could not forgive his lordship's reproaching him for the danger which threatened the English army, in case the king had obstinately persisted in leaving it in the camp which it occupied, and where it would have been completely defeated, if the duke de Grammont by his rashness had not saved it. Lord Stair, as proud as he was skilful in war, having soon perceived the king's dislike, and being little disposed to bear the shame of a formal disgrace, was on the point of returning to his estate in Scotland, when he received the following letter:—

"My Lord,

"Your bravery is well known: but will you have the courage to go, to-morrow night, to the entrance of Somerset-house, where you will meet one who (if you dare follow him) will conduct you to a part of the town not much frequented, but where you will find one

one who is impatient to see you, and to discover secrets which are of more importance than you imagine, and which cannot be disclosed in a letter. If you are afraid this should be a plot on your purse, bring nothing valuable about you."

We may conceive his lordship's surprise at the reading of this note. At first he took it for a trick of some secret enemy; or some affair of gallantry, the heroine of which had probably her reasons for so acting; however, he determined to go. He therefore, after providing himself with a sword and a brace of good pistols, went to Somerset-house, and found there a man, who, without speaking, made him a sign to follow him; after walking for about an hour, they came into a street almost empty, where the conductor knocked at the door of a small old house: when it was opened, he said, "Walk in, my lord;" and the door was shut against them. The intrepid nobleman, holding a sword in one hand and a pistol in the other, went up the staircase and entered a room; the furniture of which seemed very ancient. "Come in, my lord," said a faint voice issuing from a bed, "come in, you have nothing to fear: pray sit down in a chair near my bed, and we will converse together."—"Very well," said lord S.; "but make haste and tell me the reason of this odd adventure." "You are hasty, my lord, but have patience: lay down your arms; take that seat, and come and look at me." His lordship, surprised at such authoritative commands, to which he was little accustomed, got up, took the lamp, went to the bed, and remained stupified at the sight of an old man, pale and thin, with

a long white beard, and whose eyes were instantly fixed upon him.—"Look at me, my lord," said he, "I am still alive, I owe to you the only true pleasure I have tasted these many, many years. Age and misfortunes, have they entirely effaced the marks of one who is nearly related to you, and who is delighted to find in you features which are most dear to him?" His lordship, still more astonished, looked at the old man, and unable to account for the different emotions which agitated him, spoke not a word. "Stoop," said the old man, "and you will find under my bed, a box which contains papers capable of amply repairing the losses which your family has suffered by the civil wars." His lordship having placed the box upon the bed, sat down again upon the chair. "Here, my lord," said the old man, "here are copies of the sales of three of the principal seats belonging to your ancestors, which your great-grandfather sold, or rather pretended to sell, during the troubles. Here are also the letters of the pretended buyers, by which you may immediately recover the estates on your arrival in Scotland: precautions have been taken to prevent any disputes." What was his lordship's astonishment when he saw these three contracts of estates, which he knew formerly belonged to his house? "Ah!" cried he with transport, "Ah! who are you, respectable and benevolent old man, to whom I owe more than to my own father? Speak, I beg of you! favour me with the name of so generous a benefactor, in whom I am so singularly interested, and whose days Heaven seems to have prolonged, that he may find in me the most

most tender and respectable of friends, and the most grateful of men?"—"Leave me, my dear lord," said the old man in haste; "I am too weak to bear a longer conversation; leave me, I beg; take that box, and bid adieu to an old man, who thinks himself less unfortunate since he has had the happiness of holding you in his arms."—"Ah! whoever you are," said lord S., "and whatever reasons you may have to conceal the name of so generous a man, can you have the cruelty to oblige him to obey you? To abandon you in such a situation, without friends, without help, without —" "Stop, my dear lord! it is with pleasure I see in you such generous sentiments; but I know that your friend (since you think him worthy of that title), however unfortunate he may be in other respects, is still free from want; therefore, if you wish to oblige me, leave me, my lord, instantly; nay, do more, and believe me I have a right to demand it: swear to me that you will never come here again, nor ever search after me, unless I send for you." His lordship seeing by his tone of voice that he would not be refused, promised to obey him; once more embraced him, and then left him with tears in his eyes. On his return home he immediately opened the box, and found a great number of papers which he judged would be of great use to him. Next morning, as he was preparing (notwithstanding his promise) to return to the old man, he was suddenly stopped by the following letter, sealed with his own arms, and to his extreme surprise, signed George Stair:—

"Do not return to me, my dear

lord, for you will not find me. If it had been only to tell you who I am, that is, your great grand-father, who has so long been supposed dead, and who justly deserved to be so, I should not have opposed your just desire of knowing your benefactor; but the consequences which I foresaw of so interesting a scene, too much so for my weak age to bear, made me dread to satisfy your curiosity, upon circumstances, which, far from offering to you so dear and respectable a relation as you imagined, would only have shewn to you a wretch—a monster less worthy of pity than horror!

"My father died a few months after my birth; my mother soon followed him; I was left to the care of an aunt, sister to my father, who brought me up so tenderly, that, (though she was the cause of my crime) I still retain the most grateful remembrance of her in my heart. I was scarcely seventeen, when, struck with indignation, at seeing my countrymen armed against their lawful sovereign, I formed the design of tendering to king Charles I. the offer of my fortune and sword: but what was my astonishment, when, at disclosing my intention to my good aunt, I saw her trembling lift her hands to heaven; and look at me with a kind of horror! Surprised and afflicted at the state she was in, and turning with impatience to know the reason, 'You force me then to tell you,' cried she, bursting into tears; 'know, then, the prince you are so desirous of serving, is the author of my shame and of your father's death. I was about fifteen, and among the attendants who waited on his mother, when the wretch, imposing

imposing on my age and credulity, by the most sacred oaths, contrived to seduce me—in short I was ruined.

“The perfidious prince soon after went to Spain, in hopes of marrying the Infanta. I should have been entirely lost, if your father had not come to London; to him I was obliged to own my misfortune, and the consequences which I dreaded. That dear brother, afflicted even to tears, ran immediately to the queen, obtained permission to take me away, and sent me to one of his seats near Edinburgh, where I remained till I was perfectly recovered. ‘Alas!’ added she, ‘I was doomed to see him no more.’ The grief which he conceived for my undoing, soon killed him; and his worthy wife, who, after bringing you into the world, survived only a month. Such, my dear nephew, were the secrets and deplorable motives which reduced me to that obscurity in which I have since lived, and of which you are alone acquainted. Judge now, my friend, if after the care I have taken of your infancy, and the education I have procured you, say, can you devote your fortune and arms to the author of so many calamities, to a barbarian who has carried death into the breasts of your parents, and into mine eternal remorse!’—‘No!’ cried I, ‘by God! no! the wretch is unworthy of life, and he shall die by my hand!’ To tell you, my lord, by what means, as refined as dangerous, my fury against the king continually increasing, was at last able to fulfil my revenge and execrable oath; to tell you all the events, and excess of remorse which soon followed my crime, would be now

too grievous in my weak state to relate. Be satisfied with knowing, that you may abhor me as much as I detest myself; that the executioner of king Charles I. who appeared under a mask, was in fact no other than your unworthy, too guilty, great grand-father, sir Geo. Stair.”

From 1649 (when Charles I. was beheaded) and 1743 (when the battle of Dettingen was fought) there is an interval of 94 years. On supposition that sir George Stair was 20 years old when he committed this crime, his age in 1743 must have been 114 years.

The anonymous author of these memoirs, adds, that whatever were the emotions of lord Stair at reading the letter, his first care was to look for the street and the house where he had seen his great-grand-father; but finding the house empty, he had learnt from the neighbours that it had only been occupied since eight days; that it was never known by whom; that since the preceding night the servants had abandoned it, furnished as it was; that they could not tell of whom the tenant held the house: the proprietor being long since settled in America.

Ancient and Modern Smithfield compared.

IN the year 1533, the butchers in London and the suburbs did not exceed eighty, each of whom killed nine oxen a week, which multiplied by forty-six, the weeks in a year, for during the six weeks of Lent no flesh was eaten, gives thirty-three thousand one hundred and twenty, as the total annual consumption of beef in London. The disparity

disparity in the price of provisions is equally curious, as exhibited in the following bill of fare, part of a grand entertainment at Ely-house, Holborn, to the great officers of state, nobility, magistracy, &c. in 1532, for five days, by eleven gentlemen of the law, on assuming the dignity of the serjeants' coif.

Twenty-four large oxen,	£. s. d.
each at - - -	1 6 8
The carcase of a large ox	1 4 0
One hundred sheep, each	0 2 10
Fifty-one calves, each at	0 4 8
Thirty-four hogs, each at	0 3 8
Ninety-one pigs, each at	0 0 6
Ten dozen capons of Greece,	
each dozen at - -	0 1 8
Nine dozen and a half of	
Kentish capons, each at	0 1 3
Nineteen dozen of com-	
mon capons, each at	0 0 6
Seven dozen and nine of	
grouse or heath cocks,	
each at - - -	0 0 8
Fourteen dozen and eight	
common cocks, each at	0 0 3
The best pullets, at - -	0 0 2½
Common ditto, at - -	0 0 2
Thirty-seven dozen of pi-	
geons, each dozen at	0 0 10
Three hundred and forty	
dozen of larks, each	
dozen at - - -	0 0 5

A curious Estimate of House-keeping.

THE archbishop of St. Andrew's, in Scotland, a prisoner at Winchester in 1307, was allowed one shilling a day for the maintenance of himself and servants, in the following proportions:—

For the archbishop's own	£. s. d.
daily expence - - -	0 0 6
One man-servant to attend	0 0 3
One boy to attend him	
likewise - - -	0 0 1½

A chaplain to say daily mass to him - - - 0 0 1½

£. 0 1 0!

It must be recollected, that this was equal to three shillings present currency, that the necessaries of life were at the following prices, and every article of provisions in proportion: a quarter of wheat, 4s. ditto of ground malt, 3s. 4d. ditto of pease, 2s. 6d. ditto of oats, 2s. a bull, 7s. 6d. a cow, 6s. a fat mutton, 1s. an ewe sheep, 8d. a capon, 2d. and a cock or hen, 1½d. — When the queen of Robert Bruce was a prisoner in England in 1314, her allowance was twenty shillings per week for herself and household.

ON Saturday se'nnight, as some gentlemen were walking on the Hoe, Plymouth, curiosity led them to see a remarkable vein of fine sand, which has been discovered in the midst of the immense body of lixestone rock, which composes that eminence; the sand is at least fifty feet above high water mark, and surrounded by the stone. One of the company thrusting his cane down to ascertain the depth of the stratum of sand, found it struck against some hard body, which, on taking up, proved to be one side of the jaw of some nondescript animal; the teeth, of which there is a double row, are each nearly two inches long, and the jaw about eighteen inches, and evidently carnivorous. On searching farther, a joint of the back-bone was discovered of an amazing size, being in diameter nine inches and a quarter by four and a half deep. There is no perpendicular hole for the spine, but three holes pass horizontally

tally through the centre. Several other bones were found near the spot, all of which preclude the idea of its being a marine genus. The above are in possession of a medical gentleman at Plymouth.

Conjectures concerning the Introduction of the Names of James and Charles into the Royal Family of Scotland.

[From an original MS.]

IT is very natural to call children by the names of near and dear relations. Thus we read in the evangelist Luke, that when the neighbours and children of Elizabeth came to the circumcision of her child, they called him Zacharias, after the name of his father. And his mother answered, and said, Not so: but he shall be called John. And they said unto her, there is none of thy kindred called by this name.—(Luke i. ver. 59—61.)

There is not in the whole of the long line of ancestry of Charles I. either by the side of his father, James VI. of Scotland and I. of England, or by that of his mother, the princess Ann of Denmark, one of the name of Charles. There were many princes among the kindred of king James, of the royal families of Scotland, England, and the princely house of Lorraine, not certainly unworthy of giving a name to *baby Charles*.^{*}—Why then did James travel out of the family records?

First, there prevailed in Scotland, in the days of king James VI. fa-

ther of Charles I. not a little superstition even among the higher ranks. Not a little confidence was placed in names, good omens, and talismans. Witness the accomplished Ruthvens of Gowrie—both the earl and his brother. On the death of Robert II. of Scotland, not two centuries before, the crown devolved upon his eldest son John; but this name being thought unlucky, from the unfortunate reigns of the three Johns of Scotland, England, and France, he changed it, according to a decree of so grave a council as the estates or parliament of Scotland,† for that of Robert; though he was still called by the common people, *John Fernier*.

Secondly—It appears that James VI. was in the habit of paying great attention, and laying much stress on names. It is well known, that he took great delight in talking Latin, in which he was a great proficient, to those who understood it; and it was, perhaps, more generally understood among courtiers in those times (though by no means so scientific or philosophical) than the present. A common saying of his, on the subject of names, is well authenticated—*Omnia nomina desinentia in Son, vulgarisunt, excepto Struano Robertsono*.

Thirdly—Though among his ancestors of his own name, the first, second, fourth, and fifth Jameses may be ranked among great and heroic princes, they were all of them unfortunate. James I. was

* So his fond father was wont to call him, even after he had grown up to manhood.

† De Ordinum Sententia. Buchan. Rerum Scotticarum Liber decimus.

assassinated at Perth*. James II. lost his life by the bursting of a cannon at the siege of Roxburgh-castle. James IV. was slain in the fatal battle of Flowden Field. And James V. after that of the Solway-Moss, died of heart-break. Scotland never produced so great, and none ever a better, wiser, and more warlike a prince than Robert I, surnamed *De Bruce*. But his life was a life of hardship and suffering, though a life of glory; and he died of a lingering and loathsome illness. Alexander III. the last of the old Scottish, or Caledonian dynasty, was a brave warrior, and a great conqueror, for the limits within which he was circumscribed by nature. He drove the Danes or Norwegians from every part of the *terra firma* of Scotland, and obtained firm possession of both the Orkneys and the Hebrides; but he was killed towards the end of the thirteenth century, by his horse rushing down the black rock near Kinghorn, as he was hunting.—Thus king James, loosened from all predilections in favour of the names of the most renowned Scottish kings, in casting about for a name for his son, was at liberty to range over the whole of Christendom. England presented, among the ancestors of James, many illustrious princes; and accordingly we find him calling his first-born son, who afterwards died in the bloom of youth and virtue, Henry. But it would have been paying too much respect, and a kind of homage to England, to call his second son, also, after some English monarch; as, for example, Richard or Edward.

Fourthly—King James, though of a mild and pacific temper, entertained very high notions of the royal dignity of his family, and of the rank which it ought to hold, especially after it should succeed to the crown of England, among the foreigners of Europe. The dominions of England, Ireland, Scotland, and the adjacent isles, indeed formed an empire of no inconsiderable extent, and better fitted, than Continental empire for duration: and he was anxious that his son, the heir-apparent, should not intermarry but with some imperial, or pre-eminent royal family. The houses of Austria and Bourbon were the only races that he seemed to think suitable for a matrimonial alliance with kings, by the grace of God, kings of England, Scotland, France, and Ireland, defenders of the faith.—Musing, perhaps, on the possibility of a future alliance of this kind, and recollecting the glory of Charles I. of France, emperor of Germany, Charlemagne; those of Charles V. emperor of Germany, and king of Spain, &c. &c. and on the Charleses, too, of Sweden, he deemed the name of Charles, which was of itself a fortunate name, a name very proper for the son that was born to him at Dunfermline, in Scotland, in November 1600; created duke of Albany, 1602; of York, 1606; of Cornwall, 1612, after the death of his elder brother, prince Henry; and, lastly, in the year 16, prince of Wales.

As to the introduction of the name of James into the royal family of Scotland, and, afterwards, also of England, we find in the family of

* The assassin, the earl of Athol, was discovered and taken by Struan Robert-son.

the hereditary Steward, or Stewart of Scotland, different persons of the name of James; as, for example, James, uncle to the Steward of Scotland, who married the niece of David II. and grand-daughter of the great Robert de Bruce, and James Stewart of Rosyth, maternal ancestor to Oliver Cromwell.

The first of these James Stewarts lost his life, fighting bravely in the disastrous battle of Holydon-hill, near Berwick, A. D. 1333. Though brave, however he was unfortunate. But when we consider the importance attached to names, when Robert III. himself (father of James I. king of Scotland) was obliged to change the name of John for one more auspicious, by the decree of

the Scottish parliament, and that none of the Jameses among the ancestors of Robert II. seem to have been men of any great celebrity, it will appear most probable, that Robert called his son after the name of the renowned sir James Douglas, the flower of chivalry, the friend & *fidus Achates* of his great-grandfather, Robert I; whose heart was committed, according to his earnest and dying request, to the charge of sir James Douglas, to be carried and deposited by him in the holy sepulchre at Jerusalem.*— Lord James Douglas possessed a princely fortune, and lived in the most splendid and magnificent manner: he was universally beloved, admired, and almost adored, and justly;

* This memorable occurrence, which exemplifies the spirit of chivalry, then in the height of its spirit and glory, is mentioned by all the historians.—Froissart's description of it is most affecting. Even the elegant narrative of Buchannan, in the purest Latin, becomes languid in comparison of the livelier description of Froissart. "This king, who had been a very valiant knight, waxed old, and was attacked with so severe an illness (the leprosy) that he saw his end was approaching. He therefore summoned together all the chiefs and barons in whom he most confided; and after having told them that he should never get the better of this illness, he commanded them, on their honour and loyalty, to keep and preserve, faithfully and entire, the kingdom for his son David, and obey him, and crown him king when he should be of a proper age, and marry him with a lady suitable to his station.

"He, after that, called to him the gallant lord James Douglas, and said to him in presence of the others, 'My dear friend lord James Douglas, you know that I have had much to do, and have suffered many troubles, during the time I have lived, to support the rights of my crown. At the time I was most occupied, I made a vow, the non-accomplishment of which gives me much uneasiness. I vowed, that if I could finish my wars in such a manner, that I might have quiet to govern peaceably, I would go and make war against the enemies of our Lord Jesus Christ, and the adversaries of the Christian faith. To this point my heart has always leaned. But our Lord was not willing, and gave me so much to do in my life-time, and this last expedition has lasted so long, followed by this heavy sickness, that, since my body cannot accomplish what my heart wishes, I will send my heart, instead of my body, to fulfil my vow. And as I do not know any one knight so gallant or enterprising, or better formed to complete my intentions than yourself, I beg and entreat of you, dear and special friend, as earnestly as I can, that you would have the goodness to undertake this expedition for the love of me, and to acquit my soul to our Lord and Saviour: for I have that opinion of your loyalty and nobleness, that if you undertake it, it cannot fail of success; and I shall die more contented: but it must be executed as follows:—

" 'I will, that as soon as I shall be dead, you take my heart from my body, and have

justly; and though he fell, from the impetuosity of his valour in fighting against the Saracens in Spain, in his way to Jerusalem, his death, as well as life, must have been considered as both glorious and fortunate, since it was, in fact, a species of martyrdom, to be followed, according to the firm belief of those times, by a crown of glory. Since the death of Douglas there

had not elapsed much more than half a century. His memory was still fresh and dear to all Scotland, and resounded still throughout Europe. The name of James would naturally appear in the sight of Robert III. the great-grandson of Robert I. at least one of the most auspicious, at the baptism of his son, that could be fixed on.

have it well embalmed. You will take as much money from my treasury, as shall appear to you sufficient to perform your journey, as well as for all those whom you may choose to take with you in your train; you will then deposit your charge at the holy sepulchre of our Lord, where he was buried, since my body cannot go there. You will not be sparing of expence—and provide yourself with such company, and such things, as may be suitable to your rank—and wherever you pass, you will let it be known, that you bear the heart of king Robert of Scotland, which you are carrying beyond seas, by his command, since his body cannot go thither!

“All those persons began bewailing bitterly; and when the lord James could speak, he said, ‘Gallant and noble king, I return you a hundred thousand thanks, for the high honour you do me, and for the valuable and dear treasure with which you entrust me; and I will most willingly do all that you command me, with the utmost loyalty in my power; never doubt it, however I may feel myself unworthy of such a high distinction.’

“The king replied, ‘Gallant knight, I thank you—you promise it me then?’

“‘Certainly, sir, most willingly,’ answered the knight. He then gave his promise upon his knighthood.

“The king said, ‘Thanks be to God, for I shall now die in peace, since I know that the most valiant and accomplished knight of my kingdom, will perform that for me, which I am unable to do for myself.’

“Soon afterwards, the valiant Robert Bruce, king of Scotland, departed this life, on the 7th of November, 1327. His heart was embalmed, and his body buried in the monastery of Dumfermline.”—*Translation of Sir John Froissart's Chronicles, by Mr. Jehnes, vol. 1. p. 72—3.*

MISCELLANEOUS ESSAYS.

This Essay is recorded here chiefly as a most conspicuous Proof and Instance of the debasing Influence of Military and Despotic Governments on Philosophy. Here Genius is employed in order to reconcile France, and other Nations, to a System of Despotism.

On the Manner of writing History.
[From the French of M. de Bonald.]

THE Commission of Classical Books has lately admitted into the number of those works which should form a part of every complete library, some historical abridgements by a man of letters, capable, if it be possible, of making good abridgements. The favourable reception given by the Commission to these abridgements naturally calls forth some general observations on the manner of writing history.

The methods of writing history are principally two. It may be written with all those more interesting details, which suit the dignity of the subject, after the manner of Rollin, Cuvier, Le Beau, Daniel, Velly, Hume, &c. It may be written with a view only to general facts, such as constitute the causes, the unity, and the result of events, in the manner of Bosuet, Fleury, and Montesquieu, in the "Discourse on Universal History,"

"The Ecclesiastical History," and "The Causes of the Greatness and Decline of the Romans." Abridgements hold a mean rank betwixt the two, and, like all means, they partake rather of the disadvantages than the advantages of the two extremes. They have either too much detail, or not enough; and they give neither sufficient hold to the memory, nor exercise to the judgement.

History, properly so called, that is, with all its details, is peculiarly fit for young people. At their age they have leisure to read, and power to retain. Their time is not absorbed by the cares of life, nor their memory crouded by personal recollections. Accordingly, young people remember only long histories: that is, it is that detail of facts which it is the principal business of abridgements to curtail, which makes the most vivid and durable impression on their memories; and it is upon this propensity to remember detailed and minute facts, that those methods of

of

of artificial memory, which hang the most important recollections upon the slight thread of relation betwixt words and ideas, are founded. When we would call to mind a man of whom we have but a slight remembrance or knowledge, it is to the casual relations of time, place, habit, look, gesture, we have recourse, to aid our memory in the act of recollection. To apply this observation: what are those features of the Roman history which are most indelibly impressed on the minds of children? Are they not the foundation of Rome, the rape of the Sabines, the death of Romulus, the combat of the Horatii, the expulsion of the Gauls, the stratagems of Hannibal?—When children come to the end of a long history of facts, they regret that it is not still longer, as it was not less pleasing to them than the conversation of an amusing companion. The way to let men remain ignorant of history, would be to make children read abridgements; and if the history of ancient nations is so often better remembered than that of modern, it is that history, in the infancy of society, is loaded with details, familiar, extraordinary, and often fabulous.

That method of history, which consists in suppressing facts, that may be deemed the body of history, to seize the spirit of it, that is, general causes with their effects, is suited to fully grown men: I say fully grown men, for some men are always children. It is suitable, especially to public men, who having to fashion others, should themselves be particularly accomplished. At that age, and especially in public life, the cares and business of life, the inquietudes of fortune or

ambition, contracting and confining the efforts of thought to our own persons, our own times, and our own hopes, leave the memory little leisure to recur to periods and histories no longer interesting. Besides, while the memory is impaired, reflection and judgement strengthen with our years, and incline us rather to that sort of study which may afford the most ample scope to our most perfect energies: may there not, too, be a secret analogy betwixt our state in life and our literary taste? The young man begins his history, and would be acquainted with the details of life; the old man finishes his, and would dwell on its results.—Farther; to children every thing, even fable, is history: to men, even history is fable. Experience and his own vices have taught the latter to appreciate the errors of history, by a knowledge of these passions which corrupt the fidelity, or mislead the judgement of the historian. The child errs from too much credulity; the man from too much distrust. Yet it is true, that history, dubious in its details, is nevertheless certain in its general import, because time, which alters or destroys facts, discovers or confirms their results. The young retain every thing, because they have no predominating passions; the advanced in life retain only the portion of history which flatters their own passions, or accords with their own interests. The weak man will turn his eyes from the stoic firmness of Cato; the vain man will admire the oratorical success of Cicero; the factious man will incline to the audacity of Catiline; and the ambitious man remember only the success of Cæsar.

Abridgement is rather a method of
L 3 seizing

seizing the spirit of history than of learning history itself; and he who would imitate Bosuet, in the history of any single people, must have under his eye continually a chronological abridgement of the facts, of which he would catch the substance. Abridgements, therefore, are unsuitable to young people, who should rather furnish their memory than form their judgement.

Again; the long narrative of history gives a developement to the mind of young people, by its ordered succession of facts and ideas. Whereas the clipped reflections, the facts, rather hinted at, than narrated, of an abridgement, present such concise forms of style, as at their age would be dangerous models for imitation, and be like the leading-strings of a child who ought rather to have liberty to run and jump. To speak figuratively, I would compare detailed history to a living person, clothed in the richest dress; the opposite method to the same person, stripped of all his garments; and abridgement to a skeleton, which has neither the pomp of accessory ornament, nor the graces of life and natural beauty.

But whatever was the method of writing history, it must at any rate, in the last age, have been philosophical. Without this essential quality, however exact it might be in its relations, methodical in its arrangements, wise in its reflections, and suitable in style, the eyes of some writers saw nothing in it but a paltry uninteresting Gazette. As philosophy, rightly understood, is the investigation of causes, and the knowledge of their relations with effects, one might suppose that the most philosophical kind of history

would be that which presents the union and thread of facts, develops their causes, marks out their relations, and sounds upon such knowledge, general reflections upon the religious and political order of society. No such thing: the philosophical history of that day consisted in exceptions to rules, in particular, and isolated facts, or even anecdotes, for which more than one great writer has been accused of searching in his imagination, when his memory could not supply him. Every thing was pointed and personal; nothing general but a spirit of hatred towards modern politics, and modern religion. To write history philosophically, ancient governments were always to be preferred to modern: times of paganism to times of christianity; liberty was always to be found in the old democratic constitutions; perfection in their manners; virtue was the only spring of their governments; and if their religion was not reasonable, it was at least politic. In a word, courage, patriotism, character, and importance, were the exclusive property of the Greeks and Romans: the Christians have always been a people the most ignorant, the most corrupt, the most slavish, degraded by an absurd religion, below Mahometans, and even Iroquois. Christianity is to blame for all the miseries of the world, its ministers for all the crimes and faults of government. It has been philosophical to accuse her of that ignorance she alone has enlightened, that ferocity she alone has softened.

Above all, it was necessary that the philosophical historian should inveigh against the extravagant pretensions of some popes; and when

Peter, according to the prediction made of him, constrained by other powers, was often led whither he would not go,* he must needs be represented as a conqueror always armed, like the Jupiter of fable, and shaking the universe with his thunder, or directing it with his nod. It would have been more truly philosophical to remark, that in times when the personal character of kings partook of the uncultivated manners of the people, when the administrations of governments were as little enlightened as their constitutions were defined, Europe, as yet ill established in the ways of Christianity, would have fallen into a chaos worse than that from which she had with so much difficulty emerged. If the insurrections of barbarous nations had been her only barrier against the faults, or errors of turbulent kings; and that it was not only useful, but necessary, that the people should see some power above their masters, lest they should have been tempted to place their own above it. It was this sometimes excessive severity which accustomed to the yoke of society those refractory children who were to be taught by the rod, till they could be led by reason, and Europe at present needs no more fear a return of such severities than a man need dread the chastisement of childhood. Religion punished infant kings by excommunication; philosophy, since their manhood, has punished them by the scaffold. The severities of religion could produce no popular revolution, because the same power which kept under the kings, kept under the

people, and even the people most of the two. But philosophy has proved as weak against the people, as powerful against kings; she has discovered, but too late, (to use the words of M. de Condorcet,) "that the strength of the people may become dangerous to themselves; and after having taught them to make use of it, when she wished to teach them submission to the laws, she has discovered that this second work, which she did not conceive to be near so long or painful as the first," was not only less easy, but absolutely impossible: and the world has learnt by memorable experience, the truth of the saying, That kings reign by God, and that nothing but the power of heaven can overbear the power of the people.

It was therefore extremely philosophical to despise all the popes had done to civilize the world; and if any of them have found grace in the eyes of philosophers of the 18th century, it is for the protection they have afforded to the polite arts; though, to use the expression of a good bishop, "this is not the best of their deeds;" for philosophical historians impute the civilization of Europe to commerce and the arts. A nation in their eyes was more respectable for the talents of its artists, the discoveries of its learned men, and the industry of its merchants, than for the learning of its clergy, the devotion of its warriors, the integrity of its magistrates; and while philosophy declaimed against the fanaticism of men who risked their lives in spreading our religion and laws among

* But when thou shalt be old, another shall gird thee, and carry thee whither thou wouldest not.—John, chap. xxi. ver. 18.

barbarians, she admired the industry which carried them knives, glass beads, and brandy.

In these philosophical histories, politics are treated no better than religion, nor do kings meet with a more lenient destiny than popes; for whenever the severity of philosophical judgement is not disarmed by pensions or slavery, kings are all man-eaters. Their negotiations, falsehood; their wars, barbarity; their administration, cupidity; their acquisitions, ambition; and their faults, all crimes: nevertheless these actions, so odious in a Christian prince, might be excused, and even eulogized in a philosophical one. A king who should negotiate with the grand-seignior for the rebuilding of the temple at Jerusalem, or set Europe in a flame to overturn Christianity, and seize the ecclesiastical principalities, might be declared a great man, and friend of humanity; and provided philosophy was received, and her adepts honoured, the most despotic government, the most odious crimes could find grace in the eyes of philosophers. Philosophical histories talk much of destiny and fatality—words which frequently occur in the history of *L'Anarchie de la Pologne*, lately published; of great brilliancy of style, but too little research into motives and characters. Destiny in politics is what chance is in physics: and as chance, according to Leibnitz, is the ignorance of natural causes, so is destiny of political causes; and certainly there is much of this destiny in the conduct of all the cabinets of Europe.

Of very different materials is composed a history truly philosophical. Bosuet's is a model of this kind: which searches for the cause

and origin of every event in the immutable counsels of the Deity, accomplished even by the passions of men. This manner of considering, and connecting events in general points of view, might be successfully applied to the political history of a particular nation; and it is then that history becomes a study worthy the most exalted minds, and eminently suited to statesmen.

It is said, that M. D'Aguessau, while very young, on a visit to Malebranche, informed that philosopher that he was busied in the study of history; on which Malebranche smiled, as at the confession of a weakness, which claimed indulgence; and advised him to apply himself less to the recollection of facts always alike, and often uncertain, in order to gain a greater acquaintance with the principles, in which is to be found the reason of every thing, even of historical facts. Certainly the strict metaphysician went too far: but his opinion proves, that a solid and enlarged mind should seek in the study of history something besides dates and facts, and that if the history of man is to be found in particular facts, it is only in the generalization of them we can study the history of society.

It seems, too, that in the present age, when the longest life is scarcely sufficient to read the history of one's own country, and that even the abridgements of every history would form an immense library, one should consider history in a manner still more philosophical, or even metaphysical, to deduce from it general rules applicable to all the circumstances of history, and the conduct of governments, somewhat in the way that geometers consider

der quantity, and seek in their analysis, formulæ applicable to all the calculations of quantity, both in number and extent. Cannot this idea be transferred to the science of politics, and all the individuals of a society, with their functions, be generalized into the three public or social characters, or classes, expressed by general denominations, who compose it; namely, the character of ruler, the character of subject, and the character which transmits to one the laws emanating from the other, and is the agent of their execution? But there is this difference betwixt the analytical symbols of geometry and those which politics might use, that *a*, *b*, *n*, *y*, signify nothing by themselves, because they represent only abstract quantities, all of the same kind, and which have no other relations than those of *plus*, or *minus*; whereas political symbols, power, minister, subject, signify of themselves the species and diversity of relations which classify intelligent beings.

The author of this article has more fully developed these ideas in another work*. He has there shewn their relation with notions still more general, and even the most general that reason can conceive; and this manner of thinking is grounded on an entire conviction, that this is the only sure basis of the edifice of historic and political science, which Leibnitz in the beginning of the last age found very little advanced, and which has since lost more than it has gained. To pursue the comparison betwixt political and geometrical analysis; the truth of that political formula,

which classes all the individuals of a society under the general denominations of power, minister, and subject, once established, the grand problem of the sovereignty of the people had been resolved; and reason would have determined that the two extreme characters of society could never be confounded into one, nor subject become power, without an absurdity of language, and consequently of ideas. The relations which exist betwixt these three political characters, form political laws; and their station either fixed or moveable, that is, either hereditary or temporary, forms the different constitutions of states. Thus, in the monarchical government, where the power and the minister, that is, the king and the nobility, are fixed and hereditary, the state of the subject, to whose happiness all the society has a direct relation, is likewise fixed and hereditary; which is to say, that the acquirement, the enjoyment, and the peaceable transmission of property, moral and physical, are fully assured, and better guaranteed against revolutions, than in any other state of society. When the power and its functions, confounded in deliberative bodies, are moveable or temporary, which constitutes a democracy, the state of the subject is likewise fluctuating and uncertain, and more likely to suffer from the troubles and revolutions of the state.

When the power is hereditary, and the minister elective or temporary, as in Turkey, or when the power is elective, and the minister hereditary, as formerly in Poland,

* On Primitive Legislation.

these two states of society, in appearance opposite, are equally defective in securing the great end of all society, the safety of the subject; and although they have more stability than a pure democracy, because something is hereditary, they have not the strength and stability of a monarchy, where every thing is hereditary, the power as well as the minister.

We find in these principles the reason of the difference betwixt the states of Greece and Rome. The hereditary patriciate of the latter gave a degree of stability to the public functionaries of the state, unknown to the former.

It is the confusion of the two first characters, and the mobility of either, that causes those troubles which already agitate, and will finally ruin the United States of America, the dear child of the philosophy of the 18th century, of a constitution feeble as her mother. With these principles Montesquieu would have been cautious of foretelling the eternity of the Swiss republic; a prophecy in forty years to be falsified by the event; and he would have judged, that if the strength and stability of the neighbouring monarchies kept their patched up frames of polity in their places, the least motion in the general constitution of Europe must draw on their dissolution.

These few specimens are sufficient to shew, that this metaphysical, or general manner of considering history, is not an abstracted method; but on the contrary, that it is applicable to the most positive historical developments, and equally to society both domestic and religious.

A man of genius once observed

to the author of this article, that he thought it possible to write the history of a state, without naming one of the kings who had governed it. This notion, though hazarded in jest, is not without foundation; and after what has been said, it is easy to perceive, that in a regular monarch the power proceeding without interruption, and without alteration, the longest succession of kings forms only one and the same power or royalty: but the political history of a society is nothing but the history of its power. I will even go farther, and observe, that formerly in France, and in our maxims of public right, we considered the power as entirely metaphysical, since we said, "that in France the king never dies;" and by this general form of speech, we expressed, in some degree, the immortality of the power.

Now if we use this general formula of power, and apply it more particularly to our own history, we shall see, that in the political life of France there are three ages of power; and these are more evident in France than in any other state, because they pretty nearly correspond to our three races of kings, but they represent all the ages of power in every possible state of society. In the first age the power was personal and almost domestic, as it is at the commencement of every society. Whence it happened, that it was divided among the children like an inheritance, because the man who had begun the society, and the power as a conqueror, disposed of it as a personal possession. In the second age the power became public by the indivisible, hereditary transmission, by the constant law of primogeniture, by

by that of the male sex, by the distinction and heirship of the public ministry, or nobility, which is the constitutional action of the power. In the third age the power has insensibly become popular by the influence of certain doctrines, and the contagion of some examples. The judiciary power, the armed force, have by degrees passed into the hands of the third character, called in France the third estate; and in our own days the power itself had fallen entire into the hands of the multitude.

Thus in the first age the power perished by the arbitrary use made of it by the usurpations of the kings themselves, who divided it like a patrimony: and in the last it has perished by the usurpation of the people, who have divided it like a prey. For in the second age, if the materials of power, territory, and the strength resulting from it, had been usurped by the great feudatories, the moral of power, or the moral power, had been preserved entire in the sovereignty; a powerful bond, which, in perilous times, has prevented the total dissolution of France, and served to retain what could not be retaken.

But, as the present always retains something of the past, all the causes of destruction, which had acted in the two first ages, have been combined in the last, to work the annihilation of power. Accordingly in our days were to be found some remains of family settlements in use in the first age, and even of the exorbitant power of the feudatory lords of the second, in the law of the settlements called *Apanages*, by which the princes of the blood royal, members at the same time of the reigning family, and grandees of

the state, were endowed with lands, titles, and prerogatives, in lieu of being pensioned like all other princes of the royal families of Europe: a dangerous law, which gave those princes an existence incompatible with the quiet and real strength of the state, and which has been the reason that France, at all times, and particularly in the times of the Revolution, has been more troubled by the intrigues and pretensions of factious princes than any state in Europe, and at the same time has been less served by the talents of virtuous princes, because kings are afraid of entrusting great offices, and perhaps of inspiring great virtues into men, who, by the laws, participated in the honours, and even the reality of power.

These three ages of power, personal, public, and popular, account for all the accidents of society, and comprehend all the periods of power.

In the first age, the king was rather the chief of the first family, and the greatest proprietor; in the second, he was the first lord high *justiciar*, sovereign of all the land, and of whom all those who inhabited it, held. By the bye, this expression of *holding* presents more lofty ideas than *depending*. In the third age, the king was rather the first functionary of the sovereign people, a supreme magistrate, or president of a deliberative assembly. Of these three modes of considering, the second, under the title of lord, gives us the most rational ideas of royalty, since its very derivation (*seigneur* from *senior*) recalls to our minds ideas of reason and justice. This justice exercised over a fixed territory, is called jurisdiction, the first attribute of power which

which comprehends all the rest, which gives it action upon the wicked who disturb, and upon the good, to defend the territory of its jurisdiction. This expression of lord is so much the better suited to power, the image of the minister of the divinity, since God, in his communications with man, has given himself the same name.

This power must have produced different feelings in its different ages; it was more dreaded in the first, because the same man sometimes at once willed and executed, as we may often find in the history of Clovis and his successors. Then the law was often caprice; its execution, violence; the king a despot, and his ministers satellites. In the third age, the most popular age of power, it has received, perhaps, more external marks of affection. But in the second age the power, more strengthened by public institutions, raised beyond the attempt of the subject, and in consequence more absolute (for the weak Louis XIII. had a more absolute power than the brave Clovis) was more respected; and so better secured against both the precautions of fear, and the inconstancy of love; for it was not till kings were so much beloved, that it was found necessary to surround them with guards. Fear and love are sentiments which partake of the fickleness of man; respect is a religious sentiment, which, being grounded on a profound belief of the necessity of power, neither the misfortunes, the faults, nor the iniquity of kings, can weaken. We find a strong proof of the religious respect formerly attached to royalty in France, in the belief that kings, at their consecration, wrought mira-

cles, and cured the king's evil by a touch: a sublime idea, which conceals this important truth, that there is no social infirmity which religion and royalty in concert cannot cure. In the second age, the power was feudal, and required fidelity as well as obedience, as the price of its protection, and the peaceable enjoyment of the blessings of society; and does not God require fidelity from man, whom he has placed in a world of happiness on the very same terms?

It is this fundamental distinction, this division of power in France, into personal, public, and popular, which can resolve the great historical difficulties, give the reason of all the laws of policy, and explain the successive changes of a state. Narrow minds may enquire into the fixed epochs of these several variations; they would know the day on which personal power became public, and public popular. But it is not so with the gradual changes of society; and we may here well apply what the president Henault has said on a similar occasion:—"People would be told, that in such a year, on such a day, an edict was passed to make those offices saleable which had been elective; but this is not the way with the changes which happen in a state, relative to the manners, customs, and habits of society; circumstances have preceded them; particular facts have multiplied; and in the course of time have given birth to that general law under which people have lived."

I have no hesitation in pronouncing, that these few general considerations, well weighed, would contribute

tribute more to the philosophy of history, and to the information of those who bear rule in states and kingdoms, of the origin and tendency of the ideas they entertain in the administration of government, than a detailed view of all the facts and dates of history, if it were possible to remember, or even read them; for whatever importance be attached to historical facts, the most numerous collection, and the best arranged, are nothing but an unconnected mass of anecdote, unless there be certain general principles, by a reference to which their causes may be indicated, and their effects pointed out; nay more, by means of these general principles a great number of facts may be passed over, and many conjectured with certainty. Thus, to return to the example already adduced: it is sufficient to know that princes of the blood-royal enjoy certain hereditary territories and jurisdictions, by right of which, without possessing regal authority in their provinces, they possess prerogatives superior to any other class of proprietors, and even a share in the power, by a nomination to certain offices of state: this knowledge would enable us to conjecture with certainty that these princes will be the source of every intrigue and faction in the state; and if it perishes, that it will be by the countenance some prevailing faction may find in the credit or wealth of some one of the princes. There is no need of reading the History of England to judge of the evils likely to

result from a female succession to the throne*; nor the History of Poland, to prove that elective succession robs the state of every principle of strength and stability, and will sooner or later reduce it to the lowest pitch of degradation and ruin. Here facts come in support of principles; and the knowledge of them is necessary to such men, as only see principles in subsequent facts, like children, who must be taught by imagery and example; but those who see facts in the principles which precede them, may spare themselves the incumbrances of details, often uncertain, almost always contested, and frequently contradictory. This general and expeditious mode of studying history is peculiarly adapted to those that are brought up to govern, and a prince, instead of reading the history of every king, might rest satisfied with the history of two—a powerful king and a weak king.

This method, which simplifies rather than abridges history, becomes absolutely necessary in the histories of modern times. The ancient nations are at an end, and with whatever detail their history be written, still its term is fixed, and completed. The history of the Roman Republic comes no lower than the battle of Actium, nor that of the Roman Empire below the reign of Augustulus. The History of the Eastern Empire commences with the foundation of Constantinople, and ends with its capture by the Turks; but Christian states, which, from their religious and political constitutions have a principle of strength

* Is Mons. de Bonald ignorant that the reigns of queens are justly reckoned amongst the most prosperous and glorious periods of English history?—TRANSLATOR.

"The empire of heathen Rome ended A. D. 476; and one hundred years afterwards, in 570, was born, in the East, the man who was to be the founder of another religion, and of another empire, that Mahomet, at the same time the enemy of idolatry and of Christianity, who announced himself to an ignorant people as an inspired personage, and led his followers to the conquest of effeminate nations; that turbulent genius, whose gloomy and licentious doctrine, maintained by an oppressive government, has sanctioned barbarism in laws, as well as in manners, and crushed the East under the double yoke of error and slavery.

"Every thing was striking in the origin and in the progress of the Mahometan religion; but every thing is easily explained.

"Its cradle was in the same regions, from whence the Jewish and Christian religions had sprung before, and these great religious systems, which were to divide, to change, or to agitate the earth, all began in the centre of the three parts of the world then known. The Arabians, among whom Mahomet appeared, are incontestably descendants from Abraham (whom they call *Ibrahim*) by Ismael his son; and even the Koraites tribe, to which Mahomet belonged, pretended to an immediate descent from Kedar, eldest son of Ismael.

"It was a strange event to see, after so many thousand years, a renewal of the strife between the religious posterity of Isaac, and the natural posterity of *the son of the bond-woman*. 'He will be a wild man, his hand will be raised against every man, and every man's hand against him; and he shall dwell in

the presence of all his brethren.' This sublime picture which Scripture draws of Ismael, suits equally the Arabians, his descendants, always in arms, always under the tent; it suits equally the Mahometan religion, sprung from the deserts of Arabia, whose hand is raised against every other religion."

After pourtraying, in very glowing colours, the absurdities of the Koran, M. de B. observes that,

"The Christian religion had found the northern nations warlike and ferocious, it infused *sentiments* into them, and they became pacific. Mahomet found the Arabians pacific; 'he gave them *opinions*, (says Montesquieu,) and suddenly they became conquerors.' This alone may serve to appreciate both religions.

"Mahometism, then, sprung ready armed, from the head of its founder; like the Minerva of the heathen, like the French revolution, like all opinions of human wisdom. Christianity, *like the seed which springs and grows up, or like the leaven which ferments in silence*, had sprung up, imperceptibly, and converted man before it changed society; Mahometism, like a hurricane, was ushered in by violence, and overthrew empires, to pervert mankind.

"The doctrine of the prophet of Mecca spread rapidly among the Arabians, a nation of a lively and unsteady imagination; then was adopted by a mixture of Jews, Christians, Sabeans, Pagans, all nearly equally ignorant. From Arabia, which was its cradle, Mahometism soon extended one hand over the East, and the other over the West; it seduced men by the allurements of pleasure, or appalled them by terror,

ror. It found every where Christians practising their religion, but no where did it meet with a government which protected Christianity. Africa as well as Asia received the law of the new prophet.

“European Christendom might from hence be considered as a fortified place, regularly besieged, and attacked by Mahometism. Already some of the out-works had been carried. Palestine had been invaded in 636, even Sicily had been ransacked in 653, and almost all its inhabitants carried into captivity. And in 713, that is, less than a century after the famous Hegira (or flight of Mahomet), the Mahometans of Africa, known by the name of Moors, crossed the narrow channel which separated them from Europe, attacked the body of the fortress, and seized on Spain, where revenge, ambition, and corruption, those eternal foes of empires, favoured their enterprise.”

Here M. de B. recapitulates the various aggressions of the Mussulmans against Christendom, which in his mind fully justified the crusades, and even rendered them necessary; “like sallies, (says he, continuing his metaphor,) which are necessary for the defence of a besieged town.” He then expatiates on the advantages which Europe derived from those holy expeditions: but this part of his work contains neither new ideas, nor new applications, he follows Dr. Robertson, whom he quotes, and whose text he only amplifies.

The system of religious aggression against Christendom, he observes, has been constantly followed by the Turks, and that a new crusade against them is to be considered as a fair retaliation, necessary

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for the maintenance of the Christian religion. The faith of recent and multiplied treaties, forms no obstacle in his mind; for, speaking of the expulsion of the Moors from Spain, he says, “this measure was not unjust in itself; no more would in the present time the expulsion of the Turks from Greece by the Christians, or that of the Negroes from St. Domingo by the French, be considered as unjust even after a thousand years of possession. *For possession of the land by barbarism can form no bar against the rights of civilization.*”

“But, it must not be expected that France, now become a neighbour of Austria, and Turkey, by the Venetian provinces, on the Adriatic shore opposite to Italy, shall suffer such great interests to be discussed without her intervention, either as an interested, or as a mediating power... However that may be, the last moment of the Mussulman power in Europe cannot be very distant. Those conquerors have been, and are still, ever since their invasion of Greece, only a corps of barbarians, encamped in the middle of civilized Europe; to retreat, they have only to strike their tents and to pass into Asia. Every thing, then, announces, that the Christian empire of Greece shall be re-established in one, or more states, and then shall a new political system begin for Europe.

“It is possible, that the expulsion of the Turks from Europe, should produce in the Christian commonwealth two important events, which would remove two great occasions of scandal. One of these events might be the re-es-

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tablishment of Poland as, an independent state. The partitioning powers would find indemnities, either directly or by way of exchange, in the Turkish provinces nearest their dominions. The other might be, *the re-union of the Latin and Greek church*; this last has been sufficiently punished on account of her schism, by a long oppression, she is worthy of being restored to freedom by her constant fidelity to the fundamental principles of the Christian religion evinced during the persecution. This re-union, so much wished, and so much sought for, will meet with but little difficulty, if Austria and France are, as they ought to be, the arbitrators of the partition; but it would be retarded, if Russia alone should take possession of Greece; because that power is yet young in its politics, and seems more eager to aggrandize its already too extensive dominions, than to bring back its religion to its primitive purity, or to perfect its morality.

“The Turks, driven into Asia, and beholding with grief from that shore, the *delightful country* of Greece, they so long occupied, will, no doubt, be tempted to invade it again; and, perhaps, to the great scandal of modern philosophers, our descendants are to witness new Crusades of Christians, to defend against Mahometans the Greek empire, as being most exposed to their invasions. It seems, however, that the total want of maritime forces will form an eternal obstacle to any great enterprize, from the Turks; and then, unable to become conquerors, they may turn pirates, like their brethren of Tunis, and of Algiers. The Greek empire, once firmly established,

bounded on the side of Europe by powerful monarchies, will struggle for extension of territory, on that side which offers, at the same time, more motives of aggression, and less means of resistance. Then shall it carry its arms beyond the channel, which divides the continents; and the Christians, to insure the peace of Europe, shall expel the Turks from the shores of Asia. Driven into the interior of the country, the Turks will find themselves opposed by the Persians, Mahometans like themselves, but their inveterate enemies, both in religion and in dominion. There is no doubt but the mutual hatred of those two nations, the more furious, because its motives cannot be ascertained, would acquire additional energy from their proximity; and then, Russia, which already possesses the shores of the Caspian Sea, and the gates of Asia, would take advantage of those divisions; which would be a deadly blow to Mahometism.”

These sentiments may perhaps be considered as forming a presage of the farther views and future intractions of Buonaparte.

On Duelling.

[From *Dialogues on Various Subjects*, by the late Rev. W. Gilpin, A. M.]

“AS sir Charles and his friend were sitting on a bench, one evening, in an elevated part of a wood, which closed upon them behind, and left all the front open to a beautiful prospect, they were joined by Baron Brett, as he was commonly called, a gentleman much esteemed in the country, and with whom

whom they were on terms of the freest communication. Mr. Brett had served with great reputation in the Swedish army; and had received from the king a title of honour, which is more respected in Sweden than in England. For that reason, therefore, and because his estate was but moderate, he chose, like a sensible man, to decline the honour, and take the title of colonel only, which he had borne in the Swedish army. He was a man rather serious in his disposition,—had read much, and conversed more;—was perfectly well bred, and what was commonly called, a man of strict honour.

“On his sitting down with the two gentlemen, he asked them if they had seen the papers that morning?—As they had not, he gave them a few particulars of foreign news; and among domestic articles, mentioned a singular duel, which had just been fought. As they had not heard of it, the colonel related the circumstances.

“A grave gentleman was standing by a coffee-house fire, and calling a waiter, gave him his snuff-box, which he bade him fill. As the waiter returned, a flippant young officer, in one of the boxes, called out, My good lad, let me take toll as you go past; on which he thrust his finger and thumb into the box, and served himself. The gentleman, on receiving his box, opened it carelessly, and throwing the contents into the fire, bade the waiter fill it again. The young officer (Ingram, I think, his name was), considering this as a gross affront, inquired who the gentleman was; and finding his name was Forbes, he sent him a challenge. Forbes told him,

he had no inclination to fight on so trifling an occasion—that he meant him no insult—but that he owned, he felt himself rather hurt by such a piece of intrusive familiarity from a perfect stranger.—Nothing, however, could satisfy Ingram; and his behaviour was so insulting, that Forbes, at length, thought himself under a necessity to meet him. They fired together. Forbes's ball took place, and Ingram fell dead on the spot.

“This story introduced a conversation on duelling. Mr. Willis observed, he had heard of duels on very ridiculous occasions; but he never before heard of two lives staked on any thing so trifling, as a pinch of snuff.

“No doubt (said the colonel), the occasion of the quarrel was trifling enough; and I should have thought the affair might easily have been made up by the intervention of friends.—However, in these cases, the occasion is only the spark; it is the point of honour which blows up the flame.

“Mr. Willis desired the colonel to inform him, what he meant by the point of honour?

“Why, perhaps (said the colonel), it may not be easy to make the point of honour a visible point to a gentleman of your profession; but we soldiers see it like the disk of the sun.

“You do not mean, I suppose (replied Mr. Willis), that the soldier should not hold any motive of action which religion will not warrant?

“No, no (said the colonel); I mean only that gentlemen of your profession may not always see things in the same light in which we soldiers see them.

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"I understand you then to mean (answered Mr. Willis), that duelling may be maintained on Christian principles, when they are rightly understood.

"Why, yes (said the colonel), that is what I mean. I understand, that all divines allow war to be lawful; and I see not why duelling may not be defended on the same ground. Wars often, like duels, may be very unjustifiable. All I wish to say is, that the same principle guides both; and on that principle either may be right or wrong.

"I do not see that (said Mr. Willis). It appears to me, that war and duelling are maintained on very opposite principles. The breast of the gallant soldier glows with true honour. He draws his sword without animosity to any one; and could take to his heart the man he strikes. His affections are all public. The breast of the duellist, on the other hand, is a dark gloomy chamber, full of deadly hate, malice, and revenge. Then, again, how different is the cause in which they fight? The public cause, it is true, may either be right or wrong; but of that the soldier is no judge. *His country is his cause.* For it he ventures his life freely, and bleeds in its defence. His country alone draws his sword:—his country alone sheaths it. The duellist's cause is some trifling affront, which a wise man would despise, and a good man forgive. Do you see no difference, my dear sir, whether a man act on a public or a private affection?—Whether he act on the broad basis of general good, or in the narrow orbit of some little malignant passion?

"I am so far from depreciating the merit of the gallant soldier (said

the colonel); but I hope a man may fight a duel with a better heart than you insinuate.

"I see not how, (replied Mr. Willis). You allow he has received an injury;—the soldier has received none. What is the common effect of receiving an injury? On Christian principles you forgive it; and there is an end; but in the mind of the duellist, as it is not forgiven, it works like poison—corrodes every sentiment—turns it into black venom—and extinguishes, so far as I can see, every spark of benevolence. Here and there a gallant spirit may fight, without being actuated by revenge—but in all questions of numbers, we must go upon averages. I believe you will hardly deny, that hatred and revenge are the usual motives which draw the duellist's sword; and that these are very unchristian sensations.

"I grant, indeed (said the colonel), that the duellist's quarrel is often grounded on those principles, which, no doubt, are unchristian: but I should hope, in general, the man of honour has better principles. Indeed, my dear sir, a soldier's honour is a nicer matter than you are willing to allow—and his provocations may be more complicated. Who can bear the imputation of cowardice—the disgrace which it must fasten upon him—and often, perhaps, the contempt of the whole corps in which he serves. I have heard of some poor gentlemen, who have been treated so contemptuously by their brother officers, on a suspicion of their behaving with less honour than they ought, on occasions of this kind, that they have been obliged to relinquish their profession. You must allow such a case to be a very hard one.

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“Why yes (said Mr. Willis), it is a hard case; and it is still a harder case, when a man, for conscience-sake, suffers martyrdom. Religion sometimes places us in these hard cases. But you are waving the question, my dear sir. We are not talking about the hardships of the case, but about its connection with religion. If you give up its connection with religion, I shall readily allow the hardships of the case; and yet I should wish you to consider, that it is no more than the soldier daily undergoes: whatever your leader puts upon you, however harsh or disagreeable the service, still you obey. You march up to the battery—you enter the breach—and does it not, my dear sir, sound oddly to say you would do no more for the commanding officer than you would do for God Almighty? Has not God Almighty, think you, the same right to put his servants upon hardships, which a commanding officer has? And is it not highly wrong, that you should murmur and hold back in one case more than in the other? However, to answer your *case of hardships* more in point, you have supposed a case, which I think is hardly supportable. You represent a religious conscientious man, engaged in the disagreeable circumstances of a duel. Now, such a man can hardly be supposed to fall into these circumstances; he will avoid all these little petulances and imprudences which he knows will lead to a dispute. He will particularly avoid intoxication and play, from which most quarrels arise. I dare not take upon me to say, colonel, that you not only never fought a duel yourself, but were never in any difficulty of that kind.

“But still (said the colonel), however fortunate I may have been, the most peaceable man may sometimes get into these difficulties.

“At any rate, then, (replied Mr. Willis,) he must avoid fighting, if he acts on Christian principles. The duellist must undoubtedly run into the crime of murder, on one hand, or suicide on the other; may, in fact, be guilty of both. *I will obey God, rather than man*, was the decision of a person who did not want courage on every proper occasion. Yet still I aver it, a man of a respectable character may avoid a dispute if he pleases.—If he finds himself wrong, he will not scruple to make a handsome apology; and, if he thinks his antagonist so, he will endeavour to bring the matter, by the intervention of friends, to some amicable composition. And if his opponent, after all, will not listen to reason, he must be some low dirty poltroon, whose insults all the gentlemen of the corps will be ready to resist.

“Besides (said sir Charles, interposing), there are many ingenious ways of getting out of difficulties of this kind, when more direct means fail. I have heard a story of a general officer in our service, which pleased me much. On receiving a challenge, he went to the challenger, and told him he supposed they were to fight on equal terms; but as things now stand, said he, the terms are very unequal. I have a wife and five children, who have nothing to subsist on but my appointments: you have a considerable fortune, and no family:—to place us, therefore, on an equality, I desire you will go with me to a conveyancer, and settle upon my

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wife and children, if I should fall, the value of my appointments. When you have signed such a conveyance, if you insist upon it, I will then fight you. The deliberate manner in which the general said this, and the apparent justice of the requisition, made his antagonist reflect a little on the idea of leaving a wife and five children to beggary: and as the affair could not well stand reflection, it went off.

"Your story (said the colonel) reminds me of an old sea-captain, who, on being challenged, told his antagonist he had had fighting enough in his time, and was now quite weary of it. But, said he, if you are determined to fight, we must each take hold of the corner of a handkerchief, and so fire hand to hand. I cannot now fight in any other way, for I am an old man, and my hand shakes; and if I do not get close up to my adversary, I may miss him.—This tremendous way of fighting, pronounced in a deep, hoarse voice, brought on a short conference, which ended in peace.

"I have read somewhere (said sir Charles), of a similar story of the brave Dutch admiral, Van Tromp. He was a large, heavy man, and was challenged by a thin, active French officer. We are not upon equal terms with raplers, said Van Tromp; but call on me to-morrow morning, and we will adjust the affair better. When the Frenchman called, he found the Dutch admiral bestriding a barrel of gunpowder: there is room enough for you, said Van Tromp, at the other end of the barrel: sit down; there is a match, and, as you were the challenger, give fire. The Frenchman was a little thunderstruck at

this terrible mode of fighting; but as the Dutch admiral told him he would fight in no other way, terms of accommodation ensued.

"As you have each told your story (said Mr. Willis), I hope you will allow me to tell mine. An officer, distinguished for his courage, received a challenge, which he threw aside without troubling his head about it; the next morning he took his walk in the Park, as usual—where his antagonist, coming up to him, said, he had received no answer to his note. How should you, said the officer, I never troubled my head either about you or your note. But, said the challenger, did you say the free things of me, which I was told you had said? Say them, said the officer, ay! and I shall say them again: every body says them. Sir, replied the officer, I demand satisfaction.—I have none to give you, replied the officer;—you must seek it from your own conscience. Then, said the challenger, you are a confounded coward—and dashed his hand in his face. Very well, returned the officer, coolly, we'll settle this matter, my friend, by-and-by—and continued his walk. The other expecting a challenge on this insult, was served with a writ of prosecution in the court of King's Bench. The lord chief justice took up the matter with a very high hand:—great damages were given; and such sureties for the offender's good behaviour demanded, as the poor gentleman was not able to procure; so he was thrown into Newgate.—When he had lain there about a month, the officer informed him, that if he would beg his pardon publicly in the Park, where the insult had been committed,

mitted, he would remit the damages, and endeavour to procure his enlargement. The poor man was sullen at first, and restive; but in another month his stomach came down, and he accepted the offer.

"If the officer had not been a man of known courage (said the colonel), he could not have transacted an affair of honour in that mercantile manner.

"I think he might (replied Mr. Willis); it would have been a noble instance of his courage, to act conformably to his duty, in defiance of the world. But I wish, my dear sir, you would suffer me again to beg, you would favour us with a definition of the point of honour; it may open some important duty, and give the argument a new turn.

"We soldiers (said the colonel) don't deal much in logic: I could give you a definition, but I fear you would contrive to entangle me in it, like the old Ratiarius; and then cut me down, without suffering me to use my weapon.—In short, the point of honour is to be felt rather than explained; like an innate sense, or taste, it is above definition.

"As I have not that extreme reverence for it, my dear sir, (said Mr. Willis,) which you have, I will endeavour, if you will give me leave, to explain it for you: don't start if I resolve it into rank cowardice. I am as great an advocate for courage as you are; and as great an enemy to cowardice: I would have a man afraid of nothing but of offending his Maker. But now, your hero is afraid of the world. Call him by what honourable title you please, he certainly acts through the *fear* of what the world will say of him; and his mo-

tive is certainly cowardice at the bottom. Now, own candidly, my dear sir, that my hero is the braver man: he is no more afraid of death than yours. Shew him an act of duty, with death standing behind it, and he rushes on; but, till he have the commission of his great Master, a threatening world cannot move him—he holds it at defiance. It is the fear of the world, depend upon it, call it courage, or honour, or what you please, that is the source of duelling. It is the same fear that makes men deists, and leads them into a variety of wicked conduct. He is the true man of honour, who keeps steadily in the path of virtue, and braves the laugh of the world.

"I know not what to say to these things (said the colonel), I may as well withdraw. I find nothing I can say can obtain any quarter for us men of honour. To be serious, however, though a man may, in a transport of passion, be guilty of a rash action, I must honestly own, that, in cold blood, I do not think I could bring myself to draw the trigger of my pistol against the breast of any man. I believe, if I were in those circumstances, I should suffer my antagonist to fire at me, if he chose it; and I should then discharge my pistol in the air. Does that please you?

"I cannot say it does (replied Mr. Willis): your offering yourself to death, unless in the line of duty, appears to me to have very much the colour of suicide. Your life is not your own: it was given you for valuable purposes. You call him a spendthrift who squanders his estate in folly and extravagance: what name, then, would

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you give to him, who squanders a possession of ten times greater value?

"I do not mean to squander it (replied the colonel); I risk it in defence of my character, which is dearer to me than my life.

"You are now, I suppose (said Mr. Willis), taking upon you to defend the challenger. You have given up, I presume, the part of the person challenged?—But, consider, my dear colonel, whether the method you take of vindicating your character be an effectual one. If the imputation be true, surely the less you stir in it the better; the world will the sooner forget it. But if it be false, I see not how fighting can vindicate you.

"I conceive the matter (replied the colonel) in this light: my character has been aspersed; in order, therefore, to set the world right, I pawn my life on the veracity of what I aver. The world cannot suppose I would venture such a stake on a lie.

"But, my dear sir, (said Mr. Willis,) the world will suppose it, and has often supposed it with great truth. I dare say you remember a recent fact, which is exactly in point. The case of sir Nathan Ridgway—though I believe you were in Sweden at that time. However, sir Nathan was accused of embezzling his sister's fortune. He fought a duel in defence of his character, and died nobly in the cause of truth. But it unluckily fell out, after his death, that the embezzlement was twice as great as the world had supposed it before. In fact, I apprehend the case of many of these vindicators of their characters is much the same as that of a thief going to be hang-

ed, who will often, at the very foot of the gallows, deny the fact which has been most convincingly proved. I beg pardon for treating the man of honour with so much disrespect, but I am persuaded the comparison does him no injustice. The thief denies the fact, in hope of a reprieve; the man of honour fights, to make the world believe what he knows to be a lie.

"My dear colonel (said sir Charles), how can you, who have no guilty spot in your own character to defend, be an advocate for those, who take a mode of defence, which I am sure you would not take, if your own character was attacked. If an injured man can say any thing in his own defence, the world will listen to reason and argument; but can a pistol-bullet be an arbiter in this case? You laugh at the Gothic institutions of our ancestors in their ordeal trials:—you see the folly of making a poor woman attest her innocence by walking barefoot, and blindfold, among burning ploughshares. But tell me honestly, my dear sir, if it do not sound as oddly to rest the merits of a cause on the chance of a shot? You, and I, are magistrates; what would people say, if a matter of right and wrong were brought before us, and we should declare that, truly, we thought the best way of deciding it, would be to draw lots?

"Come, come, sir Charles, (said the colonel), be merciful. It is not within any law of arms for two to fall thus furiously upon one. I entered the lists only with my friend Willis. And, though hard put to it to parry his thrusts, I must not defend myself against another antagonist, who comes armed, cap-à-pie,

pie, against me. I might without any loss of honour retreat before you. I will, however, have one brush more with you both, before I quit the field.—Suppose then we enlarge our question, and taking a wider circuit, see how the point of honour affects the general good of mankind. In the first place, gentlemen, consider that species of government which we call an army. It is upheld by the point of honour. Take away that vital spring, and the whole will languish.

“ You throw aside, then, (said Mr. Willis,) my definition of the point of honour. True honour, or the fear of doing anything base, or unworthy, is a noble principle, not only in an army, but in every other species of government: while false honour, or the fear of the world, I conceive to be a degrading principle in all situations. However, to take the matter up in the light in which you place it, I should suppose, that if the point of honour, as you conceive it, were the vital principle of an army, it should, like all other principles, pervade the whole. But so far from that, the mass of the army is not in the least actuated by it. What, all know your rank and file of the point of honour? No more than they do of transubstantiation. And yet we allow them to be brave fellows, and full of military spirit. Nay, what is more, our yeomen and peasantry, who make up the body of our gallant troops, know as little of the point of honour as the several corps into which they enlist. If then the mass of an army can maintain its military spirit without this point of honour, whatever it is, I hold it to be equally nugatory among their leaders.

“ I beg your pardon (replied the colonel); the troops are animated with it as strongly in their way as their leaders. They do not indeed maintain it with sword and pistol; but they discover it as effectually with their cudgel, sticks, and fists.

“ Well, then, colonel, (said Mr. Willis,) to shew you how accommodating I am, I will meet you half way, and allow you this mode of maintaining the point of honour. Keep your swords in their scabbards, and, if the law makes no objection, you have my free leave to silence an impudent fellow by giving him a bloody nose.

“ The colonel smiled, and told Mr. Willis he had an excellent knack at answering an argument with a jest. However, added he, I will try you on another ground. The world, you must acknowledge, is full of ill-manners. You are insulted at every corner of the street; at least you would be, if there were not something to keep the tongues of licentious people in awe. These petty offences, though insufferable, cannot be brought into a court of justice. To preserve good manners, therefore, and decorum among gentlemen, it seems to me, that nothing can be so effectual as the point of honour, which, resenting every impropriety of behaviour, keeps them at that respectful distance from each other, which good manners requires.

“ Why, yes. (said Mr. Willis), if a man is to be run through the body for speaking a wry word, I suppose it will make him rather cautious. But, whether the offence given, and the remedy applied, are well adapted to each other, is another question. We began our dispute, you remember, colonel, with your asserting,

serting, that the laws of honour are very consistent with the precepts of Christianity. But can you conceive, that the acutest casuistry can bring the bloody law you have just been expounding, into the most distant resemblance of a precept, which commands us *not to revenge ourselves, but to give place unto wrath—to feed an enemy, if he hunger, and give him drink, if he thirst.*—These, and numberless other rules, are given us to promote peace and happiness among men.

“But we see (said the colonel) that they do not promote peace and happiness among men. We see, that if it were not for the statute-book, the laws of Christianity would have little effect: and, therefore, we are obliged to fortify the laws of Christianity by our political institutions. Now we consider the law of honour in that light. It is meant to strengthen and fortify the precepts of Christianity; and to *preserve* that peace which they *dictate*. The man of honour, therefore, may be considered as a magistrate acting under the Gospel.

“You are not surely serious, my dear sir, (replied Mr. Willis,) in this high encomium on the magistracy of duelling. We fortify the precepts of Christianity, it is true, by human laws. But it is always supposed, that the divine and human law look the same way. Adultery and theft are forbidden by Christianity, and punished in our courts of justice. But does this sanction us in making a law, or establishing a practice, directly opposite to the precepts of Christianity, in blowing a man’s brains out, merely for speaking a wry word!—Besides, how strange is it to talk of maintaining peace by fo-

menting quarrels? Our Saviour says, *I come not to send peace on earth, but a sword.* I shall soon expect to hear that expression alleged as a license for duelling; though it was expressly used to characterize and brand that opposition, which he foresaw these unchristian practices would make to the Gospel. To settle the dispute between us, continued Mr. Willis, in the fairest light, the best way, as it appears to me, is to consider the tendency of the different principles we hold; and see what their effect would be, both on society, and on individuals, if carried into extensive practice.—To try the virtue of any principle, we must give it its full scope, and carry it as far as it will go.—Suppose then the law of honour prevailed generally—that is, that every man revenged the injuries he met with (I will allow in their due proportion), what would be the consequence? Would not the whole world be a scene of injury, retaliation, and injury again, without end? Can you conceive any thing more horrid and dismal? Whereas, if the mild and peaceable doctrines of the Gospel should prevail, the world universally would be changed into a scene of happiness and repose, beyond conception. The greatest miseries that befall mankind, arise from man himself. All these would be removed, and no distresses left, but such as unavoidably accompanied mortality. Nation would unite with nation, and man with man, in bonds of fellowship and love. The man of honour says, you *provoke* injury by *forgiving* it. I should only wish to ask the man of honour, whether he ever made the experiment?

“I am afraid, colonel, (said sir Charles,)

Charles,) you have undertaken a cause which cannot be defended. You have also a sturdy opponent to deal with. This good man (laying his hand on Mr. Willis's shoulder) is skilful at his weapon. He wrested my sword very fairly, some years ago, out of my hand; and I am wicked enough, for my own credit's sake, to rejoice when I see him gain an advantage over others. But now suppose, colonel, we take the cause in question into a lower court of judicature, than that of Christianity. Suppose we carry it before an heathen tribunal. I should be glad to know, whether you find any traces of duelling among the Greeks and Romans? I am not indeed deeply read in ancient history: but I do not recollect one instance of a duel recorded by any of my classical friends.

"Why, sir, (said the colonel,) the ancient Greeks were gross fellows. They had none of the delicate feelings and polished manners of gentlemen. Homer, who gives us, I suppose, an exact picture of ancient Greece, tells us what *blackguards* (if I may use the expression) his heroes were; and what foul offensive language they commonly used.—As far too as any anecdotes of quarrels in the later times of Greece and Rome have come down to us, I believe the same coarse mode of repressing injury may be traced.

"Only with this difference (replied sir Charles), that as the age polished, the mode of reproof polished with it. The cutting irony—the sarcastic sneer—the biting repartee—the sly insinuation—or, where necessary, the valid argu-

ment—with other modes of refined reproof, became the weapons of offence. And what does all this prove, but that, according to the dictates of truth, every man should repel an injury with those weapons with which he had been assaulted? If a man attack you with his tongue, with your tongue defend yourself. If, like an assassin, he draw his sword upon you, draw your's in your own defence. Now the old Roman knew all this system of injury and reproof perfectly well; and how to adjust the one to the other. It remained for the Christian to invert this order, and draw his rapier against the sting of a wasp.

"I met lately, in a history of Greenland (said Mr. Willis), a mode of deciding quarrels, which pleased me much; and, I dare say, it will please you, sir Charles, as it is very agreeable to the sentiments you have just been recommending. The honest Greenlanders seldom quarrel: but when any offence has been given, or taken, they never meddle with swords and pistols. The duellists challenge each other before proper judges, to a kind of satirical contest. The challenger begins, and opens the ground of his complaint in a sort of comical doggerel verse; for the Greenlanders are represented to be people of humour. The adversary then defends himself in the same kind of doggerel. Rejoinders are sometimes made. Sentence is then passed; and he who has had least to say for himself, begs pardon. The duellists then shake hands; and the day generally ends in some kind of merriment.

"Excellent! (said sir Charles).
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If poor Ingram, who gave occasion to this conversation, had acted with the wisdom of a Greenlander, all had been well. He was certainly guilty of a petty breach of good manners, by thrusting his finger and thumb into a gentleman's snuff-box, without his leave. It was not an offensive expression indeed, but an offensive action, which comes to the same thing: and the Scotch gentleman reproved it very neatly, as I suppose an old Roman, or perhaps a Greenlander, would have done by another action. Ingram should have made a slight apology, which, no doubt, would have been well taken. But the foolish fellow chose to introduce his sword into the business; and his life paid the forfeit of his folly.

"There is an excellent story, much in point, told of the late general Oglethorpe. When a very young officer, he was at table, in Germany, with one of the princes of Wirtemberg. As they were drinking after dinner, the prince jocosely dipped his finger in a glass of wine, and fillicked it into Oglethorpe's face. Oglethorpe did not at first know how to take it; but on a moment's recollection, he said, Your highness has passed a very good jest; but we do it much better in England; and then threw a full glass of wine into the prince's face. The prince was startled a little at first, but before he had time to speak,—Come, come, said an old general officer who was present—it is all well, your highness began first.

"But pray (said the colonel) how would you have advised Mr. Forbes to have acted in this business? As to Ingram, I entirely give up his cause: but I see not how

Forbes, pushed as he was, could have acted otherwise than he did.

"I think (replied sir Charles), the story Mr. Willis hath just told us, of the gentleman who complained to the court of King's-bench, points out a very proper line of conduct. Am I to risk my life at the desire of any insolent fellow, who wishes to fire a pistol at me?

"But he gives you a blow (said the colonel).

"Aye, let him, if he dare (replied sir Charles); and I shall request the lord chief justice to give him another: and we will see, who strikes hardest.—Depend upon it, colonel, a few such examples, from men of character, would make these fiery sparks a little more careful of meddling with gunpowder, and would contribute more than any thing else, to teach them better manners, and rid society of such pests.

"I can however (said Mr. Willis) help the colonel to one duel in Roman times, which will at least shew the idea the Romans had of this species of fighting. In Cæsar's camp, at that time besieged, two officers quarrelled. I forget the ground of their animosity; but I believe one had called the other a coward. Let the army, said the affronted officer, judge between us; and bidding his antagonist follow him, leaped down from the rampart among a party of the enemy. The other followed; and they fought like lions. One being overpowered, the other ran to his relief, and kept the enemy at bay, till they were both relieved, and got safe to the camp—where they shook hands—went merrily to their mess—talked over their duel—

and were ever afterwards good friends. I know not whether I tell the story exactly right; I have not read it, I believe, since I left school.

"You have given us, however, (said sir Charles,) the outline of it, which is all we want.—You may add also, if you please, on the subject, that the Romans could not place duelling in a more contemptible light, than by making it, as they did, the business only of slaves. A school of gladiators would certainly throw the same stigma on duelling at Rome, which intoxicating their slaves did upon drunkenness at Sparta. And yet we, of this polished age, and polished country, consider this barbarous practice as gentlemanly!

"But you will remember (said the colonel), that knights, senators, and even emperors, did not disdain to draw their swords in a gladiatorial school.

"I remember it well (replied sir Charles); and I remember, also, with what high panegyric they are handed down by historians, for their prize-fighting, chariotteering, and other noble feats of that kind. Degrading, however, as their practice of duelling was, it was certainly superior to the duels of our days. They had not the rancour of savages in their breast: they were only ridiculous fellows, and fought for fame.

"After all (said the colonel), I see not what advantage you get by a comparison with the Greeks and Romans. Their revenge often led them to assassination—which, I doubt not, you will consider as a worse crime than duelling.

"I do not mean (replied sir Charles) to enter into a defence of

the virtue of the Greeks and Romans. But you will observe one thing, that poisoning and stabbing were always considered as deeds of darkness:—they durst not face the day. Whereas, we are talking of a crime that stalks in open daylight—that assumes an honourable name—that is defended—that is even ranked in a catalogue of virtues; and tends, of course, to corrupt the manners of the public. It is on this I chiefly lay my finger. The Christian *vindicates* a crime of which the heathen was *ashamed*. Besides, many moralists consider duelling, in itself, as a crime very little, if at all removed from the guilt of assassination.

"The colonel not making an immediate reply, sir Charles went on. As it seems very plain, therefore, that duelling is neither of Christian, nor of classical origin, I will endeavour to shew you, as well as I can, from what noble origin it did spring. When the trumpet of the holy wars sounded over Europe, and inspired its inhabitants, from one end to the other, with a frantic zeal for war, nothing was heard, or seen, but what had a military cast. The air, the dress, the language, the amusements of men, were all martial. Then first the tournament came in use. It was intended as the great school for the Saracen expedition—a kind of drill to train the armies of Europe. Its laws were established, and it became a legal institution. But, as I have heard, that in the noble diversion of cock-fighting, besides the *main*, as they call it, there are many *bye-battles* allowed, so, in the noble institution of the tournament, many private quarrels were introduced, and decided under the

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rectly opposite. We daily observe, that poor and rude nations are often more virtuous than the opulent and civilized; that often, nay, generally, as nations advance in wealth and prosperity, their morals are corrupted instead of being improved. Upon the whole, it almost appears to me, *that there is, in human society, a process of corruption, previous to the process of improvement, and arising from the first operation of the same causes;—and that every thing, which ultimately tends most to improve the character and condition of man, is positively injurious in its first operation.*

We discover in those who live remote from the splendid and crowded scenes of human life, a certain rude simplicity and native innocence, which, when contrasted with the numerous vices and disorders that spring up in a more advanced stage, merit a decided preference. The atmosphere of great cities has been always branded as pestilential to innocence. In the young and inexperienced, who are transported thither from a scene of rural retirement, a process of corruption rapidly takes place. Courts, cities, camps, the great and crowded scenes of human life, have always abounded in violent passions, and vicious indulgences.

Nations, as they advance in numbers and wealth, are commonly found to become more dissolute and immoral. Now, generally speaking, in consequence of principles deeply implanted in human nature, an increase in these particulars is continually taking place. For some time, therefore, there is, as it were, a continual progress downwards, a perpetual multiplication of vices

and disorders. And this effect would be still more evident, were it not for the influence of certain restraints, which are seasonably brought into action. After a certain period, however, new principles operate. From amid this chaos, order begins to arise; a gradual refinement takes place; arts, sciences, and philosophy, rear their head; which, though in their imperfect and crescent state, they may tend rather to increase the disorder, yet, when improved and perfected, seem destined to raise the human race to a condition much superior to that rude simplicity from which they had emerged. This improvement springs up, as it were, in the bosom of the preceding corruption, and, for a long time, co-exists along with it. At first almost insensible, it prevails more and more, till, there seems reason to hope, that it may at last attain a very considerable ascendancy.

The progressive Principles.

The view which I have now given, is, I think, sufficiently consonant to the general aspect of history, and of human things. At the same time, to establish it by a sufficient induction, as well as to make the proper applications, a much greater detail will be requisite. The first object, as already stated, must be to enquire, what these circumstances are, which thus produce corruption in the first instance, and ultimate improvement; and to ascertain the manner in which they operate. To these, for the sake of conciseness, I shall give the name of **PROGRESSIVE PRINCIPLES.**

PLACES. The following, I think, are the most remarkable:

I. Numbers collected into one place.

II. Free-communication between different societies, and different members of the same society.

III. Wealth.

IV. Great public events.

Two others, and those of the greatest importance, might be added, viz. Freedom from the necessity of labour; and, Freedom from coercion. But as these possess rather a negative character, it appears to me more philosophical to refer their opposites to a different class of principles; of which I shall treat in due time.

I.—Numbers collected into one Place.

That this circumstance has a powerful tendency to produce moral corruption, seems confirmed by the universal consent of mankind. Such a general impression, in a case thus obvious to every one's observation, affords a stronger proof than the most laboured induction. The city, where multitudes are crowded together, has been universally found to teem with every species of disorder; while the country has been celebrated as the abode of innocence and primitive simplicity. All those passions, which in their excess become crimes; the love of power, the love of distinction, the licentious pursuit of pleasure, are, amid great assemblages of men, cherished and stimulated. The benevolent affections, which could embrace every member of a small and secluded circle, are chilled by the variety of objects which press on

them. In every operation of an assembled multitude, the lead is generally taken by the most violent, the most daring, the least scrupulous, in short, by the worst.

In all places where a great number is collected together,—public schools, manufactories, very numerous popular assemblies,—the effects are uniformly found to be injurious. A mob, most of whose members, when confined to their domestic sphere, were perhaps quiet, peaceable, and industrious, soon become turbulent and furious, when their passions are inflamed by the presence of a multitude. They become incapable too of forming any sound and deliberate judgment, rash, credulous, hurried along by every impulse of the moment.

As the meeting of persons ill affected towards each other is naturally a signal for quarrels, so that of friends is generally supposed to authorize a more than ordinary indulgence in sensuality. And rude natures, when once provided with the means of gratification, will seldom be found to keep within due limits. Great collections of people, formed either for business or amusement, markets, festivals, public rejoicings, are seldom unaccompanied by intoxication and excess.

A curious illustration of this principle may be seen in the direction which it gives to that universal passion, the love of distinction.

There is a strong desire in man to be the object of general attention to the society in which he lives. This propensity meets with easy gratification amid a small circle, each of whose members must be an important object in the eyes of the rest. All that is required of a man in such a situation, is, that he should

should do nothing to forfeit that attention which others are disposed to pay to him. But in the numerous society of a great city, every individual becomes, as it were, nothing; he is lost, like a drop of water in the ocean. The only means of escaping from this mortifying insignificance, is to find some mode, either of rising above, or at least, of separating himself from, the surrounding crowd. But a superior degree of truly valuable attainments is always laborious, and can fall to the lot of only a few. Distinctions, therefore, are sought after, adventitious at least, if not absolutely dishonourable; and they are pursued with an immoderate eagerness, which of itself tends to vitiate the character. Hence the crowd of follies which spring up in a great city; hence men glorying even in their vices, anxious to be distinguished for any thing, rather than to remain in obscurity.

I have already noticed the general impression which prevails upon this subject; an impression formed not with a view to any particular theory, but arising immediately from the observation of human life. Peculiar stress is here to be laid on the sentiments of the earlier moralists, who lived at a period when the corrupting process was already far advanced, while that of improvement had scarcely begun to shew itself. Among these, solitude, and the shades of retirement, have been always extolled, as the surest safeguard of innocence. Hence, in every age, those who wished to shun the temptations of life, and to devote themselves to heaven and to virtue, have sought the seclusion of the cloister and the hermitage. Doubtless, this pro-

pensity has been carried too far; yet its prevalence seems clearly to indicate the general conviction of the favourable influence of retirement upon human conduct.

This principle seems injurious, in the first instance, not only to the moral, but also to the intellectual character of man. The proverb, that "in a multitude of counsellors there is wisdom," doubtless contains much truth; yet its application depends much on the nature of these counsellors. Where they are ignorant and clamorous, the very opposite effect follows. In a numerous assembly, the passions are kindled; a multitude of contradictory opinions dazzles and confounds, rather than enlightens the judgment; and nothing remains of that deliberate calmness, which is necessary for just and candid decision. The wisdom of a deliberative assembly is often found to be in the inverse proportion of its numbers.

The small number of objects which present themselves in a narrow circle, has no tendency to inspire enlarged views, or philosophical habits of thinking. But it is favourable to the exercise of native intuitive good sense. These few objects are suited to the limited faculties of the untaught mind; their various aspects and relations may be embraced with ease, and without confusion. As they multiply, the understanding, which has not learned to enlarge its views, and to generalize, is bewildered and lost.

We have thus found, that the collection of numbers is hostile to that simplicity of character which rests upon moderate passions and the absence of temptation. But it is at the same time indispensable to the

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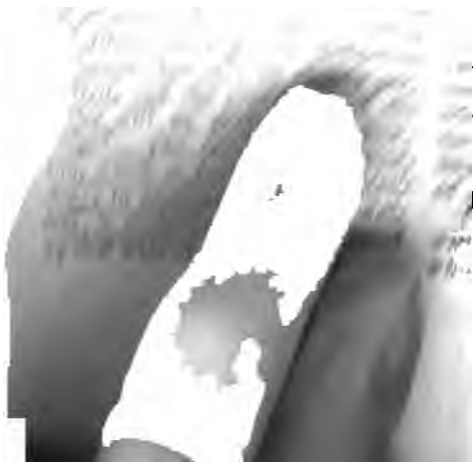
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gance, or to mental improvement. There only we meet that refined taste, that active emulation, and those wide views of society, without which no great writer can be formed. Athens, Rome, Florence, Paris, London, have been all large cities, most of them of the first magnitude. This effect does not, indeed, take place in any exact proportion to the population; nay, there are cities of equal or greater extent, in which it does not take place at all. That circumstance is not alone sufficient; nor, indeed, is any single principle ever sufficient: but it is an indispensable requisite. While men roved in tents, or dwelt in scattered and thinly inhabited villages, they might acquire talents of various kinds; they might display skill and activity in the conduct of life: but with the individual all these attainments perished; nothing was done for the species. It is in cities, amid great assemblages of men, that science first strikes its roots, and is thence diffused over other parts of the world.

II.—Free Communication between different Societies, and different Members of the same Society.

In order that the assemblage of numbers may exert its influence, some degree of communication is necessary; and the magnitude of its effects is generally in proportion to the closeness and frequency of this communication. We may conceive a case, (and something approaching to it does actually take place in the capitals of some great Asiatic empires,) where an immense multitude may be collected within the walls of a city, yet each family be as completely insulated, as if separated from the rest by an

immense distance. In other cases, where the absolute population is exceedingly small, the constant and intimate intercourse between individuals enables it to produce a powerful progressive influence.

The immediate effect of mixing with persons of very various habits and modes of thinking seems to be, that of unsettling the principles upon which a man had previously acted, and thus depriving him of any fixed standard of conduct. Even thinking men, bewildered by the various and contradictory systems of moral judgment adopted by different ages and nations, have doubted the existence of any real and permanent standard, and have considered it as the mere creature of habit and education.

It is a general observation, that knowledge of the world (which consists chiefly in free intercourse with men of various habits and professions), though it may increase a man's ability, and forward his success in life, is at least extremely dangerous to his moral principles. The young heir, who, without any fixed character, sets out on the tour of Europe, generally returns fully accomplished in all the vices of the countries through which he has passed, but with a very small share of whatever is laudable.

This corruption varies in its nature, according as the new connection is productive of pleasure, or uneasiness. In the latter case, whether individuals or nations are concerned, it uniformly gives rise to the most malignant passions; to jealousy, distrust, and aversion. Hence the deadly hatred which reigns between persons of narrow views, who, while they differ in

manners, or in political and religious opinion, happen, at the same time, to be members of the same society. Each, regarding the manners to which he has been accustomed as the sole standard of rectitude, views with abhorrence every deviation from them. Among rude tribes, the terms of stranger and enemy have been generally synonymous.

In the opposite case, where the connection is productive of mutual pleasure, the intercourse is doubtless amicable; but it gives, at the same time, a powerful impulse to folly and sensuality. Each party is thus brought acquainted with modes of licentious indulgence, which wear for him the gloss of novelty, and which none of his previous habits have enabled him to withstand. He generally, therefore, not only adopts, but carries them to a much greater excess than those, who, from previous acquaintance, had learned to use them with more moderation.

The most decided criterion of the immediate effects arising from this intercourse, seems to be afforded by that, which, in consequence of extended navigation, has taken place between the civilized nations of Europe, and the savage inhabitants of America and the South Sea. The two extremes of society have thus been brought into contact. Now all navigators and travellers agree, (so far as I know, without a single exception,) that the effect produced upon the character of these tribes is decidedly pernicious; that they have adopted and carried to excess all the vices of their foreign visitors, without learning one of their good qualities. It seems, indeed, to cf-

face from their minds every idea of the distinction between right and wrong. Thus, most of these people were strictly honest, and even liberal, among themselves; but their conduct towards Europeans formed one continued scene of cheating and roguery. Fired with the fiercest avidity for European commodities, they scrupled at no means, either of violence or fraud, by which they might obtain them. Female virtue, also, even when valued among themselves, was sacrificed without scruple in this new connection.

And that the injury is reciprocal, the annals of the New World too abundantly testify. The splendid objects, exaggerated by novelty, which were presented to the eyes of the first adventurers, fired them with an unbounded lust of wealth; while the difference of manners and appearance made the natives be regarded as beings of an inferior species, and consigned, without remorse, to tortures, slavery, and death. Horrors were committed, which no pen can describe; and hardly, throughout the wide extent of Asia, Africa, and America, is there any shore, which European ambition has not deluged with blood. Happily, indeed, a better order of things has now begun to arise.

Yet communication, though thus pernicious in its first effects, becomes ultimately one of the prime sources of human improvement. To rouse the mental powers, and inspire an active emulation, it is not enough that a man be brought into contact with other individuals, whose situation and habits are the same with his own. The uniformity of such a scene leaves still the
mind

mind too torpid and inactive. But the contemplation of mind in a variety of aspects, the view of different habits, manners, and opinions, at once set the thinking powers in motion, and furnish them with ample materials on which to act. They free the mind from the chains of inveterate habit. By destroying that blind submission which a man was disposed to pay to the prejudices of country and education, they lead him to form his judgment upon rational and systematic principles. Out of the variety of habits and opinions which are thus presented to him, he will probably learn at last to select those which are best; or, which is still better, will be enabled to trace them by the efforts of his own mind.

If we consider the effect of this principle upon literature and the arts, we shall soon perceive its influence to be powerful, beyond, perhaps, that of any other. In all those ages which receive the appellation of *classic*, it will be found existing in the highest activity.

We have only to cast our eyes upon the map of Greece, to perceive how completely nature has divided it into a variety of separate communities. It is entirely broken down into islands and peninsulas; intersected by rivers, mountains, straits, narrow seas, all those barriers by which nature separates nations, without widely disjoining them; which, while the means of artificial communication are yet imperfect, form insurmountable obstacles to the union of different states into one; but not to such an occasional, and even frequent, intercourse, as may conduce to their mutual improvement. Another cause is afforded by that spirit of emigra-

tion, animated by which, Greece, during her earlier ages, poured numerous colonies upon the fertile shores of Italy and the Lesser Asia. All these states, spread to such an extent, and shooting into such a variety of forms, were still united by the same name, the same origin, and the same language; which last circumstance, in particular, must have powerfully facilitated the communication of ideas. Greece, therefore, (under which name I would comprehend Peloponnesus and the shores of the *Ægean* Sea,) had under her immediate eye, as it were, every various aspect under which it was possible for man to be viewed. Within herself, the rude and simple Arcadia; the stern and hardy Lacedemon; the lively Athens; the voluptuous Corinth. On one side, the splendid and opulent cities of Græcia Major and Sicily; on the other, the refined and effeminate Ionia. Immediately beyond lay Egypt, an ancient and great people, among whom religion, laws, and government, were first formed into a regular system, and were delivered over to Greece to be refined and perfected. Persia presented a military despotism and barbarous luxury. To the north, the boundless forests of Scythia and Thrace, exhibited a view of man in his simplest and rudest condition. To Greece, as to a common centre, ideas flowed from all these various sources.

Rome, at the time when her genius was at its height, held intercourse with all nations of the known world, either as subjects, as allies, or as enemies. Her great men, engaged in continual missions to the different provinces of her empire, returned laden with the

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III.—*Wealth.*

There is no point on which men are more completely agreed, than with regard to the corrupting influence of wealth.

The immediate effect of the possession of wealth, is to stimulate to an unbounded indulgence in sensuality. It naturally produces an eager desire of pleasure; and, among a rude people, the pleasures of sense alone have any powerful attraction. It tends also to engross the mind with frivolous pursuits, and to withdraw the attention from those objects which are really interesting and important. The consideration which fortune ensures, frees its possessor, in a great measure, from that restraint of public opinion, which is so necessary for the bulk of mankind. It naturally induces pride; which, on the least contradiction, is exasperated into fierceness. Wealth tends to obliterate the distinctions of merit and worth; to make men be esteemed by themselves and others, less according to their intrinsic desert, than to the adventitious circumstances by which they are surrounded. Nor is its influence less fatal on those, who, though destitute of fortune themselves, are placed in its immediate vicinity. They are tempted by the view of those indulgences of which they see others in possession. Dazzled by the splendour which surrounds wealth, by the accommodations which it procures, and by the homage which is paid to it, they are seized with the *amor sceleratus habendi*; they learn to consider every other object as secondary, and to scruple at no means of amassing it, however mean and criminal.

Among the early moralists, who viewed this principle in its first operation, before the arrival of that refinement which it gradually introduces, the detestation of wealth is completely unanimous. By the ancient teachers of wisdom, contempt of fortune was always the first lesson inculcated. The conversation of Solon sufficiently shews how little value he set upon it; though he did not, like Lycurgus, proceed to the desperate extremity of entirely rooting it out; doubtless, the chief circumstance which gave such an extraordinary permanency to the institutions of that severe legislator.

Never perhaps was there so sudden a transition from poverty to the most extreme opulence, as in Rome, after the fall of Carthage, and when the reduction of Greece had laid open the wealthy provinces of Asia to proconsular rapacity. Her senators, formerly so poor and hardy, became suddenly possessed of imperial fortunes, the spoils of the conquered world. The abundance of this wealth, and the profusion with which it was lavished, seem to surpass every conception which we can form. Mountains were levelled, seas were enclosed, at the expence of private individuals. Sallust makes Catiline describe them as oppressed by the weight of their fortunes, and labouring by every means, but in vain, to get rid of them. Here, therefore, we may form some estimate of the effects arising from wealth newly introduced. Now we find all the great writers of the age labouring for words to express their utter detestation of it. *Auri sacra fames; Amor sceleratus habendi; Opes irritamenta malorum;*

these are only a few of many similar expressions; and the feeling and eloquent manner in which they always touch upon this subject, proves how deeply they were penetrated by it. These sentiments, indeed, seem to be fully justified by that unparalleled profligacy to which it gave rise. The conspiracy of Catiline seems to have consisted wholly of men, who had either made an ill use of their own wealth, or were inflamed by seeing it in the possession of others.

Such are the first effects of wealth; but very different are those which it produces, after having subsisted for a certain length of time. It then becomes one of the great sources of civilization and refinement. All the highly civilized nations have been opulent. This refinement gradually inspires a disgust at those vices to which wealth had originally prompted; while the politeness and humanity, which are in the same manner introduced, soften down those harsh inequalities to which it had given rise.

Those gross indulgences to which the votary of wealth had at first addicted himself, soon pall upon the senses. A wish then arises to seek for more refined sources of enjoyment, which if any one can invent, wealth supplies the means of amply rewarding him. Hence

an impulse is given to the cultivation of poetry and the arts. For some time, indeed, these pursuits may not seem much to diminish the empire of sensuality. They are then employed chiefly in throwing a veil over its grossness, and relieving the satiety which it had before inspired. By a repetition, however, of the same process, the pleasures of a refined society are more and more disengaged from this alloy; greater value is placed on those higher and purer gratifications, in which mind holds the chief place, and which can be indulged in, with innocence and dignity. In consequence, too, of the close connection between the different faculties, the cultivation of those subservient to pleasure naturally leads to that of others of a higher description. Poetry, wherever there is no check on the natural progress of society, is, if not the attendant, at least the precursor, of philosophy. The moral sense, too, which is intimately connected with the refinement of taste, and the improvement of reason, fails not to share in the general progress. Thus wealth becomes ultimately the means of raising human nature to a state of higher dignity, than that which it was originally the means of defacing.

P O E T R Y.

ODE FOR THE NEW YEAR, 1808,

BY HENRY JAMES PYE, ESQ. P. L.

[Performed at St. James's, on her Majesty's Birth-Day.]

BEHOLD yon lurid Orb that seems
 Devious thro' æther's paths to stray,
 And, while with baleful light it gleams,
 Appears to trace no certain way;
 No influence mild with genial force
 Waits on its desultory course:
 But myriads view its streaming hair
 Shed death and horror thro' the air,
 While even Science' piercing sight,
 Clear from the mists of visionary fears,
 Anxious beholds the erratic Stranger's flight,
 Lest mingling with the planetary spheres,
 It shake the order of the mighty frame,
 Destroy with ponderous shock, or melt with sulphurous flame.

Such is, alas! the dread that waits
 On savage Inroad's wild career,
 While trembling round, the peaceful States
 Survey its meteor course with fear;
 And as the immortal mandate guides,
 And points the Comet where to stray;
 So thro' the battle's crimson tides
 It points Ambition's fatal way;
 Submissive both th' Eternal's will perform,
 As act his high behest the earthquake and the storm.

But as with ray benign and bland
 The radiant Ruler of the year
 Sheds plenty on the smiling land
 Where'er his vivifying beams appear,
 Now wakes the roseate bloom of Spring,
 Fann'd by young Zephyr's tepid wing,

Or

Or clothes the wide expanding plain,
 With Summer's fruits, or Autumn's grain,
 Or-gathering from the watery shores
 Sources of vegetable stores,
 Renews scorch'd Earth's exhausted powers
 With balmy dews and gentle showers ;
 So from the patriot Monarch's care,
 Whose breast no dreams of conquest move,
 Founding his glory on his people's love,
 And proud to boast unbounded empire there,
 The copious rills of Peace domestic stream,
 Warm glows fair Virtue's flame, and bright Religion's beam.

O BRITAIN, may thy happy coast,
 Tho' loud oppression rage around,
 To the applauding nations boast
 One shore with peace, with mercy crown'd :
 Still may thy hospitable seat
 To suffering greatness yield a safe retreat ;
 For when the sacred fiat of the skies
 First caus'd thy sea-encircled Realm to rise,
 It bade it an eternal column stand,*
 Sacred to want and woe from every clime and land.

ODE FOR THE KING'S BIRTH-DAY.

[By the Same.]

NOT with more joy when gathering round,
 Dark mists the face of Heaven deform,
 When howls the wind with hollow sound,
 Preluding to the rising storm ;
 We thro' the severing clouds descry
 Of cheering light a golden gleam :
 And hail awhile the clearing sky,
 And feel awhile the genial beam ;
 Than now, when spreading wide and far,
 Roars the tremendous peal of war,
 We bless of peace and joy the ray,
 That gilds the happy hours of GEORGE's natal day.

From regions wrapp'd in endless snow,
 Eternal Winter's drear domain,
 To where Sol's fervid axles glow
 Incessant o'er the arid plain,
 The Muses look with anxious eye
 To see the clouds of discord fly,

* Pind. Olymp. viii. Strophe 2.

P O E T R Y.

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That the loud clarion's warlike sound,
Which awes a trembling world, may cease,
And all their tuneful choir around
May strike the lyre to notes of Peace ;
The scenes of horror and of death be o'er,
And fell Ambition grasp her iron rod no more.

Vain are their hopes, their vows are vain ;
War still protracts his bloody reign ;
And when these halcyon hours are past,
That lull awhile the stormy blast,
The Muse again in martial lays,
Must bid her voice the Song of Battle raise ;
Must shew that all the joys that smile
On Britain's Heaven-protected Isle,
Call on her Sons with tenfold might
To stem the threatening waves of fight,
Whelm in the ensanguin'd tide their country's foes,
And guard with giant arm the blessings Heaven bestows.

INTRODUCTION TO CANTO SECOND OF MARMION.

By W. SCOTT, Esq.

WHEN, musing on companions gone,
We doubly feel ourselves alone,
Something, my friend, we yet may gain,
There is a pleasure in this pain :
It soothes the love of lonely rest,
Deep in each gentler heart impressed.
'Tis silent amid worldly toils,
And stifled soon by mental broils ;
But, in a bosom thus prepared,
Its still small voice is often heard,
Whispering a mingled sentiment,
'Twixt resignation and content.
Oft in my mind such thoughts awake,
By lone St. Mary's silent lake ;
Thou know'st it well,—nor fen, nor sedge,
Pollute the pure lake's crystal edge ;
Abrupt and sheer, the mountains sink
At once upon the level brink ;
And just a trace of silver sand
Marks where the water meets the land.
Far in the mirror, bright and blue,
Each hill's huge outline you may view ;
Shaggy with heath, but lonely bare,
Nor tree, nor bush, nor brake is there,

Save

Save where, of land, yon slender line
 Bears thwart the lake the scattered pine.
 Yet even this nakedness has power,
 And aids the feeling of the hour:
 Nor thicket, dell, nor copse you spy,
 Where living thing concealed might lie;
 Nor point, retiring, hides a dell,
 Where swain, or woodman lone, might dwell;
 There's nothing left to fancy's guess,
 You see that all is loneliness:
 And silence aids—though the steep hills
 Send to the lake a thousand rills;
 In summer tide, so soft they weep,
 The sound but lulls the ear asleep;
 Your horse's hoof-tread sounds too rude,
 So stilly is the solitude.

Nought living meets the eye or ear,
 But well I ween the dead are near;
 For though, in feudal strife, a foe
 Hath laid Our Lady's chapel low,
 Yet still, beneath the hallowed soil,
 The peasant rests him from his toil,
 And, dying, bids his bones be laid,
 Where erst his simple fathers prayed.

If age had tamed the passions' strife,
 And fate had cut my ties to life,
 Here, have I thought, 'twere sweet to dwell,
 And rear again the chaplain's cell,
 Like that same peaceful hermitage,
 Where Milton longed to spend his age.
 'Twere sweet to mark the setting day,
 On Bourhope's lonely top decay;
 And, as it faint and feeble died,
 On the broad lake, and mountain's side,
 To say, "Thus pleasures fade away;
 Youth, talents, beauty thus decay,
 And leave us dark, forlorn, and grey;"—
 Then gaze on Dryhope's ruined tower,
 And think on Yarrow's faded Flower:
 And when that mountain-sound I heard
 Which bids us be for storm prepared,—
 The distant rustling of his wings,
 As up his force the Tempest brings,—
 'Twere sweet, ere yet his terrors rave,
 To sit upon the Wizard's grave;
 That Wizard Priest's, whose bones are thrust
 From company of holy dust;

On which no sun-beam ever shines—
 (So superstition's creed divines.)
 Thence view the lake, with sullen roar,
 Heave her broad billows to the shore;
 And mark the wild swans mount the gale,
 Spread wide through mist their snowy sail,
 And ever stoop again, to lave
 Their bosoms on the surging wave :
 Then, when against the driving hail
 No longer might my plaid avail,
 Back to my lonely home retire,
 And light my lamp, and trim my fire :
 There ponder o'er some mystic lay,
 Till the wild tale had all its sway,
 And, in the bittern's distant shriek,
 I heard unearthly voices speak,
 And thought the Wizard Priest was come,
 To claim again his ancient home !
 And bade my busy fancy range,
 To frame him fitting shape and strange,
 Till from the task my brow I cleared,
 And smiled to think that I had feared.

TRIAL OF CONSTANCE.

[From the Same.]

WHILE round the fire such legends go
 Far different was the scene of woe,
 Where, in a secret aisle beneath,
 Council was held of life and death.
 It was more dark and lone that vault,
 Than the worst dungeon cell ;
 Old Colwulf built it, for his fault,
 In penitence to dwell,
 When he for cowl and beads, laid down
 The Saxon battle-axe and crown.
 This den, which, chilling every sense
 Of feeling, hearing, sight,
 Was called the Vault of Penitence,
 Excluding air and light,
 Was, by the prelate Sexhelm, made
 A place of burial, for such dead
 As, having died in mortal sin,
 Might not be laid the church within.
 'Twas now a place of punishment ;
 Whence if so loud a shriek were sent,

As

One, whose brute-feeling ne'er aspires
 Beyond his own more brute desires.
 Such tools the tempter ever needs,
 To do the savagest of deeds ;
 For them no visioned terrors daunt,
 Their nights no fancied spectres haunt ;
 One fear with them, of all most base,
 The fear of death,—alone finds place.
 This wretch was clad in frock and cowl,
 And shamed not loud to moan and howl,
 His body on the floor to dash,
 And crouch, like hound beneath the lash;
 While his mute partner, standing near,
 Waited her doom without a tear.

Yet well the luckless wretch might shriek,
 Well might her paleness terror speak !
 For there were seen, in that dark wall,
 Two niches, narrow, deep, and tall ;—
 Who enters at such griesly door,
 Shall ne'er, I ween, find exit more.
 In each a slender meal was laid,
 Of roots, of water, and of bread :
 By each, in Benedictine dress,
 Two haggard monks stood motionless ;
 Who, holding high a blazing torch,
 Shewed the grim entrance of the porch :
 Reflecting back the smoky beam,
 The dark-red walls and arches gleam.
 Hewn stones and cement were displayed,
 And building tools in order laid.

These executioners were chose,
 As men who were with mankind foes,
 And, with despite and envy fired,
 Into the cloister had retired ;
 Or who, in desperate doubt of grace,
 Strove, by deep penance, to efface
 Of some foul crime the stain ;
 For, as the vassals of her will,
 Such men the church selected still,
 As either joyed in doing ill,
 Or thought more grace to gain,
 If, in her cause, they wrestled down.
 Feelings their nature strove to own.
 By strange device were they brought there,
 They knew not how, and knew not where.

And now that blind old Abbot rose,
 To speak the Chapter's doom,
 On those the wall was to inclose,
 Alive, within the tomb;
 But stopped, because that woeful maid,
 Gathering her powers, to speak essayed.
 Twice she essayed, and twice in vain;
 Her accents might no utterance gain;
 Nought but imperfect murmurs slip
 From her convulsed and quivering lip:
 'Twixt each attempt all was so still,
 You seemed to hear a distant rill—
 'Twas ocean's swells and falls;
 For though this vault of sin and fear
 Was to the sounding surge so near,
 A tempest there you scarce could hear,
 So massive were the walls.

At length, an effort sent apart
 The blood that curdled to her heart,
 And light came to her eye,
 And colour dawned upon her cheek,
 A hectic and a fluttered streak,
 Like that left on the Cheviot peak,
 By autumn's stormy sky;
 And when her silence broke at length,
 Still as she spoke, she gathered strength,
 And armed herself to bear.
 It was a fearful sight to see
 Such high resolve and constancy,
 In form so soft and fair.

“ I speak not to implore your grace;
 Well know I, for one minute's space
 Successful might I sue:
 Nor do I speak your prayers to gain;
 For if a death of lingering pain,
 To cleanse my sins, be penance vain,
 Vain are your masses too.—
 I listened to a traitor's tale,
 I left the convent and the veil,
 For three long years I bowed my pride,
 A horse-boy in his train to ride;
 And well my folly's meed he gave,
 Who forfeited, to be his slave,
 All here, and all beyond the grave.—
 He saw young Clara's face more fair,
 He knew her of broad lands the heir,

Forgot his vows, his faith forswore,
And Constance was beloved no more.—
'Tis an old tale, and often told;
But, did my fate and wish agree,
Ne'er had been read, in story old,
Of maiden true betrayed for gold,
That loved, or was avenged, like me!

“The king approved his favourite's aim;
In vain a rival barred his claim,
Whose faith with Clare's was plight,
For he attains that rival's fame
With treason's charge—and on they came,
In mortal lists to fight.
Their oaths are said,
Their prayers are prayed,
Their lances in the rest are laid,
They meet in mortal shock;
And hark! the throng, with thundering cry,
Shout “Marmion, Marmion, to the sky!
De Wilton to the block!”
Say ye, who preach heaven shall decide,
When in the lists two champions ride,
Say, was heaven's justice here?
When, loyal in his love and faith,
Wilton found overthrow or death,
Beneath a traitor's spear.
How false the charge, how true he fell,
This guilty packet best can tell.”—
Then drew a packet from her breast,
Paused, gathered voice, and spoke the rest.

“Still was false Marmion's bridal staid;
To Whitby's convent fled the maid,
The hated match to shun.
‘Ho! shifts she thus?’ king Henry cried.
‘Sir Marmion she shall be thy bride,
If she were sworn a nun,’
One way remained—the king's command
Sent Marmion to the Scottish land:
I lingered here, and rescue plann'd
For Clara and for me:
This caitiff Monk, for gold did swear,
He would to Whitby's shrine repair,
And, by his drugs, my rival fair
A saint in heaven should be.
But ill the dastard kept his oath,
Whose cowardice hath undone us both.

" And now my tongue the secret tells,
 Not that remorse my bosom swells,
 But to assure my soul, that none
 Shall ever wed with Marmion.
 Had fortune my last hope betrayed,
 This packet, to the king conveyed,
 Had given him to the headsman's stroke,
 Although my heart that instant broke.—
 Now, men of death, work forth your will,
 For I can suffer, and be still;
 And come he slow, or come he fast,
 It is but Death who comes at last.

" Yet dread me, from my living tomb,
 Ye vassal slaves of bloody Rome!
 If Marmion's late remorse should wake,
 Full soon such vengeance will he take,
 That you shall wish the fiery Dane
 Had rather been your guest again.
 Behind, a darker hour ascends!
 The altars quake, the crosier bends,
 The ire of a despotic king
 Rides forth upon destruction's wing.
 Then shall these vaults, so strong and deep,
 Burst open to the sea-winds' sweep;
 Some traveller then shall find my bones,
 Whitening amid disjointed stones,
 And, ignorant of priests' cruelty,
 Marvel such relics here should be."—

Fixed was her look, and stern her air;
 Back from her shoulders streamed her hair;
 The locks, that wont her brow to shade,
 Stared up erectly from her head;
 Her figure seemed to rise more high;
 Her voice, despair's wild energy
 Had given a tone of prophecy.
 Appalled the astonished conclave sate;
 With stupid eyes, the men of fate
 Gazed on the light inspired form,
 And listened for the avenging storm;
 The judges felt the victim's dread;
 No hand was moved, no word was said,
 Till thus the Abbot's doom was given,
 Raising his sightless balls to heaven:—
 " Sister, let thy sorrows cease;
 Sinful brother, part in peace!"

From that dire dungeon, place of doom,
Of execution too, and tomb,
Paced forth the judges three;
Sorrow it were, and shame, to tell
The butcher-work that there befell,
When they had glided from the cell
Of sin and misery.

An hundred winding steps convey
That conclave to the upper day;
But, ere they breathed the fresher air,
They heard the shriekings of despair,
And many a stifled groan :
With speed their upward way they take,
(Such speed as age and fear can make,)
And crossed themselves for terror's sake,
As hurrying, tottering on :
Even in the vesper's heavenly tone,
They seemed to hear a dying groan,
And bade the passing knell to toll
For welfare of a parting soul.
Slow o'er the midnight wave it swung,
Northumbrian rocks in answer rung;
To Warkworth cell the echoes rolled,
His beads the wakeful hermit told;
The Bamborough peasant raised his head,
But slept ere half a prayer he said;
So far was heard the mighty knell,
The stag sprung up on Cheviot Fell,
Spread his broad nostril to the wind,
Listed-before, aside, behind,
Then couched him down beside the hind;
And quaked among the mountain fern,
To hear that sound, so dull and stern.

SONG OF FITZ-EUSTACE.

[From the Same.]

WHERE shall the lover rest,
Whom the fates sever
From his true maiden's breast,
Parted for ever?
Where, through groves deep and high,
Sounds the far billow,
Where early violets die,
Under the willow.

CHORUS.

Eleu loro, &c. Soft shall be his pillow.

There,

There, through the summer day,
Cool streams are laving ;
There, while the tempests sway,
Scarce are bows waving ;
There, thy rest shalt thou take,
Parted for ever,
Never again to wake,
Never, O never.

CHORUS.

Eleu loro, &c. Never, O never.

Where shall the traitor rest,
He, the deceiver,
Who could win maiden's breast,
Ruin, and leave her ?
In the lost battle,
Borne down by the flying,
Where mingles war's rattle,
With groans of the dying.

CHORUS.

Eleu loro, &c. There shall he be lying.

Her wing shall the eagle flap
O'er the false hearted ;
His warm blood the wolf shall lap,
Ere life be parted.
Shame and dishonour sit
By his grave ever ;
Blessing shall hallow it,—
Never, O never.

CHORUS.

Eleu loro, &c. Never, O never.

BANQUET AT HOLYROOD-HOUSE,

WHERE JAMES IV. OF SCOTLAND HELD HIS COURT.

[From the Same.]

THROUGH this mixed crowd of glee and game,
The king to greet lord Marmion came,
While, reverend, all made room.
An easy task it was, I trow,
King James's manly form to know,
Although, his courtesy to show,
He doffed, to Marmion bending low,
His brodered-cap and plume.

O 3

For

And, straining on the tightened rein,
Scours doubly swift o'er hill and plain.

O'er James's heart, the courtiers say,
Sir Hugh the Heron's wife held sway :
To Scotland's court she came,
To be a hostage for her lord,
Who Cessford's gallant heart had gored,
And with the king to make accord,
Had sent his lovely dame.
Nor to that lady free alone
Did the gay king allegiance own ;
For the fair queen of France
Sent him a turquois ring, and glove,
And charged him, as her knight and love,
For her to break a lance ;
And strike three strokes with Scottish brand,
And march three miles on Southron land,
And bid the banners of his band
In English breezes dance.
And thus, for France's queen he drest
His manly limbs in mailed vest ;
And thus admitted English fair
His inmost counsels still to share ;
And thus, for both, he madly planned
The ruin of himself and land !
And yet, the sooth to tell,
Nor England's fair, nor France's queen,
Were worth one pearl-drop, bright and sheen,
From Margaret's eyes that tell,—
His own queen Margaret, who, in Lithgow's bower,
All lonely sat, and wept the weary hour.

The queen sits lone in Lithgow pile,
And weeps the weary day,
The war against her native soil,
Her monarch's risk in battle broil ;—
And in gay Holy-Rood, the while,
Dame Heron rises with a smile
Upon the harp to play.
Fair was her rounded arm, as o'er
The strings her fingers flew ;
And as she touched and tuned them all,
Ever her bosom's rise and fall
Was plainer given to view ;
For all, for heat, was laid aside,
Her wimple, and her hood untied.

And first she pitched her voice to sing,
 Then glanced her dark eye on the king,
 And then around the silent ring;
 And laughed, and blushed, and oft did say
 Her pretty oath, by Yea, and Nay,
 She could not, would not, durst not play!
 At length, upon the harp, with glæ,
 Mingled with arch simplicity,
 A soft, yet lively, air she rung,
 While thus the wily lady sung.

LOCHINVAR.

Lady Heron's Song.

O, young Lochinvar is come out of the west,
 Through all the wide Border his steed was the best;
 And save his good broad-sword he weapon had none,
 He rode all unarmed, and he rode all alone.
 So faithful in love, and so dauntless in war,
 There never was knight like the young Lochinvar.

He staid not for brake, and he stopped not for stone,
 He swam the Esk river where ford there was none;
 But, ere he alighted at Netherby gate,
 The bride had consented, the gallant came late:
 For a laggard in love, and a dastard in war,
 Was to wed the fair Ellen of brave Lochinvar.

So boldly he entered the Netherby Hall,
 Among bride's-men, and kinsmen, and brothers, and all;
 Then spoke the bride's father, his hand on his sword,
 (For the poor craven bridegroom said never a word,)
 "O come ye in peace here, or come ye in war,
 Or to dance at our bridal, young lord Lochinvar?"—

"I long wooed your daughter, my suit you denied;—
 Love swells like the Solway, but ebbs like its tide—
 And now am I come, with this lost love of mine,
 To lead but one measure, drink one cup of wine.
 There are maidens in Scotland more lovely by far,
 That would gladly be bride to the young Lochinvar."

The bride kissed the goblet; the knight took it up,
 He quaffed off the wine, and he threw down the cup.
 She looked down to blush; and she looked up to sigh,
 With a smile on her lips, and a tear in her eye.
 He took her soft hand, ere her mother could bar,—
 "Now tread we a measure!" said young Lochinvar.

So stately his form, and so lovely her face,
That never a hall such a galliard did grace;
While her mother did fret, and her father did fume,
And the bridegroom stood dangling his bonnet and plume;
And the bride-maidens whispered, "'Twere better by far
To have matched our fair cousin with young Lochinvar."

One touch to her hand, and one word in her ear,
When they reached the hall-door, and the charger stood near;
So light to the croupe the fair lady he swung,
So light to the saddle before her he sprang!
"She is won! we are gone, over bank, bush, and scaur,
They'll have fleet steeds that follow," quoth young Lochinvar.

There was mounting 'mong Græmes of the Netherby clan;
Forsters, Fenwicks, and Musgraves, they rode and they ran:
There was racing, and chasing, on Cannobie Lee,
But the lost bride of Netherby ne'er did they see.
So daring in love, and so dauntless in war,
Have ye e'er heard of gallant like young Lochinvar?

TO THE MEMORY OF THOSE WHO FELL IN THE DEFENCE OF SARAGOSSA.

[*Anonymous.*]

PEACE and renown to the mighty dead,
Who, at Honour's awful call,
For their injur'd country bled
By Saragossa's wall!

The shepherd's evening hymn shall bless
The spirits of the parted brave;
And Spanish maidens yearly dress
With olive boughs each hallow'd grave.

For not inglorious is their sleep;
Nor yet unblest their bones shall lie;
Though Ruin o'er their country sweep,
Though Freedom o'er their ashes sigh:

The good man's blessing is a meed
Beyond the gift of sons of earth;
The gift of Heav'n for those who bled,
To save the land that gave them birth.

In future times, the aged seer
Shall call the youngster to his side,
And check his mirth awhile to hear
How Saragossa's warriors died.

There

There shall he point the ruin'd tow'r,
The mould'ring rampart battle-riven,
Where stood the gallant Spanish power
When back the Gallic host was driven.

" And there they fought—the war-cry rose :
Their wives and children fought beside ;
And heav'n frown'd blacker on their foes,
When husbands, children, mothers died.

Boy, mark this cross, this heaving mound !
Here let thy ruder sports be staid ;
The spot we tread is holy ground,
A patriot's relics here are laid :

And swear, at early matin bell,
Their mem'ry shall not pass unbless'd ;
And swear, at vesper's solemn swell,
Thou'lt breathe a blessing on their rest."

When fades thy beam, and Heaven's vengeance deep,
Tyrant, shall thy soul appall,
Thou shalt envy those that sleep,
By Saragossa's wall.

THE DAYS THAT ARE GONE.

BY MR. TOMLINS, OF SHREWSBURY.

THE sun was departed, the mild zephyr blowing,
Bore over the plain the perfume of the flowers,
In soft undulations the streamlet was flowing ;
And calm Meditation led forward the hours.
I struck the full chord, and the ready tear started,
I sung of an exile, forlorn, broken-hearted ;
Like him from my bosom all joy is departed,
And sorrow has stol'n from the lyre all its powers.

I paus'd on the strain, when fond memory tenacious,
Presented the form I must ever esteem,
Retrac'd scenes of pleasure; alas ! how tallacious,
Evanescent all, as the shades of a dream ;
Yet still as they rush'd through oppress'd recollection,
The silent tear fell, and the pensive reflection,
Immers'd my sad bosom in deeper dejection ;
On which cheering Hope scarcely glances a beam.

In

In vain into beauty all Nature is springing,
 In vain smiling Spring does its blossoms unfold,
 In vain round my cot the wing'd choristers singing,
 When each soft affection is dormant and cold,
 As the merchant is sad, when bereav'd of his treasure,
 So slow beats my heart, and so languid its measure,
 So dreary, so lonely, a stranger to pleasure,
 Around it Affliction her mantle hath roll'd.

But meek Resignation supporting the spirit,
 Unveils a bright scene to the uplifted eye;
 A scene which the patient and pure shall inherit;
 Where hearts bleed no more, and the tear shall be dry.
 Their souls which on earth in each other delighted,
 By friendship, by honour, by virtue united,
 Shall meet, and their pleasures no more shall be blighted,
 But perfect and pure as their love be their joy.

C A T C H,

NOW SINGING BY THE PEOPLE, THE MINISTERS, AND THE THREE GREAT
 COMMANDERS!!!

PEOPLE.

WHO let the French escape? Was't you, Sir, or you?

Sir ARTHUR.

Sir HEW let the French escape, Sir HEW, Sir HEW.

Sir HEW.

What I, Sir? not I, Sir, you tell a cursed —, Sir,

Sir ARTHUR sign'd the *Armistice* you've all cause to rue.

Sir ARTHUR.

What I, Sir? not I, Sir.

PEOPLE.

Of fighting you were shy, Sir.

Sir ARTHUR and Sir HEW.

'Twas you that let the French escape, 'twas you, Sir; you!

PEOPLE.

Come, come to trial; carry

HEW, ARTHUR, and Sir HARRY;

Whoever let the French escape we'll make look blue.

Sir HEW.

You'll discover at the *Fints*, Sirs,

'Twas Sir ARTHUR and the MINISTERS—

The MINISTERS let go the French! yes! you, Sirs, you!

MINISTERS.

MINISTERS.

What! we, Sir, we?

We'll hang you on a tree!

'Twas *Hew* that let the French escape—not Arthur, but *Hew*!

PEOPLE.

We heed you not a feather;

You're drivellers altogether!

And we'll hang you altogether up; yes, you, Sirs, and you!

Oct. 26, 1808.

A.

SIR HEW.

[From the Morning Herald.]

MORBLEAU! Morbleau!

Oh! oh! Sir *Hew*,

That you should be so simple,

To let *JUNO*,

Outwit you so—

O shame! Sir *Hew* D——PLE!

Did you not know

The haughty foe

Was humbled by Sir *ARTHUR*,

That gallant Knight

As e'er in fight

Wore Honour's Star and Garter?

Indeed, Sir *Hew*,

I blush for you,

And your absurd Convention—

The *MONITEUR*

Must praise, I'm sure,

Your wond'rous condescension!

PHILLIBER.

EPITAPH ON A DOG.

BY MR. PARRY.

[Whoever has paid a visit to Mr. Boxley, of Esless Lodge, near Wrexham, in Denbighshire, must have been delighted with the sagacity of his favourite Dog *George*; who, after entertaining his master and his friends for fifteen years, died lately;—and the following Epitaph is placed on a tablet to his memory:]

HERE lies poor *George*!—my Dog, my Friend,
Who ne'er did any one offend;
He pass'd his harmless days with me,
Where'er I was, there too was he.

When

When bus'ness call'd me far from home,
 He, like a faithful friend, would come,
 To cheer me with his pranks by day;
 At night to guard my lonely way.
 No more, alas! with merry dance,
 Will he, with joy, my soul enhance;
 No more lie stretch'd before my fire;
 No more the harp or flute admire!
 No more his sparkling eyes will tell
 How much he lov'd me—and how well.
 Alas! poor George—this grateful tear
 Will shew my love too was—sincere.
 Farewell, fond friend—for e'er farewell!
 I to the world thy seats will tell.
 Long may I search—but search in vain,
 I ne'er shall see thy like again.

Edess Lodge, Aug. 20th, 1808.

LINES ADDRESSED TO MISS EGERTON,

BY THE REV. MR. THYER.

[Miss Egerton, daughter of Samuel Egerton, Esq. of Tatton-park, Cheshire, had rallied, but very good-humouredly, the Rev. Mr. Thyer, for some little awkwardness at table.—Mr. Thyer was a celebrated critic; he lived with them at Tatton-park: the next morning at breakfast he brought her the following Copy of Verses.]

MADAM, you rally well, 'tis true;
 And, I must own it, justly too:
 But still, methinks, 'tis very hard,
 Since from reprisals quite debarr'd,
 For all that ever I can do,
 I cannot find one fault in you.

IMITATION OF THE MUCH ADMIR'D DIALOGUE BETWEEN HORACE AND LYDIA.

BY JAMES HORATIO RUDGE, ESQ.

[From the Monthly Magazine.]

HORACE.

WHILE, Lydia, I was lov'd by thee,
 No youth was ever priz'd like me;
 Soft round thy neck, I threw my arms;
 And often kiss'd thy snow-white charms;
 More bless'd than e'en the Parthian king,
 I sweetly pass'd the hours of spring.

LYDIA.

LYDIA.

While Lydia did thy bosom fire,
And did with love thy breast inspire;
When Chloë's charms were spurn'd by thee,
And she was not preferr'd to me:
Attractive then was Lydia's name,
More priz'd than e'en the Ilian dame!

HORACE.

The Thracian girl, by gentle art,
With soft'ning music rules my heart;
Well vers'd th' harmonious harp to string,
Or in melodious strains to sing:
Ah! for my lov'd, my Chloë's sake,
The world this instant I'd forsake!

LYDIA.

Cataïs too, my breast has fir'd,
And all my soul with love inspir'd;
The Thurian youth, by magic art,
With wanton kisses rules my heart:
For him, my lov'd Cataïs' sake,
O! twice the world I would forsake!

HORACE.

But ah! should Love once more invoke,
And bind us in his brazen yoke;
Should Horace spurn his Chloë's charms,
And fly once more to Lydia's arms;
Should Love throw ope' his gates again,
Ah! what would say my Lydia then?

LYDIA.

E'en though Cataïs should display,
More lustre than the orb of day;
And you, my Horace,* fickle be,
Inconstant as th' Adriatic sea;
Still could I pass with thee my life,
Be e'er thy mistress, or thy wife!

Bigods, February 7, 1808.

TO THE MOON.

[From the Morning Herald.]

LUNA, whilst o'er yon eastern barrier mounting,
With stately step, and face serenely bright,
Thou look'st as grave and silent as if counting
The little stars that stud the crown of Night.

* In the original *cortice levair*, which is a proverbial expression for inconstancy of character, and levity of disposition; in this sense the poet here seems to have used it.

Thy

Thy head reclining on a cloudy pillow,
 Thou seem'st to listen to the whisp'ring gale—
 Now piercing through a pendant shade of willow,
 Thy glance pursues the streamlet of the vale.
 And now behind some duskier vapour's awning,
 In frolic mood, thou seem'st to skulk from view;
 That thy full charms, in heighten'd splendour dawning,
 May strike the disappointed sight anew.
 So pleasingly coquettish is thy motion,
 Ev'n stupid Darkness it delights to see—
 No wonder that an object of devotion,
 O lovely Wanderer! Heathens reckon'd thee.

ODE TO EVENING.

MILD Ev'ning, oh, arise!
 And o'er the azure skies
 Thy dusky mantle spread;
 Then 'midst thy pleasing gloom,
 On some lone mould'ring tomb,
 I'll pensive rest my head.

And think on all the cares,
 The sorrows and the fears,
 The mad ambitious brave;
 Whilst Death with scornful pride,
 Their folly to deride,
 Stands pointing at the grave.

But a few hours are fled,
 Since golden Phoebus shed
 His lustre from on high:
 Ev'ning succeeds to noon,
 Then fades away as soon,
 And gloomy night is nigh.

So youth's bright beams decay,
 Emit a fainter ray,
 Then cease to yield their light;
 Years move with winged feet,
 The circle is complete,
 And Death leads on the night.

But if religion warm
 The soul, this night is calm,
 Kind angels soothe to rest;
 Heav'n bursts upon the sight,
 With endless glories bright;
 And hails its ent'ring guest.

VERSES

V E R S E S.

ON A FOUNTAIN IN HAMPSHIRE, WHICH AFFORDS A CONSTANT SUPPLY
OF WATER TO A LARGE FISH-POND.

[From the Morning Chronicle.]

VIEW, gentle Reader! view in me,
An emblem of true Charity;
Who, though my bounty I bestow,
Am neither seen nor heard to flow—
Repaid by fresh supplies from Heav'n
For ev'ry cup of water giv'n!

LINES

TRANSLATED FROM THE IRISH.

[From the Same.]

SAINTE PATRICK, as in legends told,
The morning being very cold,
In order to assuage the weather,
Collected bits of ice together;
Then gently breath'd upon the pyre,
When ev'ry fragment blaz'd on fire.
Oh! if the Saint had been so kind,
As to have left the gift behind,
To such a lovelorn wretch as me,
Who daily struggle to be free;—
I'd be content—content with part,
I'd only ask to thaw the heart—
The frozen heart of POLLY ROE,
With eyes of blue—and breast of snow.

POETICAL DESCRIPTION OF THE RIVER LAGAN.

WRITTEN DURING A FLOOD.

[From the Morning Herald.]

"The hoarse rough verse should like the torrent roar."

HARSH and discordant, Lagan! is thy note,
And stern the frown upon thy wintry face;
While the fierce deluge and the storm's loud throat
Expel thy Naiads, and their bow'rs erase.

Thy parent Hill, with looks of wild dismay,
Beholds thy frantic speed and headstrong force,
As thundering from its base thou bear'st away,
O'erturning all that dare obstruct thy course.

Drumman

Drumara startles at thy boisterous haste—
 Behind her hill Garvaghy seems to shrink—
 Dromore, aghast, surveys the watery waste,
 Like one that trembling stands on ruin's brink.

The fretted rocks resound beneath thy pace,
 As foaming thence the boiling torrents fall,
 To where Sylvanus and the dryads grace
 Yon residence of rural taste, Gill Hall.

Sooth'd by the prospect of that charming scene,
 Thou seem'st awhile to check thy moody rage,
 Assume a milder look, a gentler mien—
 Such pow'r has beauty passion to assuage!

But soon thy intermitted rage returns,
 As Donaghcloney opens to thy view—
 Soon Maralin her flooded pastures mourns,
 And soon the nymphs of marshy Moira too.

Thy bloated form askance Kilwarlin eyes,
 A mass uncouth, mishapen, and impure;
 Maze next beholds thy progress with surprize,
 And Blaris sitting on her sandy moor.

To lave fair Lisnagarvey's verdant feet
 Thy sluggish current now obsequious bends;
 And, winding thence through many a fair retreat,
 In sullen grandeur to Belfast descends.

Here Ocean's billows, in their wide embrace,
 The gather'd tribute of thy strength receive—
 And thus diffus'd amid the trackless space,
 To Neptune's care thee, Lagan, now we leave.
 HAFIZ.

THE SAVOYARD'S RETURN.

[From the Morning Herald.]

OH! yender is the well-known spot,
 My dear, my long-lost native home!
 Oh! welcome is yon little cot,
 Where I shall rest, no more to roam!
 Oh! I have travell'd far and wide,
 O'er many a distant foreign land;
 Each place, each province, I have try'd,
 And sung and dane'd my saraband;

[Illegible text block containing multiple lines of faint, mostly horizontal lines of text, possibly representing a list or a series of entries.]

The lady dances like a bold Thalestris,
And Alexander hops like Monsieur Vestris.
Again, so furiously they dance a jig,
The lady lost her cap, the hero lost his wig.

The motley mob, behind, before,
Exclaim'd—encore! encore! encore!
Proud of th' applause, and justly vain,
Thais made a curtsy low,
Such as court ladies make before the queen.
Alexander made a bow,
Such as the royal levee oft has seen,
And then they danc'd the reel again.

Of vast applause the couple vain,
Delighted, danc'd the reel again:
New in, and now out,
They skipp'd it about,
As tho' they felt the madness of the moon;
Such was the power of Timothy and tune.

When the dub a dub, dub a dub dram,
In triumph behind e'm beat—Go to bed, Tom.

And now in their ire,
Return'd from the fire,
In revenge for the Greeks that were dead,
The king and his punk
Got most horribly drunk,
And together went reeling to bed.

Jan. 5, 1808.

EPIGRAM.

IN PAUPERIEM.

[From the Monthly Magazine.]

SI cantat vacuus coram latrone viator,
Cantandi saltem gaudia Pauper habet:
Sed mihi, cui vacuo nunquam vidiſſe latrones
Accidit, ex omni tempore Cantus abest.

Ippollitis, Herts, September 8, 1808.

THE OTAHEITAN MOURNER.

[Peggy Stewart was the daughter of an Otaheitan Chief, and married to one of the Mutineers of the *Bounty*. On Stewart's being seized and carried away in the *Pandora* Frigate, Peggy fell into a rapid decay, and in two months died of a broken heart, leaving an infant daughter, who is still living.]

[From the same.]

FROM the isle of the distant ocean
My white love came to me;

I led the weary stranger
Beneath the spreading tree.
With white and yellow blossoms
I strew'd his pillow there;
And watch'd his bosom's heaving,
So gentle and so fair.

Before I knew his language,
Or he could talk in mine,
We vow'd to love each other,
And never to resign.
O then 'twas lovely watching
The sparkling of his eyes;
And learn the white man's greeting,
And answer all his sighs,

I taught my constant white love
To play upon the wave,
To turn the storm to pleasure,
And the curling surge to brave.
How pleasant was our sportfing,
Like dolphins on the tide;
To dive beneath the billow,
Or the rolling surf to ride.

To summer groves I led him,
Where fruit hangs in the sun;
We linger'd by the fountains,
That murmur as they run,
By the verdant islands sailing,
Where the crested sea-birds go;
We heard the dash of the distant spray,
And saw through the deeps the sunbeams play,
In the coral bow'rs below.

And when my lover, weary,
To our woodland couch would creep,
I sang the song that pleas'd him,
And crown'd his lids with sleep.

My

My kindred much would wonder,
 The white man's love to see;
 And Otaheitan maidens
 Would often envy me.

Yet when my white love's forehead
 Would sadden with despair,
 I knew not why the cold drops
 Should start and quiver there.
 I knew not why in slumber
 His heart should tremble so;
 Or lock'd in love's embraces,
 How doubt and fear could grow.

'Till o'er the bounding bilow
 The angry chieftains came;
 They seiz'd my wretched lover,
 They mock'd my anguish'd claim.
 In iron bands then bound him,
 I flew his fetts to share;
 They tore him from my clasping,
 And threw me to despair.

Are white men unrelenting,
 So far to cross the sea;
 Their chieftain's wrongs revenging,
 To tear my love from me?
 Are Otaheitan bosoms
 No refuge for the brave;
 Can exile nor repentance
 A wretched lover save?

No more the Heiva's dancing,
 My mournful steps will suit;
 As when to the torch-light glancing,
 And beating to the flute.
 No more my braided tresses
 With smiling flow'rs shall bloom;
 Nor blossom rich in beauty
 Shall lend its sweet perfume.

All by the sounding ocean
 I sit me down and mourn,
 In hopes his chiefs may pardon him,
 And speed my love's return.
 Can he forget his Peggy,
 That sooth'd his cares to rest?
 Can he forget the baby,
 That smiles upon her breast?

I wish the fearful warning
 Would bind my woes in sleep !
 And I were a little bird to chase
 My lover o'er the deep !
 Or if my wounded spirit
 In the death-canoe would rove,
 I'd bribe the wind and pitying wave,
 To speed me to my love !
Birmingham.

P. M. J.

THE IMMORTAL MEMORY AND THE GLORIOUS CAUSE.

Humani nihil alienum.—TER.

IF gen'rous Fox was living now,
 To see the fearless sons of Spain
 With all his native ardour glow,
 To vindicate their rights again—
 What anxious hopes ! what fervent sighs !
 Would warm his sympathizing soul !
 What dubious pain ! what trembling joys !
 Would yield by turns—by turns controul !
 What pain !—for every Spaniard brave,
 Who nobly fought and greatly fell :
 What joy !—that they had dy'd to save
 The liberty he lov'd so well.
 But how would Nature's child rejoice
 When Victory, in laurels gay,
 Sang in her trumpet tones, the voice
 Of Saragossa's splendid day !
 Then, Spaniards ! join in England's tears,
 And consecrate, to dust consign'd,
 The Head—that rul'd our hopes and fears ;
 The Heart—that felt for human-kind.
 Gone is that gentle, gen'rous soul,
 That long'd to see all Europe free ;
 And would have spread from pole to pole
 His country's bliss and liberty.
 That Peace, his milder spirit lov'd,
 He woo'd to come and bless us here ;
 But when he unavailing prov'd,
 He fled to Heav'n, and found her there.

Then

Then, Spaniards! join, with England weep,
 The Patriot pure, the Freeman brave,
 Where genius, worth, and wisdom sleep,
 Within their Fox's hallow'd grave.—ANONYM.

EXTRACTED FROM POEMS BY THE REVEREND GEORGE
 CRABBE.

[Mr. Crabbe, it seems, has, among his flock, a set of Smugglers, who inhabit what is called the *Street* in his village. Of this profligate and disorderly circle the following is a description.]

HERE, in cabal, a disputatious crew,
 Each evening meet; the sot, the cheat, the shrew;
 Riots are nightly heard,—the curse, the cries
 Of beaten wife, perverse in her replies;
 While shrieking children hold each threat'ning hand,
 And sometimes life and sometimes food demand:
 Boys in their first stol'n rags, to swear begin,
 And girls, who know not sex, are skill'd in gin:
 Snarers and smugglers here their gains divide,
 Ensnaring females here their victims hide;
 And here is one, the sybil of the row,
 Who knows all secrets, or affects to know.

Between the road-way and the walls, offence
 Invades all eyes and strikes on every sense;
 There lie, obscene, at every open door,
 Heaps from the hearth and sweepings from the floor.

There hungry dogs from hungry children steal;
 There pigs and chickens quarrel for a meal;
 There dropsy'd infants wail without redress,
 And all is want and woe and wretchedness.

See! on the floor, what frowzy patches rest!
 What nauseous fragments on yon fractur'd chest!
 What downy-dust beneath yon window-seat!
 And round these posts that serve this bed for feet;
 This bed where all those tatter'd garments lie,
 Worn by each sex, and now perforce thrown by.

See! as we gaze, an infant lifts its head,
 Left by neglect, and burrow'd in the bed;
 The mother-gossip has the love suppress,
 An infant's cry once waken'd in her breast, &c. &c.

Here are no wheels for either wool or flax,
 But packs of cards,—made up of sundry packs;
 There are no books, but ballads on the wall,
 Are some abusive, and indecent all;
 Pistols are here, unpair'd; with nets and hooks,
 Of every kind, for rivers, ponds, and brooks;

An ample flask that nightly rovers fill,
 With recent poison from the Dutchman's still;
 A box of tools with wires of various size,
 Frocks, wigs, or hats, for night or day disguise,
 And bludgeons stout to gain or guard a prize.

To every house belongs a space of ground,
 Of equal size, once fenc'd with paling round;
 That paling now by slothful waste destroy'd,
 Dead gorse and stumps of elder fill the void;
 Save in the centre-spot whose walls of clay,
 Hide sots and striplings at their drink and play;
 Within, a board, beneath a til'd retreat,
 Allures the bubble and maintains the cheat;
 Where heavy ale in spots like varnish shows,
 Where chalky tallies yet remain in rows;
 Black pipes and broken jugs the seats defile,
 The walls and windows, rhymes and reck'nings vile;
 Prints of the meanest kind disgrace the door,
 And cards in curses torn, lie fragments on the floor.

Here his poor bird, th' inhuman cocker brings,
 Arms his hard heel, and clips his golden wings;
 With spicy food, th' impatient spirit feeds,
 And shouts and curses as the battle bleeds:
 Struck through the brain, depriv'd of both his eyes,
 The vanquish'd bird must combat till he dies;
 Must faintly peck at his victorious foe,
 And reel and stagger at each feeble blow;
 When fall'n, the savage grasps his dabbled plumes,
 His blood-stain'd arms, for other deaths assumes;
 And damns the craven-fowl, that lost his stake,
 And only bled and perish'd for his sake.

A FORCED MARRIAGE.

[From the Same.]

NEXT at our altar stood a luckless pair,
 Brought by strong passions and a warrant there;
 By long-rent cloak, hung loosely, strove the bride,
 From ev'ry eye, what all perceiv'd, to hide;
 While the boy-bridegroom, shuffling in his pace,
 Now hid awhile, and then expos'd his face;
 As shame alternately with anger strove,
 The brain, confus'd with muddy ale, to move;
 In haste and stammering he perform'd his part,
 And look'd the rage that rankled in his heart;
 (So will each lover inly curse his fate,
 Too soon made happy, and made wise too late;)---

I saw

I saw his features take a savage gloom,
 And deeply threaten for the days to come;
 Low spake the lass, and lisp'd and minc'd the while;
 Look'd on the lad, and faintly try'd to smile;
 With soft'ned speech and humbled tone she strove
 To stir the embers of departed love;
 While he a tyrant, frowning walk'd before,
 Felt the poor purse, and sought the public door;
 She sadly following in submission went,
 And saw the final shilling foully spent.
 Then to her father's hut the pair withdrew,
 And bade to love and comfort long adieu!—

COURTSHIP OF AN INNOCENT AND BEAUTIFUL VILLAGE MAIDEN.

[From the Same.]

NOW, through the lane, up hill, and cross the green,
 (Seen but by few and blushing to be seen—
 Dejected, thoughtful, anxious, and afraid,)
 Led by the lover, walk'd the silent maid:
 Slow through the meadows rov'd they, many a mile,
 Toy'd by each bank, and trifled at each stile;
 Where as he painted every blissful view,
 And highly colour'd what he strongly drew,
 The pensive damsel, prone to tender fears,
 Dimm'd the false prospect with prophetic tears:
 Thus pass'd th' allotted hours, till lingering late,
 The lover leiter'd at the master's gate;
 There he pronounc'd adieu! and yet would stay,
 Till chidden—sooth'd—entreated—forc'd away;
 He would of coldness, though indulg'd, complain,
 And oft retire and oft return again;
 For he would proof of plighted kindness crave,
 That she resented first, and then forgave,
 And to his grief and penance yielded more,
 Than his presumption had requir'd before.

SAD SITUATION OF THE SAME YOUNG WOMAN AT THE END OF TWO YEARS.

[From the Same.]

LO! now with red rent cloak and bonnet black,
 And torn green gown, loose hanging at her back,
 One who an infant in her arm sustains,
 And seems in patience, striving with her pains;

Pinch'd

Pinch'd are her looks, as one who pines for bread,
 Whose cares are growing, and whose hopes are fled ;
 Pale her parch'd lips, her heavy eyes sunk low,
 And tears unnotic'd from their channels flow ;
 Serene her manner, till some sudden pain,
 Frets the meek soul, and then she's calm again ;—
 Her broken pitcher to the pool she takes,
 And every step with cautious terror makes ;
 For not alone that infant in her arms,
 But nearer cause, maternal fear alarms ;
 With water burthen'd, then she picks her way,
 Slowly and cautious, in the clinging clay ;
 Till in mid-green she trusts a place unsound,
 And deeply plunges in th' adhesive ground ;
 From whence her slender foot with pain she takes, &c.

And now her path, but not her peace she gains,
 Safe from her task, but shiv'ring with her pains ;—
 Her home she reaches, open leaves the door,
 And placing first her infant on the floor,
 She bares her bosom to the wind, and sits,
 And sobbing struggles with the rising fits ;
 In vain—they come—she feels th' inflating grief,
 That shuts the swelling bosom from relief ;
 That speaks in feeble cries a soul distrest,
 Or the sad laugh that cannot be repress ;
 The neighbour-matron leaves her wheel, and flies
 With all the aid her poverty supplies ;
 Unfee'd, the calls of nature she obeys,
 Not led by profit, nor allur'd by praise ;
 And waiting long, till these contentions cease,
 She speaks of comfort, and departs in peace.

ACCOUNT OF BOOKS.

A History of the Early Part of the Reign of James the Second ; with an introductory Chapter. By the Right Hon. Charles James Fox. To which is added an Appendix.

IT was predicted, by not a few, that the general estimate that had been formed of Mr. Fox's talents would not be heightened, but lowered by this publication. Their predictions have been verified. It is impossible that the warmest admirers of Mr. Fox can class the work before us with those of Voltaire, Hume, and Robertson: nor was it at all reasonable to expect that it should. It is not even to be classed among those of the second rate or middling historians. Men of enlarged minds and philosophical views, such as Tacitus among the antients, and Hume and Voltaire among the moderns, raise their voices to all times and countries, and while they walk over the elevated ground* of great and interesting events, contemplate still human nature, placed in various situations, and teach us to know ourselves by a development of the passions and conduct of others; glancing now and then at characters

and events widely different in respect of place and time, and brought together by various associations of ideas in the mind of the learned and philosophical historian. Fine instances of such combinations we have in the learned and ingenious, the miserably pedantic, and affected Mr. Gibbon. Mr. Fox does not address his work to all ages; to the wide theatre of the world; but to his countrymen only. He appears very much, indeed chiefly, in the character of a critic, or political controversialist. And his style is languid, vapid, and in not a few instances, even ungrammatical—yet his book completely answers the expectations of those who formed a just estimate of Mr. Fox's character. Though he was not a philosopher, nor yet a man of profound learning, he appears to have been a good Latin and Greek scholar. And he possessed, in a degree that did honour to human nature, the amiable virtues of the heart, as well as the most splendid powers of reasoning, strengthened by long exercise in public debate. We repeat now, what we have said on a former occasion—"His unrivalled talents were universally acknowledged: but there still lurked in

* Historiam assuetam discurrere per negotiorum celsitudines, non humilium minutias indagare causarum.—AMMIAN. MARCEL. lib. 2.

many

many breasts somewhat of a suspicion, that his political firmness and integrity was not inflexible. The sensibility of his heart, the unassuming affability and the sublime simplicity of his manners, the steadiness and warmth of his friendship, the soundness of his political principles, and the general consistency of his political conduct, which even the heavy weight of his India Bill did not counterbalance, in the process of time, though that not very short, produced an almost universal conviction, that Charles Fox was not only endowed with the most brilliant parts, but was an honest and good, as well as a great man.* It is sufficient commendation of the present volume to say, that though it is not distinguished by the features expected by what we may call the fanatical admirers of Mr. Fox, it is yet such a production as was to be looked for at the hands of such a character as has just been described. It breathes throughout the most humane sympathy, the most melting tenderness, and purest candour of disposition, and inculcates the sound and salutary maxims or fundamental laws of our political and civil constitution. It is in some measure, as it is, and would have been more so, if carried on and finished, an exhibition or display of constitutional principles founded on historical facts.

Prefixed to Mr. Fox's composition is a preface by Lord Holland, which not only gives a satisfactory account of the progress of the work, but some glimpses also of the character and opinions of its author. Lord Holland has not been able to ascertain at what period Mr. Fox first formed the de-

sign of writing a history: but from the year 1797, when he ceased to give a regular attendance in Parliament, he was almost entirely occupied with literary schemes and avocations.

Lord Holland thinks it necessary to observe, that Mr. Fox "had formed his plan so exclusively on the model of ancient writers, that he not only felt some repugnance to the modern practice of notes, but thought that all which an historian wished to say, should be introduced as part of a continued narration, and never assume the appearance of a digression, much less of a dissertation annexed to it. From the period therefore that he closed his Introductory Chapter, he defined his duty as an author, to consist in recounting the facts as they arose, or in his simple and forcible language, *in telling the story of those times.*" A conversation which passed on the subject of the literature of the age of James the Second, proves his rigid adherence to these ideas, and perhaps the substance of it may serve to illustrate and explain them. In speaking of the writers of that period, he lamented that he had not devised a method of interweaving any account of them or their works, much less any criticism on their style, into his history. On my suggesting the example of Hume and Voltaire, who had discussed such topics at some length, either at the end of each reign, or in a separate chapter, he observed, with much commendation of their execution of it, that such a contrivance might be a good mode of writing critical essays, but that it was, in his opinion, incompatible with the

* Vol. XLIII. (1801), HIST. EUR. p.131.

nature of his undertaking, which, if it ceased to be a narrative, ceased to be a history.

But the political events are not the only events that are recorded even in antient history. How great the variety of matter in Herodotus, the best of historians! And in our times, when it is admitted that even political events cannot be fully understood, or accounted for without attention to the vicissitudes in public opinion and public spirit, to the preceding or concomitant changes in manners, ways of thinking, and general pursuits, it is not a little astonishing that Mr. Fox should propose or design to cramp himself by any such narrow and erroneous law of composition! We say *design* to cramp himself: but in fact he has not done it. On the contrary, he is remarkably full of argument and reflection, and the examination of evidence on subjects of no moment, and what Ammianus Marcellinus, in our quotation above, calls *humiliū minutias causarum*.

In the introductory chapter Mr. Fox sets out with noticing, that there are certain periods in the history of every country at which the mind naturally pauses to meditate upon, and consider them with reference, not only to their immediate effects, but their more remote consequences. The first of these periods, noticed by Mr. Fox, extends from the accession of Henry VII. to the year 1588. The second period from 1588 to 1640; a period of almost uninterrupted tranquillity, peace, and general improvement: and a third period, between the year 1640 and the "death of Charles II.; during which we have an opportunity of

contemplating the state in almost every variety of circumstances. Religious dispute, political contest in all its forms and degrees, from the honest exertions of party, and the corrupt intrigues of faction, to violence and civil war; despotism, first in the person of an usurper, and afterwards in that of an hereditary king; the most memorable and salutary improvements in the laws, the most abandoned administration of them; in fine, whatever can happen to a nation, whether of glorious or calamitous, makes a part of this astonishing and instructive picture."

In taking a more particular view of this period, Mr. Fox, among a variety of excellent observations, remarks that—"The reign of Charles II. forms one of the most singular, as well as of the most important periods of history. It is the æra of good laws and bad government. The abolition of the Court of Wards, the repeal of the Writ De Heretico Comburendo, the Triennial Parliament Bill, the establishment of the rights of the House of Commons in regard to impeachment, the expiration of the License Act, and above all, the glorious statute of Habeas Corpus, have therefore induced a modern writer of great eminence to fix the year 1679 as the period at which our constitution had arrived at its greatest theoretical perfection; but he owns, in a short note upon the passage alluded to, that the times immediately following were times of great practical oppression. What a field for meditation does this short observation from such a man, furnish! What reflections does it not suggest to a thinking mind, upon the inefficacy of human laws, and

and the imperfection of human constitutions! We are called from the contemplation of the progress of our constitution, and our attention fixed with the most minute accuracy to a particular point, when it is said to have risen to its utmost perfection. Here we are then at the best moment of the best constitution that ever human wisdom framed. What follows? A time of oppression and misery, not arising from external or accidental causes, such as war, pestilence, or famine, nor even from any such alteration of the laws as might be supposed to impair this boasted perfection, but from a corrupt and wicked administration, which all the so much admired checks of the constitution were not able to prevent. How vain then, how idle, how presumptuous, is the opinion, that laws can do every thing! and how weak and pernicious the maxim founded upon it, that measures, not men, are to be attended to!

“The first years of this reign, under the administration of Southampton and Clarendon, form by far the least exceptionable part of it, and even in this period, the executions of Argyle and Vane, and the whole conduct of the government with respect to church matters, both in England and in Scotland, were gross instances of tyranny. With respect to the execution of those who were accused of having been more immediately concerned in the king's death, that of Scrope, who had come in upon the proclamation, and of the military officers who had attended the trial, was a violation of every principle of law and justice. But the fate of the others, though highly dishonourable to Monk, whose

whole power had arisen from his zeal in their service, and the favour and confidence with which they had rewarded him, and not perhaps very creditable to the nation, of which many had applauded, more had supported, and almost all had acquiesced in the act, is not certainly to be imputed as a crime to the king, or to those of his advisers who were of the cavalier party. The passion of revenge, though properly condemned both by philosophy and religion, yet when it is excited by injurious treatment of persons justly dear to us, is among the most excusable of human frailties; and if Charles, in his general conduct, had shown stronger feelings of gratitude for services performed to his father, his character, in the eyes of many, would be rather raised than lowered by this example of severity against the regicides. Clarendon is said to have been privy to the king's receiving money from Lewis XIV.; but what proofs exist of this charge, (for a heavy charge it is,) I know not. Southampton was one of the very few of the royalist party who preserved any just regard for the liberties of the people, and the disgust which a person possessed of such sentiments must unavoidably feel, is said to have determined him to quit the king's service, and to retire altogether from public affairs. Whether he would have acted upon this determination, his death, which happened in the year sixteen hundred and sixty-seven, prevents us now from ascertaining.

“After the fall of Clarendon, which soon followed, the king entered into that career of misgovernment, which, that he was able to pursue it to its end, is a disgrace to the

the history of our country. If any thing can add to our disgust at the meanness with which he solicited a dependence upon Lewis XIV., it is the hypocritical pretence upon which he was continually pressing that monarch. After having passed a law, making it penal to affirm, (what was true,) that he was a papist, he pretended, (which was certainly not true,) to be a zealous and bigoted papist; and the uneasiness of his conscience at so long delaying a public avowal of his conversion, was more than once urged by him, as an argument to increase the pension, and to accelerate the assistance he was to receive from France.* In a later period of his reign, when his interest, as he thought, lay the other way, that he might at once continue to earn his wages, and yet put off a public conversion, he stated some scruples, contracted, no doubt, by his affection to the protestant churches, in relation to the popish mode of giving the sacrament; and pretended a wish, that the pope might be induced by Lewis, to consider of some alterations in that respect, to enable him to reconcile himself to the Roman church with a clear and pure conscience."†

"The interval from the separate peace between England and the United Provinces, to the peace of Nimeguen, was chiefly employed by Charles in attempts to obtain money from France and other foreign powers, in which he was sometimes more, sometimes less successful; and in various false professions, promises, and other devices to deceive his parliament

and his people, in which he uniformly failed. Though neither the nature and extent of his connection with France, nor his design of introducing popery into England, were known at that time, as they now are, yet there were not wanting many indications of the king's disposition, and of the general tendency of his designs. Reasonable persons apprehended that the supplies asked were intended to be used, not for the specious purpose of maintaining the balance of Europe, but for that of subduing the parliament and people who should give them; and the great antipathy of the bulk of the nation to popery caused many to be both more clear-sighted in discovering, and more resolute in resisting, the designs of the court, than they would probably have shown themselves, if civil liberty alone had been concerned."

"In an early period of the king's difficulties, sir William Temple, whose life and character is a refutation of the vulgar notion that philosophy and practical good sense in business are incompatible attainments, recommended to him the plan of governing by a council, which was to consist in great part of the most popular noblemen and gentlemen in the kingdom. Such persons being the natural, as well as the safest, mediators between princes and discontented subjects, this seems to have been the best possible expedient. Hume says it was found too feeble a remedy; but he does not take notice that it was never in fact tried, inasmuch as, not only the king's confidence

* Dalrymple's Memoirs, II. 33, &c.

† Ibid. II. 84.

was withheld from the most considerable members of the council, but that even the most important determinations were taken without consulting the council itself. Nor can there be a doubt but the king's views, in adopting Temple's advice, were totally different from those of the adviser, whose only error in this transaction seems to have consisted in recommending a plan, wherein confidence and fair dealing were of necessity to be principal ingredients, to a prince whom he well knew to be incapable of either. Accordingly, having appointed the council in April, with a promise of being governed in important matters by their advice, he in July dissolved one parliament without their concurrence, and in October, forbade them even to give their opinions upon the propriety of a resolution which he had taken of proroguing another. From that time he probably considered the council to be, as it was, virtually dissolved; and it was not long before means presented themselves to him, better adapted, in his estimation, even to his immediate objects, and certainly more suitable to his general designs. The union between the court and the church party, which had been so closely cemented by their successful resistance to the Exclusion Bill, and its authors, had at length acquired such a degree of strength and consistency, that the king ventured first to appoint Oxford, instead of London, for the meeting of parliament; and then, having secured to himself a good pension from France, to dissolve the parliament there met, with a full re-

solution never to call another; to which resolution, indeed, Lewis had bound him, as one of the conditions on which he was to receive his stipend.* No measure was ever attended with more complete success. The most flattering addresses poured in from all parts of the kingdom; divine right, and indiscriminate obedience, were every where the favourite doctrines; and men seemed to vie with each other who should have the honour of the greatest share in the glorious work of slavery, by securing to the king, for the present, and, after him, to the duke, absolute and uncontrollable power. They who, either because Charles had been called a forgiving prince by his flatterers, (upon what ground I could never discover,) or from some supposed connection between indolence and good nature, had deceived themselves into a hope, that his tyranny would be of the milder sort, found themselves much disappointed in their expectations.

The whole history of the remaining part of his reign exhibits an uninterrupted series of attacks upon the liberty, property, and lives of his subjects. The character of the government appeared first, and with the most marked and prominent features, in Scotland. The condemnation of Argyle and Weir, the one for having subjoined an explanation when he took the test oath, the other for having kept company with a rebel, whom it was not proved he knew to be such, and who had never been proclaimed, resemble more the acts of Tiberius and Domitian, than those of even the most arbi-

* Dalrymple's Memoirs.

trary modern governments. It is true, the sentences were not executed; Weir was reprieved; and whether or not Argyle, if he had not deemed it more prudent to escape by flight, would have experienced the same clemency, cannot now be ascertained. The terror of these examples would have been, in the judgment of most men, abundantly sufficient to teach the people of Scotland their duty, and to satisfy them that their lives, as well as every thing else they had been used to call their own, were now completely in the power of their masters. But the government did not stop here, and having outlawed thousands, upon the same pretence upon which Weir had been condemned, inflicted capital punishment upon such criminals of both sexes as refused to answer, or answered otherwise than was proscribed to them, to the most ensnaring questions."

Mr. Fox having reviewed the principal events of Charles's reign, gives a free, candid, and just account of his character, which will be found in its proper place in this volume, under the head of CHARACTERS.*

Of the three chapters of which the history before us, or a portion of the intended history, consists, the second is taken up with the early part of the reign of James II. that is, from his accession on the 6th of February 1685, to the 2d of July, when the parliament "was adjourned for the purpose of enabling the principal gentlemen to be present in their respective counties, at a time when their services and influence might be so necessary

to government. It is said that the house of commons consisted of members so devoted to James, that he declared there was not forty in it, whom he would not himself have named. But although this may have been true, and though, from the new-modelling of the corporations, and the interference of the court in elections, this parliament, as far as regards the manner of its being chosen, was by no means a fair representative of the legal electors of England, yet there is reason to think that it afforded a tolerably correct sample of the disposition of the nation, and especially of the church party, which was then uppermost."

"It gives certainly no very flattering picture of the country, to describe it as being in some sense fairly represented by this servile parliament, and not only acquiescing in, but delighted with, the early measures of James's reign; the contempt of law exhibited in the arbitrary mode of raising his revenue; his insulting menace to the parliament, that if they did not use him well, he would govern without them; his furious persecution of the protestant dissenters, and the spirit of despotism which appeared in all his speeches and actions. But it is to be remembered, that these measures were in no wise contrary to the principles or prejudices of the church party, but rather highly agreeable to them; and that the Whigs, who alone were possessed of any just notions of liberty, were so out-numbered, and discomfited by persecution, that such of them as did not think fit to

* See page 59.

engage in the rash schemes of Monmouth or Argyle, held it to be their interest to interfere as little as possible in public affairs, and by no means to obtrude upon unwilling hearers, opinions and sentiments, which, ever since the dissolution of the Oxford parliament in 1681, had been generally discountenanced, and of which the peaceable, or rather triumphant accession of James to the throne, was supposed to seal the condemnation."

The third chapter relates to the desperate and unfortunate expeditions, which Mr. Fox calls "attempts," of Argyle and Monmouth, an account of their followers, and their own condemnation and death. The account of Argyle's deportment, from the time of his capture to that of his execution, is extremely interesting, and the mildness and magnanimity of his resignation is described with kindred feelings by his generous historian.*

Mr. Fox, in a letter to Mr. Laing, published by lord Holland in his Address to the Reader, makes the following severe strictures on the character and conduct of Ossian Macpherson:—"I have now ascertained beyond all doubt, that there were, in the Scotch College at Paris, two distinct MSS. one in James's own hand, consisting of papers of different sizes bound up together; and the other

a sort of historical narrative, drawn up from the former. I doubt whether Carte ever saw the original journal; but I learn, from undoubted authority, that Macpherson never did. And yet, to read his preface, page 6 and 7, (which pray advert to), one would have supposed not only that he had inspected it accurately, but that all his extracts at least, if not Carte's also, were taken from it. Macpherson's impudence in attempting such an imposition, at a time when almost any man could have detected him, would have been in *another man* incredible, if the internal evidence of the extracts themselves against him, were not corroborated by the testimony of the principal persons of the college." In another part of his letter, Mr. Fox says—"This imposture is as impudent as Ossian itself"—"Neither was Mr. Fox satisfied with the manner in which sir John Dalrymple explained and conducted his publications. His complaints of both these authors were frequent; and the more he examined and studied their books, the more he perceived the necessity of making some further researches.† Mr. Fox makes also many strictures, though without any direct impeachment of their probity, on the historians, Rapin, Mr. Hume, Mr. Echard, bishop Kennet, and Mr. Ralph.

* See this account or description in this volume, under the head of CHARACTERS, page 61.

† But of sir John Dalrymple, Mr. Hume says, p. 219—"An incredible confusion of head, and an uncommon want of reasoning powers, which distinguish the author to whom I refer, are, I should charitably hope, the true sources of his misrepresentation of Rumbold: while others may probably impute it to a desire of blackening, on any pretence, a person whose name is more or less connected with those of Sydney and Russel."

Account of the Life and Writings of James Bruce, of Kinnaird, Esq. F.R.S. Author of Travels to discover the Source of the Nile, in the Years 1768, 1769, 1770, 1771, 1772, and 1773. By Alexander Murray, F.A.S.E. and Secretary for Foreign Correspondence, in 504 pages, 4to. with Engravings.

out comes Mr. Bruce, in 1790. In the title-page of his work appears an engraving of a medal, representing on one side the discoverer, on the other the detected head of the divinity of the Nile, from which Apollo lifts the veil. The inscription is—

Nec contigit ulli
Hoc vidisse caput—

IT may be said of Mr. Bruce's Travels, published in five ponderous volumes quarto, that there never was so huge a book of travels, containing so little information either important, or anywise interesting. He travelled over many and various regions—with his eyes, or visual orbs—

Multorum hominum mores viditet
urbes.
—adversis rerum immersibilis
undis.*

But what a difference in point of both amusement and instruction, between Mr. Bruce's Travels to discover the Source of the Nile, and the Voyages of Ulysses in the Mediterranean! After the lapse of full sixteen years, after the return of Mr. Bruce, during which time the curiosity of the public had been powerfully excited, its patience exercised, and the hope of the learned and inquisitive of every nation nearly changed into despair,

This sign, hung out at the head of the door, is a very just emblem or index of the general style and fashion of the goods within. Mr. Bruce himself fills his own eye more than any other of the objects he contemplates. He is the great hero of his tale. He compliments himself on his own achievements. He is anxious to let us know, that if the scenes he witnessed, and in which he bore a part, were wonderful, he also was a wonderful man. He introduces us to a thousand barbarous wretches, and tells us all about them, for no other reason than that they were his acquaintance, and that, perhaps, they executed some little commission for him; yet, even here, he is less ridiculous and disgusting than in his observations on the miraculous passage of the Israelites through the Red Sea;† and his ravings about the descendants of Cush, grandson of Noah; the Abyssinian literature; and the chronicles of Abyssinian kings, from the son of the queen

* Quint. Horat. Flac. Epist. 11.

† He confirms the account given by Moses, by the authority of Diodorus Siculus. But Diodorus only says, "that the sea retreated, leaving part of its bed, and that it returned suddenly, so that there was a violent reflux and flux." There is a wide difference between this, "and the waters rising up like a wall on the right hand and the left, so as to leave a dry passage," [Exod. xiv. 21, 24]; their retiring suddenly, and then returning with violence. Between a miracle, and a natural and ordinary effect of an earthquake.

Sheba, by Solomon, and even 700 years before, to the king who reigned in Abyssinia when he was there. If, as Milton says, "the skirmishes of kites and crows are not less worthy of being recorded than the encounters of the English kings during the heptarchy," they are certainly not less worthy of notice than those of the Abyssinian kings. But though we are extremely fatigued with Mr. Bruce's prolix details of barbarous and savage, and, in many instances, no doubt, legendary or fictitious kings, and still more, if possible, with the disjointed, inconclusive, and insufferably tedious processes of his inquiries and speculations—though it were to be wished that he had wholly omitted his discussions, and shortened the details of his own adventures, as well as those of the Abyssinian kings, it must be admitted that not a little pure ore is to be found amidst this huge mass of dross. Mr. Bruce has contributed not a little to the improvement of geography and natural history, particularly meteorology, and suggested some useful hints to navigators, merchants, and above all to the East India company. That he really visited Abyssinia, and all the other places of which he speaks, there cannot be a doubt. The doubts that were very generally entertained at first, founded merely in ignorance, have been completely dispelled by subsequent testimonies. Indeed, the moral character of Mr. Bruce was alone sufficient to give credit to his narrative; yet, while we are fully convinced that Mr. Bruce really visited Abyssinia, we cannot but observe, that though the outlines be true, the general style of his colouring is

altogether deficient in that chasteness and fidelity, which is manifest in every drawing taken exactly from nature. His own adventures appear to be heightened, for the purpose of making his readers stare; for the purpose of exciting vulgar admiration. Besides all this, we may be permitted to doubt the truth of many of his reports, without impeaching his veracity; for he has not been at the least pains, by any critical examination, to establish the documents on which he makes his reports. We can easily conceive the union of strict veracity with credulity, and a propensity to believe and a desire to spread the belief of whatever is astonishing and bordering on the miraculous. It would have been well, if Mr. Bruce, in imitation of an ancient traveller on the banks of the Nile, Herodotus, had told us what he had seen, and what he reported on hearsay.

It seemed proper to introduce our account of the present volume about, and in a great measure by, Mr. Bruce, with a brief review of the preceding five volumes. First, let the author, Mr. Murray, speak for himself:—

"The following Account of the Life and Writings of Mr. Bruce was prefixed to the second edition of his Travels, published in 1805. It is now reprinted in the quarto form, with considerable additions and emendations, for the use of those who possess only the first edition of his work, or may desire to know something of the personal history of a man, who obtained celebrity by exposing his life for the particular advancement of useful knowledge. As no European, however adventurous, has hitherto, during

during a period of thirty years, traced his steps, or penetrated into Abyssinia, the value of the information contained in his work must remain undiminished, until some fortunate accident open that country to the rest of the world, and the public owe to circumstances not to be foreseen, what has been denied to scientific curiosity.

"The merits of Mr. Bruce's work may now be considered as sufficiently well known, but they can be estimated in detail only by the light of future discovery. Its imperfections must be finally ascertained from the same source; but when criticism and envy have both exhausted their severity, the author will occupy a place far above the ordinary description of travellers.

"The appendix to this volume consists partly of a selection from Mr. Bruce's correspondence with a variety of persons, eminent in literature, and in public life. Some letters have been admitted, not on account of their intrinsic value, but because they contain additional notices and illustrations; others have been inserted, as characteristic of their authors. Those written from Algiers, particularly, display the indignant spirit with which Mr. Bruce was accustomed to resent every attack on the honour, the privileges, and welfare, of his country.

"The notices of the Ethiopic MSS. will, it is hoped, be acceptable to such as intend to examine Abyssinian history, or the sources from which Mr. Bruce extracted his account of it. The description of the Abyssinian customs and provinces, however imperfect, has not been compiled without more labour than it may be altogether prudent

to confess. An ordinary acquaintance with oriental literature is, in this country, seldom reckoned either useful or profitable. The study of the Ethiopic and Amharic may therefore possibly be judged such a misapplication of time, as ought to be corrected by more than negative discouragement.

"In No. XLVI. Part I. the reader will find an abstract of the transactions in Abyssinia immediately preceding Mr. Bruce's entry; of the history of Ras Michael, a leading character in the Travels, compiled from Ethiopic MSS.; and likewise an extract from Mr. Bruce's Journal, written at Gondar, in March 1770, containing an account of his own reception and first occupation at court. These are followed by the most important parts of his Journals, in Italian and English, relating to his journey into Agowmidre to visit the sources of the river.

"In the same number, Parts II. and III. is arranged all the miscellaneous information concerning Habbesh, Athara, and Sennaar, which could be found amongst Mr. Bruce's papers. It is hoped that this will supply the want of minute explanatory notices in some parts of his work; in many instances confirm the reports of other travellers; and shew, that his inquiries respecting the interior of Africa were extensive and indefatigable.

"The additions made to the articles of natural history, in the edition of 1805. are reprinted here in No. XLVIII. The observations of longitudes and latitudes are likewise inserted in the number succeeding.

"The specimens of the Abyssinian

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nian languages contained in Volume I. of Mr. Bruce's own edition, and engraved in a more correct state for that of 1805, are annexed to this account of his life, along with vocabularies extracted from a MS. compiled for him at Gondar. These may probably be of considerable use to future travellers: and it is evident, that, if a distinct classification of the African tribes be ever attempted, it must be formed chiefly from their languages, the only permanent monument of nations that have no written records."

The additions and emendations of which Mr. Murray speaks, to the life of Bruce, may perhaps appear interesting to those who entertain the same exalted opinion of him as he does. It is superfluous to observe, after what we have just stated to be our opinion of Mr. Bruce, that we cannot, by any means, agree with Mr. Murray in thinking that he "will ever occupy a place far above the ordinary description of travellers."

"Notices of the Ethiopian MSS. will (it is hoped by Mr. Murray) be acceptable to such as intend to examine Abyssinian history."—Perhaps they may. But the number of those persons who intend to examine Abyssinian history, we presume, must be very small. Neither can the history of *Ras Michael*, though a leading character

in the Travels, appear either interesting or instructive to any intelligent European reader, who reflects that life is infinitely too short to read every thing that is printed; and that the first attentions are due to the best books and the greatest and best men. As to the study of the *Ethiopic* and *Amharic*, thinking far differently from what Mr. Murray appears to do, of the science of etymology,* which we consider as vague and uncertain, we should think it, indeed, "a misapplication of time."

Of the numerous letters contained in this volume, to and from Mr. Bruce, the far greater part will appear to be extremely trivial, except to such enthusiastic admirers of that traveller and hero, if indeed there be any such, now that his works have been long published, as Mr. Murray. Of the insipidity and we may say inanity, of most of these, the following is a specimen:—

"Letter from Bajerund Jonni at Adoxa to Mr. Bruce at Gondar, giving him notice of the arrival of a box and some articles from Captain Price at Jidda."

"After salutation: There has arrived here Hagi Jawher, attending the Abuna, who has delivered to our people a box with letters in it, informing you of its contents, which, when you shall receive from

* Mr. Murray has annexed to his account of the life and writings of Mr. Bruce, in four pages, close print; a Prospectus into the Origin and Affinity of the Greek and Teutonic Languages, in which the history of the former is traced and ascertained; the sources of classical philology explored; and several interesting facts established, concerning the first population of the west: a work which is the result of a minute examination of all the principal languages of Europe. His inquiries into this subject the author prosecuted, under a persuasion that philological researches serve to elucidate the affinity of nations at a remote period. He doubts not but the facts he shall bring to light will change the whole appearance of classical philology.

their

their hands, give the person who brings it a keffa and half a dahab. The expense for it is seven rials (pataka) to Mahommed Adoulai in the way from Masuah to Adowa; and four rials from Adowa to Gondar, and a keffa and half a dahab to him who delivers it; in all seven rials, and four give to our people, and the keffa and half-dahab to the bearer. And when you have received the box, write a letter to the *Captain* that you have received it safely. Inform us also concerning the war, and the purposes which brought you from Egypt. With respect to the journey which you intend to make to the sources of the river (el maiat el bahar) before peace comes it will not be possible to travel in this way or that. Preserve yourself; and salute in our name our beloved Georgis, and your servant Michael, and our brother Asaleffi* Petros, and Sidi Paulos, and the people of our house (Greeks). An answer is expected. The writer of this letter (the scribe, or secretary of Janni,) salutes you. Our brother, Constantine, the respected, salutes you. Peace be upon you."

Of the letters to Mr. Bruce, the most worthy of notice are those from the celebrated Dr. Blair, who, though he compliments Mr. Bruce much more than he deserved, and more, no doubt, than the doctor believed him to deserve, conveys very just strictures on his writings in as inoffensive and polite a manner as was possible.

" Letters from the Rev. Dr. Hugh Blair † to Mr. Bruce.

" 1. Dear Sir,—I have at length got hold of your book, and gone through it all. As I was so great an advocate with you for the publication, you may naturally expect to have my opinion of it when published. With the rest of the world, I had great expectations from the work, and I can now say, that I have not been disappointed. Large as your book is, and in all its parts not equally interesting, I can assure you I was sorry when I had done with it. It contains much information, and much curious matter. You have made a great addition to our knowledge of the geography of the world, and revealed a part of the earth that was before unknown.

" There has been a sort of prejudice against your Abyssinian Annals; and I believe it is the part of the work the least generally read. I went through the whole, however, and was entertained with the history of that strange and savage people. There is much ecclesiastical information in that part of the work. Indeed, without reading that part of it which approaches to our own times, when we come to the reign of king Bacuffa, there is no understanding the subsequent intrigues of court, which occur in the history of your own adventures. I must observe, however, that in these intrigues, there occurs sometimes a confusion and intricacy.

* Chamberlain. Petros had served king Joas in that capacity.

† Late professor of rhetoric and belles lettres in the university, and one of the ministers of Edinburgh, well known over Europe for his sermons and elegant critical writings. Mr. Bruce had asked his opinion of his work, which he gave in this judicious and friendly letter.

cy, through the similarity, and sometimes the sameness, of Abyssinian names for different persons. In your memorable passage through the Nile with the king's army, for instance, before the battle of Limjour, in the third volume, you mention Ayto Aylo, and Tecla Mariam, as lost in the passage, and never more heard of. As I knew these persons to have been great friends of yours, I was very sorry for their death, and wondered that you did not lament more over it. But I found afterwards (if I am not mistaken), that your two friends of that name were still living, and that these must have been some other persons. We hear afterwards of a Tecla Mariam, a young lady of great beauty, who, I suppose, from the name, must have been a daughter of your friend the secretary. In that multitude of strange names, however, great distinctness in repeating them was requisite.

"Your adventures in your return from Abyssinia, and the many perils you had to encounter, is a most interesting part of the work. By that time, however, I was become so much acquainted with your Abyssinian princes and chieftains, your Ras Michael, that terrible fellow, and your Messrs. Fasil, Gusho, Powussen, &c. that I was sorry to leave the history of their adventures. You make me absolutely in love with your Ozoro Esther. Have you never heard a word of what is become of her, and your other old friends there? I should wish much to know. You drop a hint, that you had heard a report of king Tecla Haimanout's being defeated and slain. Considering

the great connexion you had with him, and still more with these two brave men, Ayto Confu and Engedan, I wonder you did not manage some correspondence, by means of Jidda, to hear something of the state of that country after you left it. You see that you interested me in your Abyssinian story.

"With regard to your being so much the hero of your own tale, which all the petty critics will be laying hold of, that is what I find not the least fault with. On the contrary, I have been always of opinion, that the personal adventures of a traveller in a strange country, are not only the most entertaining, but among the most instructive parts of the work, and let us more into the manners and circumstances of the country, than any information that general observation can give us. You have gone through more hardships, and have encountered dangers in a greater variety of trying circumstances, I am fully persuaded, than any man now alive. And whatever those, who are unacquainted with you, may think, they who know, as well as I do, the uncommon powers both of body and mind which you possess, will find nothing but what is perfectly natural and credible, in any circumstances which you relate of your conduct.

"In the course of your work you have introduced some discussions, which I see will be considered as necessary. What you have said in defence of oriental polygamy is ingenious, and I really think well supported. I am in the same sentiments with you about what you call the paroxysm of modern philanthropy respecting the
slave

slave trade; but I do not see that you had much occasion to enter into that controversy. In the long dissertation in the first volume concerning the Cushites, their carriers the shepherds, the origin of language, &c. you are very learned. But, in a subject of such remote antiquity, the authorities are, to say the truth, very slender and doubtful. However, your discussion is as plausible as any of that sort of conjectural erudition can be.

“ Before your finally leaving Abyssinia, I expected you to have given us some general views of the country where we had been travelling so long; respecting the size and extent of the empire; the number of its population, so far as you could conjecture; the climate and soil in general; the character of the people; and any miscellaneous observations on manners which had been omitted. Several of these things, I confess, may be picked up in different parts of your narrative, and in the chapters where you give an account of the division of the Abyssinian provinces, &c. But still it would have been of great use to have brought together, in one view at last, such of these particulars as I have suggested, in one chapter, that the reader might leave the country with a distinct and summary impression of it on his mind. If there be any desideratum in the book, I think it is this; and in a subsequent edition, I should be very glad to have such a chapter added. It is, for instance,

a very singular circumstance in Abyssinia, that there is no sort of dancing practised, in which they differ so totally from the nations on the western coast of Africa.* You do mention this, but slightly; it would deserve, I think, to be more fully brought out, and would naturally lead into some discussion concerning the character and temper of the natives, their general manner of living and passing their time, &c. In conversation I remember your telling me, that Abyssinia was a kingdom not so large as France. I do not remember any general view of its extent or population in your book.

“ With regard to your style, I was so much carried along with the matter, that I gave no critical attention to it. In general, it appears to me easy, natural, and unaffected, which is all that, in a work of such length, is required.

“ Your description of what passes at an Abyssinian feast, was necessary to be given, as a historian, though it exhibits, I must confess, a very indecent scene, and gives a view of manners carried to a degree of public dissolution, which prevails not in Otaheite, nor in any regular society I ever read of. This, I think, might give room for such discussion on the manners of the people, as I wished to be added to your book. They are certainly, as you often hint, a very sad race. In what manner do the ordinary and common people live?

“ I am fresh come, as you may see, from reading your book, which

* Dancing is practised in Abyssinia in religious rejoicings; and on some other occasions, by persons of all ranks, but it is not so common as among the negroes. The Arabs do not dance generally; it is reckoned indecent, except in buffoons, &c.

I have

I have just now returned to the bookseller who lent it me. Being full of your subject, I have thrown out all that at present occurred to me on it, with that entire freedom, which I know you will take in good part, though there are none of my observations of much consequence. It would have been a thousand pities if you had gone to your grave without giving so great an acquisition of discovery to the learned world.

"I have a great inclination, in place of designing you, on the back of this long letter, 'of Kinnaird,' to design you 'of Geesh, esq.' Your lordship of the fountains of the Nile, I really think, ought to be perpetuated by this title. I would change the name of Kinnaird into Geesh; and I think you should obtain leave from the heralds' office to have some emblem of the fountains of that celebrated river brought into your coat of arms. Wishing you all health and prosperity, after your long labours, I have the honour to be, with great esteem and respect, my dear sir, your most obedient and affectionate humble servant,

"HUGH BLAIR.

"*Restalrig, June 17th, 1790.*"

"2. Dear Sir,—I return you, with many thanks, the several letters, with the communication of which you favoured me. I never doubted that your *Travels*, the more they are known, would the more draw public attention, and possess that place in the public esteem which they justly merit. You have enlarged our knowledge of this habitable earth, and to much entertainment have added much in-

struction. The only desideratum I ever found in them was, as I mentioned to you formerly, some more general views of the kingdom of Abyssinia, of its extent, population, manners, &c. which I still wish you would have in your view in a future edition.

"As to your letters, I am at a loss who this John Anderson is who is so full of Russia. The opinion and testimony alone of the bishop of Carlisle, a man of much knowledge and good sense, is a whole host. I do not get the *Monthly Review*, and never saw that article in it, which has been so injurious to you. Indeed I seldom see any reviews, unless what is called the *Analytical one*, which a friend of mine takes, and commonly sends to me; and that review appears abundantly favourable to you. But I entirely agree with Dr. Douglas, that the reviews are beneath your notice. They are always guided by the interest of some booksellers; and it is not on their opinions that the reputation of books and authors will depend. I am so much of this mind, that though I lately published a volume of sermons, I never gave myself the smallest trouble to inquire what the several reviewers said of it, or whether they took any notice of it at all.

"I cannot tell you whether Walton's *Polyglott Bible* be in our library. It is seldom open at this time of the year. I am very happy to hear that your health is better. I hope it will soon become confirmed, and that we shall have the pleasure of seeing you in town in winter. I have the honour to be, with the greatest respect, my dear sir,

sir, your most obedient and most faithful humble servant,

"HUGH BLAIR.

"*Restalrig, Sept. 29, 1790.*"

The desideratum mentioned in his second letter by Dr. Blair, Mr. Murray, as well as he could, has supplied from Mr. Bruce's MSS. Extracts from this, and another part of the work before us, will be found in our present volume, under the head of CHARACTERS.—We may say of Mr. Murray's volume, partly by, and partly about, Mr. Bruce, that it is exactly such as might have been expected from Mr. Bruce himself, had he published a supplementary, or returned from the dead to publish a posthumous volume. The plates in this volume, twenty-two in number, are, portraits, specimens of divers alphabets, subjects of natural history, and maps. The drawings are very fine, and finely engraven. Mr. Murray, not doubting but the most trivial circumstance relating to Mr. Bruce must be interesting, has not omitted to favour the world with a fac simile of Mr. Bruce's hand writing, which appears to have been a very good one.

Asiatic Researches; or, Transactions of the Society instituted in Bengal, for inquiring into the History and Antiquities, the Arts, Sciences, and Literature of Asia. Volume the Eighth. Printed verbatim from the Calcutta Edition. Pp. 538, 4to.

THE contents of this volume are,
I. Observations respecting the remarkable effects of *sol lunar* influence in the fevers of *India*: with the scheme of an astronomical

ephemeris for the purposes of medicine and meteorology. II. Extract from a journal, during the late campaign in *Egypt*. III. Of the origin of the *Hindu* religion. IV. Extract from an Oriental MSS. intitled, "Essence of Logic," proposed as a small supplement to *Arabic* and *Persian* grammar, and with a view to elucidate certain points connected with Oriental literature. V. An account of the measurement of an arc on the meridian on the coast of *Coromandel*, and the length of a degree deduced therefrom in the latitude $12^{\circ} 32'$. VI. On the *Hindu* systems of astronomy, and their connection with history in ancient and modern times. VII. An essay on the sacred isles in the west, with other essays, connected with that work. VIII. On the *Védes*, or sacred writings of the *Hindus*. IX. A botanical and economical account of *Bassia*, *Butyracea*, or East *India* butter-tree. X. Description of a species of ox, named *gayál*.

The most curious and important paper in this collection appears to us to be the first. It seems to have a tendency in some measure to restore the exploded connexion between medicine and astrology. Dr. Frances Balfour, the author of this essay, says, that "In Bengal there is no room to doubt that the human frame is affected by the influence connected with the relative situations of the sun and moon." This, in other places of the essay, he seems to consider as a fact that is admitted. This certainly, if it be a fact, presents to the physician and the philosopher one of the most interesting phenomena of nature.—The third article, the author of which is J. D. Paterson, esq. contains

contains very probable reasonings or conjectures respecting the Hindoo religion, which appears to Mr. Paterson to have been originally a reform of existing systems when the arts and sciences had arrived at a degree [this is somewhat vague] of perfection. He thinks that it was intended to correct the ferociousness and corruption of the times, and to reduce mankind to an artificial order on a former base of policy; that it was the united effort of a society of sages who retained the priesthood to themselves, and rendered it hereditary in their families by the division of the people into separate casts; that it was supported by the regal authority, which, while it controlled, it supported in return; that it was promulgated in all its perfection at once as a revelation of high antiquity to stamp its decrees with greater authority; that it was founded on pure deism; but that to comply with the gross ideas of the multitude, who required a visible object of their devotion, they personified the three great attributes of the deity. He gives a sketch with the interpretation of the Hindoo mythology, and remarks certain coincidences between this and that of the Egyptians, Greeks, and Romans. If it had occurred to Mr. Paterson's mind, he would probably have remarked that there was in fact exactly such a connection or alliance as he supposes to have taken place in Hindostan between the kings and priests of ancient Egypt. The fourth article is a decisive proof of what has always been understood,

that the works of Aristotle were translated into Arabic many centuries ago. The ninth and tenth articles will be read with great pleasure by all who have any taste or tincture of taste in natural history. The India butter-tree is one of the most valuable of vegetable productions, as it serves a variety of useful purposes. The ox gayal, too, is a very valuable, as well as in several respects a very singular animal. There are very good engravings accompanying the description of both the gayal and butter-tree. Besides these there are in this volume seven other plates relating to different subjects.

*An Etymological Dictionary of the Scottish Language: illustrating the Words in their different Significations by Examples from antient and modern Writers; shewing their Affinity to those of other Languages, and especially the Northern; explaining many Terms, which, though now obsolete in England, were formerly common to both Countries; and elucidating national Rites, Customs, and Institutions, in their Analogy to those of other Nations: to which is prefixed a Dissertation on the Origin of the Scottish Language: By John Jamieson, D.D. Fellow of the Royal Society of Edinburgh, and of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland.**

THIS is a very long title, yet it is not disproportionate to the bulk of the work, which is commended

* It is very remarkable that Dr. Jamieson, in designating himself, does not mention his professional vocation, which is that of minister of a congregation of Seceders.

prized in two very large quarto volumes, close print, weighing in boards nine pounds and two ounces. This being a dictionary the number of pages is not marked.—We do not mean to insinuate that is a heavy book in a spiritual sense. It is, for a dictionary, far from being dull.

The letters of the alphabet, in its most improved state, are not many. They are still fewer in the language of rude nations; and the sounds clearly and distinctly marked, in all languages, still fewer: insomuch that when European travellers visit and converse with savage nations, they can scarcely ascertain the powers of the consonants they make use of any farther than that some are *labial*, others *dental*, and a third class *guttural*. It is extremely difficult for strangers to ascertain the orthography and corresponding pronunciation of words made use of even among civilized nations, nay, and nations considerably advanced in refinement.—Some of our visitors of India write *Indoostan*, others *Hindoostan*, others again

Indoostan or *Industan*, and *Hindoostan* or *Hindustan*. One writer has *Bud*, [a deity] a second *Bud-da*, a third *Budha*; and a fourth *Booth*. One has *nabob*, a second *navob*, a third *nayhob*, a fourth *nawab*, a fifth *newab*. One writes *pandit*, another *pundit*.

Again, different nations give different sounds to the same letters, especially to the vowels. And farther still, the pronunciation of words (in which many are of opinion that the true etymology of words is often better preserved than in writing) as well as the manner of spelling them is perpetually changing; as Dr. Jamieson has very well remarked, in the first page of his dictionary, in his observations on the letter [A]. The clearly marked and distinct sounds of letters being so few, it needs must happen that among all languages whatsoever there will be a very great degree of similarity. The same sounds must be uttered by different nations, and amidst an infinite variety of chances there will be a coincidence in some cases

Seceders, or Christians belonging to the associated synod, Edinburgh. In his former publication, he tells us, not only that he was D.D. and F.A.S.S. but where he was Minister of the Gospel; those publications were, "An Alarm to Britain, or an Inquiry into the Causes of the rapid Progress of Infidelity in the present Age;" a poem, intitled "The Sorrows of Slavery;" and "A Vindication of the Doctrine of Scripture, and of the primitive Faith concerning the Deity of Christ."—That the metropolitan minister of the *Seceders*, or, as they formerly affected to be called, the *Witnessing Remnant*, in Scotland, should be permitted to publish a book about etymologies and "vain genealogies," and to avow himself a graduate in an university closely connected with the Established Church, nay, that an *associate minister* should avow himself to be an *associate of antiquarian and philosophical societies*, is a striking proof of the growing liberality of the *Seceders*, that is, of the decay of their discipline and relaxation in the severity of their religious tenets.—Yet even in the purest times of the *covenant*, it could not have been said truly, that Dr. Jamieson, though a very sensible, learned, and ingenious man, has been seduced, by literary pursuits and bad company, from the purity of their faith. He maintains all the rigours of Calvinism—even the eternity of hell torments.

both

both in sound and sense. Yet notwithstanding this paucity of distinct, and what we may call original sounds, notwithstanding the diversity of sounds given to the same letters, and the varieties in the pronunciation and spelling of living languages, the science of etymology has traced the different languages of the greatest celebrity or notoriety in Asia, Europe, America, and the newly-discovered island in the South Sea, to one primitive, radical, and maternal language, which language is the **CELTIC**!

In 1787, Monsieur Le Brigant, an advocate of Rennes, before the revolution the capital of Brittany, published at Paris a pamphlet, in 120 4to pages close print, intitled "*Observations Fondamentales sur les Langues Anciennes et Modernes; ou, Prospectus De l'Ouvrage, intitulé 'Lingua Primitiva Conservée.'*" In this prospectus he has compared a number of words in the **CELTIC** with words in the Hebrew, the Chaldaic, the Syriac, the Arabian, the Persian, the Greek, the Latin, the Chinese, the Shanscrit [or Sanscrit], the Galibi, or language of the Caribs, and the language of the isles of Otaheite (which he, after Mr. Bougainville, calls Saïti). And from the coincidences of these words, in both sound and sense, he concludes, that the Celtic is the basis of the whole; though he admits that it has undergone so many alterations that it is not to be traced to its elements or original when they consisted chiefly or solely of monosyllables. The most nume-

rous specimens in this publication of *Brigant's*, of coincidence between words of the same import in different languages, and which, he supposes, to be all of them derived from the same elementary and primitive language, are those taken from the language of Otaheite, and the Caribbee islands!—Now this reasoning of the advocate of Rennes, may be ranked among those arguments which, by proving too much, prove nothing. Dr. Jamieson says in his preface that the "structure of language"—appears by its striking analogies as a grand link among the various individuals of the same species, how remote so ever from each other as to situation, frequently affords a proof of the near affinity of particular nations; and by the general diffusion of particular terms, or by certain rules of formation universally adopted, assigns a common origin to mankind, although scattered "on the face of the whole earth." Horace says, truly, that as the forests early change their leaves, so it is with words, the more antiently degrees are forgotten, new ones spring up and flourish with all the ornaments of youth.* But Dr. Jamieson, with the advocate Brigant, finding many strong similarities between words of the same signification, between words in Otaheite and another very antient and widely diffused language, would deduce both from the language spoken by the first parents of mankind. After the Flood, the building of the Tower of Babel, the dispersion of mankind

* Ut Silvæ foliis pronos mutantur in annos;
Prima cadunt ita verborum interit etas, &c. &c.

HORAT *de Art. Poet.* ver. 60.
into

into different quarters of the world, when they degenerated from a state of high civilization into barbarians, savages, and almost mere brutes, confined to a few objects, and expressing their feelings and wants by natural signs, and a few monosyllabic cries, having lost the habit of *divining their voice*.^{*}—After all these convulsions, Dr. Jamieson must, if any faith is to be placed in the laboured and farfetched inferences of etymology, trace the language of the Caribs and the Otabeitans to the names given to things by Adam [GENES. xi. 19.] But there is no necessity of tracing the names of creatures, either living or dead, to Adam. Even children give names to things very naturally. They call a cow *Mue*, a lamb *Baa*. So also, it would appear, the Greek children probably did. Theocritus tells us, that the sheep *Bē Bē Δαγούρις Γαδύροις*. A crow in like manner is called in Greek *Καράξ*. An ass in Spanish, is called, in imitation of its braying, *Borachos*.—But the origin of language has been treated in a satisfactory, as well as ingenious manner, by many writers. Bishop Stillingfleet, speaking of divers attempts to interpret ancient allegories and enigmas, says, that there is but one certain truth or conclusion to be drawn from the whole, and that is “labour lost,” we may say the same in general of etymological labours. The vagaries of etymologists were properly noticed, in ancient times, by Quintillian; and, about a century ago, by a very learned Englishman, Baker, in his *Reflections on Learning*. The labours of Perzon

Pelletier, sir William Jones, Maurice Pinkerton, David Macpherson, Macfarlane, George Chalmers, &c. &c. about Gog and Magog, Cushites, Celtæ, Belgæ, &c. &c. have never produced any thing approaching at all to a serious conviction of their respective conclusions. If the fanciful or conjectural science of etymology would indeed elucidate and prove the affinity of nations at a very remote period, and trace their descent from Adam and Eve, or from pre-Adamites, if, as some suppose, there were any, there would be something sublime in such studies, something highly gratifying and consolatory. But to this, etymological researches are wholly inadequate. And as to the disputes about the peopling of the Lowlands of Scotland, whether from the southern parts of the kingdom, or directly from Germany, or Scandinavia, they are of very little consequence. It is quite apparent, even from names of persons or places, that there are in Scotland the descendants of ancient Britons, who, we think, with Buchanan, were of the same nation or origin with the Picts, descendants of Germans, descendants of Flemings, and descendants of Anglo-Saxons and Anglo-Normans.—The story of the key with a leather thong in Gil Blas, which gave to wine, according to the perception of some, the taste of leather, and according to that of others the taste of iron, is quite applicable to the wranglings about the origination of the Lowland Scots, Celts, Goths, or Germans. Even from etymology it

* *Μεγῶν Ἀνθρώπων*.—The fine description or definition that is given of mankind by Homer.

appears that they are sprung from all of them. As professor John [not James] Playfair in his Illustrations, &c. says of the leading sects of geologists, the systems of the wranglers in Scottish etymologies "accord better with each other than they do themselves." But let us hear Dr. Jamieson:—

"It is surprising, that no one has ever attempted to rescue the language of the country from oblivion, by compiling a dictionary of it. Had this been done a century ago, it would most probably have been the means of preserving many of our literary productions, which it is feared are now lost, as well as the meaning of many terms now left to conjecture.—Till of late, even those who pretended to write glossaries to the Scottish books which they published, generally explained the terms which almost every reader understood, and quite overlooked those that were more ancient and obscure. The glossary to Douglas's Virgil formed the only exception to this observation.

"Within these few years, a taste for Scottish literature has revived both in Scotland and England. Hence the want of an etymological dictionary has been felt more than ever, and it may well be supposed, that all who possess a genuine taste for the literary productions of their country, must feel disposed to encourage a work which is necessary, not merely for illustrating their beauties, but in many instances even for rendering them intelligible. The use of such a work is not confined to our edited books, but may in a great measure prove a key to our ancient MSS. It must facilitate the progress of those, whose studies or employments lay them

under the necessity of investigating the records of antiquity; and who, especially in their earlier years, are apt to be disgusted at their professions, from the frequent occurrence of terms, at the meaning of which they can only guess.

"It is undeniable, indeed, that from the strange neglect of our vernacular language, the signification of some of our law-terms is already lost; and that the meaning of others, on the interpretation of which not only private property, but public justice depends, is so doubtful, as to leave room for almost endless litigation.

"Even these invaluable remains of antiquity, which record the valiant deeds of our ancestors, delineate their manners, or exhibit their zeal for religion, excite little interest in our time, because they are in a great measure unintelligible.

"Those who possess old libraries, that have been handed down, perhaps through many generations, must be convinced of the necessity of a work of this kind; because the books which were perfectly familiar to their fathers, and which communicated instruction to their minds, or kindled up the flame of patriotism in their breasts, are now nearly as completely locked up to them, as if they were written in a foreign tongue.

"Such a work is necessary for preserving, from being totally lost, many ancient and emphatic terms, which now occur only in the conversation of the sage of the hamlet, or are occasionally mentioned by him as those which he has heard his fathers use. It may also serve to mark the difference between words which may be called classical, and others merely colloquial; and

and between both of these, as far as they are proper, and such as belong to a still lower class, being mere corruptions, cant terms, or puerilities.

"Many ancient customs, otherwise unknown or involved in obscurity, come also to be explained or illustrated, from the use of those words which necessarily refer to them. The importance of any thing pertaining to the manners of a nation, as constituting one of the principal branches of its history, needs not to be mentioned; and, as the knowledge of ancient manners removes the obscurity of language, by a reciprocal operation, ancient language often affords the best elucidation of manners.

"Such a dictionary, if properly conducted, should not only throw light on the ancient customs of Scotland, but point out their analogy to those of other northern nations. So striking indeed is the coincidence of manners, even in a variety of more minute instances, between our ancestors and the inhabitants of Scandinavia, as marked by the great similarity or absolute sameness of terms, that it must necessarily suggest to every impartial inquirer, that the connexion between them has been much closer than is generally supposed.

"Language, it is universally admitted, forms one of the best criterions of the origin of a nation; especially where there is a deficiency of historical evidence. Our country must ever regret the want, or the destruction, of written records. But an accurate and comparative examination of our vernacular language may undoubtedly in part repair the loss; as well as throw considerable light on the

faint traces which history affords, with respect to the origin of those, who for many centuries have been distinguished from the Celtic race, as speaking the Scottish language.

"I do not hesitate to call that the Scottish *language*, which has generally been considered in no other light than as merely on a level with the different provincial dialects of the English. Without entering at present into the origin of the former, I am bold to affirm, that it has as just a claim to the designation of a peculiar language as most of the other languages of Europe. From the view here given of it to the public, in the form of an ETYMOLOGICAL DICTIONARY, it will appear that it is not more nearly allied to the English, than the Belgic is to the German, the Danish to the Swedish, or the Portuguese to the Spanish. Call it a dialect, if you will; a dialect of the Anglo-Saxon it cannot be: for, from the dissertation, prefixed to the Dictionary, it must appear to the unprejudiced reader, that there is no good reason for supposing that it was ever imported from the southern part of our island."

If the only end of writing were to promote the advancement and diffusion of general knowledge and general entertainment, to make learned men and philosophers, and to present a species of entertainment worthy of learned men and philosophers, accomplished citizens of the world, the republic of letters would not suffer any great detriment, though the Scottish language and Scottish literature were consigned to everlasting oblivion. But this is not the only end of literature. An end of equal, and;

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in a moral point of view, perhaps greater importance, is the tendency it has to wean men from the grossness of sensual appetites and desires, and to improve their social sympathies and sensibilities, to snatch them from the imperious importunity of present objects, and to enlarge, as it were, the sphere of their existence, by extending their views over the remote and the past, as well as the near and the present. Whatever is fitted to allure men into such paths is highly beneficial. The span of life might be better employed by Scotchmen, were their only object advancement in knowledge, in reading books written in other languages than their own. But since for one Scotchman inclined to read such books, there must be an hundred at least more inclined to read books in their own or the language of their forefathers, and relating to their own country, and who, if Scottish books were not unfolded to them, would not read at all; except the Bible with Commentaries, Boston's Fourfold State, the Pilgrim's Progress, and histories of the persecutions of the Kirk.—Since the sphere of the mere Scotchman's reading must be vastly enlarged, and the number of Scotch readers vastly increased by so masterly a key to the language of his forefathers, Dr. Jamieson, in his Etymological Dictionary, has done a very great, and, we presume, a very acceptable service to his countrymen. The AULD SCOTTISH language is very expressive, as indeed every language is to those who are intimately acquainted with the customs, manners, and allusions in which its peculiar idioms are founded. And the old Scottish writers,

particularly the poets, as abundantly appears from Dr. Jamieson's quotations, cannot but afford to all who readily enter into the language, and fully understand it, a very high degree of entertainment. The Lowland Scots, even the lower classes, or what in France and other countries are called peasants, have a great turn for reading. It is very common now, or certainly it was so about 30 or 40 years ago, when any very striking occurrence happened in the neighbourhood, particularly if it was of a ludicrous kind, such as an ill assorted or ludicrously conducted marriage, for even the women to make verses on the subject. One woman, sitting at her spinning-wheel, would make one or two verses or rhymes. These were repeated to others, who would add one or two couplets more, and so on, till, at last, a piece was produced little less droll than the famous ballad of "*Fie, let us all to the Wedding*," &c. This may, perhaps, be considered as a kind of argument, though not indeed a very strong one, of their affinity to the Scandinavians, who have a great turn this way, as all writers agree. Some very curious specimens of Finnish poetry, by rustics, or common people occupied in rural affairs, are to be found in *Signior Giuseppe Acerbi's Travels to the North Cape*, translated into English, and published by Mawman. The Swedes too, of all ranks, have a very great turn for literature. Parochial schools were established in Sweden long before their establishment in Scotland: nay even schools of a higher order in the different districts, to which the youth repaired, from the parochial school,

school, preparatorily to their going to the university; and the best scholars were sent there, if the circumstances of their parents required it, at the public expense. In Iceland, the very poorest of the people can read, write, and cast accounts; the children are taught, by their parents at home, the country being too wide, and thinly peopled for public schools.

Next to the importance of this Dictionary, just noticed, in nourishing a taste for reading among all classes of Scotchmen, and perhaps among some English in the northern counties, is the use it must be of to lawyers. The soundness of Dr. Jamieson's remark on this point will not be questioned.

With regard to the eternal *Pictish question*, the dispassionate, moderate, and sensible manner in which Dr. Jamieson treats this subject, forms a direct contrast with the dogmatism of Macfarlane, the rudeness and the waspishness of the Goth Pinkerton,* and the petulance and blind presumption and arrogance of Chalmers. He has

shewn, in a clear and able manner, that between our ancestors and the inhabitants of Scandinavia there has been a closer connexion than is generally supposed; that there is a very great variety of words in the mouths of the vulgar in Scotland, that had never passed through the channel of the Anglo-Saxon, or been spoken in England, although still used in the languages of the North of Europe; that the Scottish is not to be viewed as a daughter of the Anglo-Saxon, but as, in common with the latter, derived from the Gothic; and that no satisfactory account can otherwise be given of the VULGAR LANGUAGE of Scotland.† Dr. Jamieson also illustrates the Scandinavian origin of the Picts, from the evidence of historians, from Julius Cæsar and Tacitus to the venerable Bede and downwards, and from the history and architecture of the Orkney Islands. In this course he has at every turn to encounter Mr. Chalmers, who pays no regard to the testimony of Eriker, Tacitus,‡ or Bede, or to any one else, or to any cir-

* This writer has, in his latest publications, exchanged the rudeness of the Goth for the livery of Gibbon.

† About 20 years ago, Grim Thorkelyn, a native of Iceland, professor of antiquities and law in the university, and keeper of the royal archives at Copenhagen, travelled, as a literary missionary from Denmark, for three or four years in England, Scotland, and Ireland, with some of the adjacent islands. He was greatly struck with the coincidence between a great number of words of the same signification, not only in Scotland, but in Northumberland and Yorkshire, and the Icelandic or antient Gothic. He was at the pains, at the request of a literary friend, to write down a list of them, which was published in the first or 8vo. edition of captain Newte's Tour in Scotland.

‡ The argument of Tacitus, from the striking resemblance between the Caledonians and the Germans, will have additional weight, when it is considered that it was more likely that the Belgæ, or Goths, or by whatever name they might have originally been distinguished, should pass over directly in ships, from what was called the *Saxon shores*, and the *Cimbric Chersonesus*, to Northumberland and Scotland, than through England; for navigation is one of the earliest of the arts, and we are expressly told by Cæsar, that the northern nations had strong ships, and were bold sailors.

cumstance that militates against his own system.—Dr. Jamieson lays Mr. Chalmers, whom he calls a *learned* writer! completely on the ground in every encounter, and exposes the whimsicalness of his far-fetched derivations, and the inconclusiveness and absurdity of his reasoning, in the most satisfactory manner.

It is of no great importance to observe, but we cannot help wondering, that Dr. Jamieson should never have visited Abernethy, long the seat of learning, the Jerusalem, the holy city of the *seceders*, as well as the capital of the *Picts* in Scotland. We find him in the 28th page of his dissertation, talking of the “spires of Abernethy and Brechin;” there is indeed a spire on the round tower, at Brechin; but there is not a spire, nor any vestige indicating that there ever was a spire, on the round tower of Abernethy.

Letters from a late eminent Prelate to one of his Friends. Pp. 510, 8vo.

THE eminent prelate is the late Warburton, bishop of Gloucester, and his friend, the late Hurd, bishop of Worcester.

The writings of the great Warburton, though some of them paradoxical and sophistical,* display, on the whole, the highest degree of bold and inventive genius, an elevated and vigorous mind, the most profound knowledge of history and of human nature, and the true spirit of philosophical criticism. How finely does the bishop recon-

cile certain apparent contradictions in the introduction to the Catalinarian war of Sallost, and justify the praises that were bestowed on that noble historian?

“Crispus Romana primus in historia.”

Who, in the walks of history, first broke the enchantment of prodigies and miracles, and explored the true causes of things? How subtle, yet how just his observations on the causes of that love of the marvellous, so incident to historians, and so plentiful a source of error!

The interest that we take in every thing that relates to illustrious characters, becomes, in the hands of publishers, an engine for raking up their ashes, and dragging into light a thousand blemishes, better concealed. The present volume of letters between bishop Warburton and bishop Hurd, is, perhaps, the most striking proof and illustration of this assertion that was ever exhibited to the world. The former appears throughout in the light of a proud dogmatist, full of illiberal, and even inhuman prejudices: the latter is that of a mean flatterer, humouring all the prejudices of his correspondent, at the same time that he gratifies his own pedantic, dry, cynical humour. Warburton, in a letter to Hurd, dated at Prior Park, September 19, says—“I am strongly tempted to have a stroke at Hume in parting: he has crowned the liberty of the press; and yet he has a considerable post under the government. I have a great mind to do justice on his arguments

* For instance, his Divine Legation of Moses.

against miracles, which I think might be done in few words. But does he deserve notice? Is he known amongst you? Pray answer me these questions. For if his own weight keeps him down, I should be sorry to contribute to his advancement to any place but the pillory."

It appears that Mr. Hume was not so much kept down by his own weight as the bishop might have wished, for we find him haunting his imagination in three or four of his other letters.

"*Prior-Park, November 15, 1766.*

"As to *Rousseau*, I entirely agree with you, that his long letter to his brother philosopher, Hume, shews him to be a rank lunatic. His passion of tears—his suspicion of his friends in the midst of their services—and his incapacity of being set right, all consign him to *Monro*. You give the true cause too of this excess of frenzy, which breaks out on all occasions, the honest neglect of our countrymen in their tribute to his importance. For all that Hume says of him on this head, seems to be the truth; and as it is a truth easily discoverable from his writings, his patron could have but one motive in bringing him over (for he was under the protection of lord *Mareshal*), and that was cherishing a man whose writings were as mischievous to society as his own.

"*Walpole's* pleasantry upon him had *baseness* in its very conception. It was written when the poor man had determined to seek an asylum in England; and is therefore justly and generously condemned by *D'Alembert*. This considered, Hume failed both in honour and friend-

ship, not to shew his dislike: which neglect seems to have kindled the first spark of combustion in this madman's brain. The merits of the two philosophers are soon adjusted. There is an immense distance between their natural genius; none at all in their excessive vanity; and much again in their good faith. *Rousseau's* warmth has made him act the madman in his philosophic inquiries, so that he oft saw not the mischief which he did: Hume's coldness made him not only see, but rejoice in his. But it is neither parts nor logic that has made either of them philosophers, but infidelity only: for which, to be sure, they equally deserve a PENSION."

The great ceremony, and strong professions of friendship and concern about each other's health, that pervade the whole of these letters, do not bespeak the unreserved, careless, and unsuspecting confidence of ultimate and warm friendship. The friendship between these dignitaries, if we were to judge from their letters, would appear to be founded chiefly in a common aversion and hatred of freethinkers and dissenters from the Church of England. What is wonderful, the great *Warburton* appears little less solicitous to flatter the vanity of *Dr. Hurd*, than *Dr. Hurd* does to bow and cringe before the lofty spirit of *Warburton*.

Yet, amidst this farrago of chit-chat, prejudice, and adulation, paid, and in no inconsiderable degree repaid, we meet with not a little entertainment in the observations of bishop *Warburton* on different subjects, and the anecdotes which his station in the world

and his long life enabled him to relate of different persons.

Extracts from the Bishop's Letters to Hurd.

Letter XX.

"Have you seen lord Halifax's book of Maxims. He was the ablest man of business in his time. You will not find the depth of Rochefoucault's, nor his malignity. License enough, as to religion. They are many of them very solid, and I persuade myself were made occasionally, as the affairs of those times occurred, while he was in business. And we lose half their worth by not knowing the occasions. Several of them are the commonest thoughts, or most obvious truths, prettily turned: some, still lower, pay us with the jingling of sound for sense.

"Bishop Berkeley, of Ireland, has published a thing of a very different sort, but much in the same form, which he calls *Queries*, very well worth attending to by the Irish nation. He is indeed a great man, and the only visionary I ever knew that was.

"P. S. Pray did you feel either of these earthquakes? They have made Whiston ten times madder than ever. He went to an ale-house at Mile-end to see one, who, it was said, had predicted the earthquakes. The man told him it was true, and that he had it from an angel: Whiston rejected this as apocryphal. For he was well assured that, if the favour of this secret was to be communicated to any one, it would be to himself. He is so enraged at Middleton, that he has just now quarrelled downright with the speaker for having spoke a good word for him many

years ago in the affair of the mastership of the Charter-house. The speaker the other day sent for him to dinner; he said he would not come. His lady sent; he would not come. She went to him, and clambered up into his garret to ask him about the earthquake! He told her, 'Madam, you are a virtuous woman, you need not fear, none but the wicked will be destroyed. You will escape. I would not give the same promise to your husband.'—What will this poor nation come to! In the condition of troops between two fires; the madness of irreligion and the madness of fanaticism."

Letter LX.

"I agree with you, that our good friend is a little whimsical as a philosopher, or a poet, in his project of improving himself in men and manners; though, as a *fine gentleman*, extremely fashionable in his scheme. But, as I dare say, this is a character he is above, tell him I would recommend to him a voyage now and then with me round the Park; of ten times more ease, and ten thousand times more profit, than making the *grand tour*; whether he chooses to consider it in a philosophico-poetical, or in an ecclesiastico-political light.

"Let us suppose his mind bent on improvements in poetry. What can afford nobler hints for *pastoral* than the cows and the milk-women at your entrance from Spring-gardens? As you advance, you have noble subjects for comedy and farce, from one end of the *Mall* to the other; not to say satire, to which our worthy friend has a kind of propensity.

"As you turn to the left, you

soon arrive at *Rosamond's-pond*, long consecrated to disastrous love, and *elegiac* poetry. The *Bird-cage-walk*, which you enter next, speaks its own influence, and inspires you with the gentle spirit of madrigal and sonnet. When we come to *Duck-istand*, we have a double chance for success, in the georgic or didactic poetry, as the governor of it, Stephen Duck, can both instruct our friend in the breed of his wild-fowl, and lend him of his genius to sing their generations.

“But now, in finishing our tour, we come to a place indeed, the seed-plot of Dettingen and Fontenoy, the place of trumpets and kettle-drums, of horse and foot guards, the *Parade*. The place of heroes and demigods, the eternal source of the greater poetry, from whence springs that *acmè* of human things, an epic poem; to which our friend has consecrated all his happier hours.

“But suppose his visions for the bays be now changed for the brighter visions of the mitre, here still must be his circle; which on one side presents him with these august towers of St. James's, which, though neither seemly nor sublime, yet ornament that place where the balances are preserved, which weigh out liberty and property to the nations all abroad: and on the other, with that sacred venerable dome of St. Peter, which, though its head rises and remains in the clouds, yet carries in its bowels the very flower and quintessence of ecclesiastical policy.

“This is enough for any one who only wants to study men for his use. But if our aspiring friend would go higher, and study human

nature in and for itself, he must take a much larger tour than that of Europe. He must go first and catch her undressed, nay quite naked, in North America and at the Cape of Good Hope. He may then examine how she appears cramped, contracted, and buttoned close up in the strait tunic of law and custom, as in China and Japan; or spread out, and enlarged above her common size, in the long and flowing robe of enthusiasm, amongst the Arabs and Saracens. Or lastly, as she flutters in the old rags of worn-out policy and civil government, and almost ready to run back, naked, to the deserts, as on the Mediterranean coast of Africa. These, tell him, are the grand scenes for the true philosopher, for the citizen of the world, to contemplate. The *tour of Europe* is like the entertainment that Plutarch speaks of, which Pompey's host of Epirus gave him. There were many dishes, and they had a seeming variety; but when he came to examine them narrowly, he found them all made out of one hog, and indeed nothing but *pork* differently disguised.”

Letter LXXXVII.

—“The affair of Lisbon has made men tremble, as well as the continent shake from one end of Europe to another; from Gibraltar to the Highlands of Scotland. To suppose these desolations the scourge of Heaven for human impieties, is a dreadful reflection; and yet to suppose ourselves in a forlorn and fatherless world, is ten times a more frightful consideration. In the first case, we may reasonably hope to avoid our destruction by the amendment of our manners; in

the latter, we are kept incessantly alarmed by the blind rage of war-ringing elements.

“The relation of the captain of a vessel, to the Admiralty, as Mr. Yorke told me the story, has something very striking in it. He lay off Lisbon on this fatal 1st of November, preparing to hoist sail for England. He looked towards the city in the morning, which gave the promise of a fine day, and saw that proud metropolis rise above the waves, flourishing in wealth and plenty, and founded on a rock that promised a poet’s eternity, at least, to its grandeur. He looked an hour after, and saw the city involved in flames, and sinking in thunder. A sight more awful mortal eyes could not behold on this side the day of doom. And yet does not human pride make us miscalculate? A drunken beggar shall work as horrid a desolation with a kick of his foot against an ant-hill, as subterraneous air and fermented minerals to a populous city. And if we take in the universe of things rather with a philosophic than a religious eye, where is the difference in point of real importance between them? A difference there is, and a very sensible one, in the merit of the two societies. The little Troglodytes amass neither superfluous nor imaginary wealth; and consequently have neither drones nor rogues amongst them. In the confusion, we see, caused by such a desolation, we find, by their immediate care to repair and remedy the general mischief, that none abandons

himself to despair, and so stands not in need of Bedlams and coroners’ inquests.”

Of this extract, the second and third sentences prompt a very curious observation. The bishop has fairly let it escape him, that he sees no medium between a particular, a *correcting* as well as a *sustaining* providence, and absolute and hopeless materialism. Here he is at variance with his friend Pope, who, following lord Shaftesbury, held that God governed the world not by *particular*, or partial, but by general, laws,* and that all things were for the best.

Letter CXLVII.

“November 29, 1760.

——“Nichols, Potter, and T. Wilson, of Westminster, preaching one after another, bedaubed the new king, who, as lord Mansfield tells me, expressed his offence publicly, by saying, that he came to chapel to hear the praises of God, and not his own.”

Letter CXLVIII.

——“I will tell you what (though perhaps I may have told it you before) I said in the drawing-room to a knot of courtiers, in the old king’s time. One chanced to say he heard the king was not well. Hush, said colonel Robinson, it is not polite or decent to talk in this manner; the king is always well and in health; you are never to suppose that the diseases of his subjects ever approach his royal person. I perceive then, colonel, replied I, there is some difference between your master and mine.

* Such a man as Warburton could scarcely have any great admiration of Pope, who was not a man of great learning or knowledge, or deference for his opinions; though, no doubt, he had a regard and esteem for him.

Mine

Mine was subject to all human infirmities, sin excepted: yours is subject to none, sin excepted."

Letter CLXXIX.

"April, 1766.

"——Of politicks there is neither end nor measure, nor sense, nor honesty; so I shall say nothing. I preached my Propagation Sermon; and ten or a dozen bishops dined with my lord mayor, a plain and (for this year at least) a munificent man. Whether I made them wiser than ordinary at Bow, I can't tell. I certainly made them merrier than ordinary at the Mansion-house; where we were magnificently treated. The lord mayor told me, 'the common council were much obliged to me, for that this was the first time he ever heard them prayed for.' I said, 'I considered them as a body who much needed the prayers of the church.'—But, if he told me in what I abounded, I told him in what I thought he was defective—"that I was greatly disappointed to see no custard at table." He said, 'that they had been so ridiculed for their custard, that none had ventured to make its appearance for many years.' I told him, 'I supposed that religion and custard went out of fashion together.'"

Among the various persons who incurred the dislike and provoked the animosity and wrath of bishop

Warburton, were the celebrated Dr. Leland and Dr. Jortin. These two very learned and worthy men, Dr. Hurd, in order to defend and gratify his patron, the bishop of Gloucester, attacked with extreme virulence in two publications, 1. An Address to the Rev. Dr. Jortin on the Delicacy of Friendship, first printed in 1755 2. A Letter to the Rev. Dr. Thomas Leland, Fellow of Trinity-college, Dublin; in which the Bishop of Gloucester's Idea of the Nature and Character, as delivered in his Lordship's Doctrine of Grace, is vindicated, &c. first printed in 1764.* But after the bishop died, Dr. Hurd suppressed these pieces in the subsequent editions of his works. The servile adulation that runs through the whole of Hurd's letters to Warburton will not appear surprising to any one who is acquainted with this anecdote. The zeal of Hurd was most acceptable to the bishop.—"I will not tell you," says he, (in a letter to him, dated Priorpark, 1764,) how much you have obliged me in this correction of Leland. You never wrote any thing in your life in which your critical acumen and elegant manner more shone."

Of Dr. Hurd's letters in this collection there is only one that does him credit: and it certainly does not a little credit to his critical sagacity, at a time when Dr. Blair,

* Dr. S. Parr, moved with indignation at the mean and truckling conduct of Dr. Hurd, by that time bishop of Worcester, who, now that his patron was dead, endeavoured to obliterate all remembrance of what he judged politically expedient at the time, but what he was very sensible could not do himself any honour, in 1789 republished these tracts by Hurd, together with two very ingenious pieces which the bishop of Worcester suppressed in his magnificent edition of bishop Warburton's works. Dr. Parr, in a dedication of these republications, addressed by the editor to a learned critic, treats the bishop of Worcester with indignant severity. He lashes his lordship with rods of iron.

lord

lord Kaims, and all the Celtic part of Scotland, with many persons in England too, and more in France, maintained with a fond enthusiasm the authenticity of Ossian. Dr. Hurd is indeed well entitled to the praise of having been a good critic.

Letter CLIII.

“*Thurcaston, Dec. 25, 1761.*

—“Your lordship has furnished me with a good part of my winter's entertainment, I mean by the books you recommended to me. I have read the political memoirs of Abbé St. Pierre. I am much taken with the old man: honest and sensible; full of his projects, and very fond of them; an immortal enemy to the glory of Louis XIVth, I suppose, in part, from the memory of his disgrace in the Academy, which no Frenchman could ever forget; in short, like our Burnet, of some importance to himself, and a great talker. These, I think, are the outlines of his character. I love him for his generous sentiments, which in a churchman of his communion are the more commendable, and indeed make amends for the lay-bigotry of M. Crevier.

“I have by accident got a sight of this mighty *Fingal*. I believe I mentioned my suspicions of the *Fragments*: they are tenfold greater of this epic poem. To say nothing of the want of *external evidence*, or, which looks still worse, his shuffling over in such a manner the little evidence he pretends to give us, every page appears to me to afford *internal evidence* of forgery. His very citations of parallel passages bear against him. In poems of such rude antiquity, there might be some flashes of genius. But here

they are continual, and clothed in very classical expression. Besides, no images, no sentiments, but what are matched in other writers, or may be accounted for from usages still subsisting, or well known from the story of other nations. In short, nothing but what the enlightened editor can well explain himself. Above all, what are we to think of a long epic poem, disposed, in form, into six books, with a *beginning, middle, and end*, and enlivened, in the classic taste, with episodes. Still this is nothing. What are we to think of a work of this length, preserved and handed down to us entire, by *oral tradition*, for 1400 years, without a chasm, or so much as a various reading, I should rather say, *speaking*? Put all this together, and if *Fingal* be not a forgery, convict; all I have to say is, that the sophists have a fine time of it. They may write, and lie on, with perfect security. And yet has this prodigy of North Britain set the world a-gape. Mr. Gray believes in it; and without doubt this Scotsman may persuade us, by the same arts, that *Fingal* is an original poem, as another employed to prove that Milton was a plagiarist. But let *James Macpherson* beware the consequence. *Truth will out*, they say, and then—

“*Qui Baviū non odit, amet tū carminā, Mævi.*”

The absolute authenticity of Ossian appears now to be generally, nay almost universally, given up. But not a little admiration is still due to the dexterity or art, and the vigorous imagination, of the SCHOOL-MASTER OF BADENOCH.

A His.

A Historical Survey of the Foreign Affairs of Great Britain, with a View to explain the Causes of the Disasters of the late and present Wars. By Gould Francis Leckie, Esq. Pp. 272. 8vo. Close print.

WHAT has been so often observed, that our British orators and statesmen of the present times are by no means so learned as those that flourished from the reign of queen Elizabeth to that of queen Anne, both inclusive, is not the less important that the observation is common. In those times public speakers, and actors in the political drama, were profoundly read in the history of nations, ancient and modern, and formed their plans in new cases, from those that bore the greatest affinity to them in preceding times. They drew their maxims from the stores of literature and philosophy; and, in short, they treated, much more than we do, notwithstanding the natural progress of refinement, politics as a science. Our public speakers, it is evident, if they be really learned men, and have drawn much from the stores of history, and moral science, hide their talents in a napkin, and affect nothing so much as wit, brilliancy, and even length of declamation.—As to our men in public offices, or statesmen, the progress of official consequence and power is described by Mr. Leckie with a melancholy and alarming fidelity.

“A young man, of a powerful family, comes from the university into parliament; he had made a very fine oration in the theatre before the vice-chancellor and many

of the nobility; he had received an honorary premium for his performance. Under these auspices he gets up in the house of commons, where the elegance of his language and the roundness of his periods gain him universal applause. He is considered as a young man of promising abilities, and is destined to be a future member of the cabinet. He thus serves his apprenticeship under the minister of the day, and is thereby initiated into the routine of public business. From that moment his time is not his own, a multiplicity of papers are put into his hands, and the page of history is thenceforward closed to his inspection. His future political career is traced on the model of that of his predecessor; and as his habits of thinking are formed upon example, he becomes a minister without having once thought for himself on the most important subjects.

“An inferior class sometimes rises into notice, from a long employment in the public offices; and as their education has consisted either in copying papers, or wording official letters and dispatches, according to formulæ placed before them, these are also men of routine.

“From these two classes have been drawn the principal men who have guided the helm of the state of late years: but while they have the means of acquiring a perfect knowledge of its interior concerns, and may often do so in a very eminent degree, they are still totally incapacitated from obtaining even the rudiments of information on the foreign relations of the government. It is very easy to see that such

such men, in arriving at their dignities, must necessarily have acquired all the prejudices of their predecessors, engrafted on the habits of office, which have deprived them of the time necessary to deep reflexion; they cannot, therefore, be very open to the representations of those whose lives have been spent in travel, and in actual observation, who have attentively perused the history of past times, who have compared them with the present, who have caught the habits and entered into the spirit and principle of foreign governments, and who have thus learnt to appreciate the probabilities of events; who, in the prosecution of their local inquiries, have visited the palaces of princes and the cottage of the peasant."

In politics, as in law, *plures sunt casus quam leges*.—A revolution, a catastrophe, has happened in Europe, to which the usual system of balancing power among different states is wholly inapplicable. The floods are out, and overflow the land. The landmarks disappear. We must pursue a new course, steering not in the trammels of precedent and mere official routine, but by the compass of reason enlightened by history.

The reasoning of Mr. Leckie, founded on a very comprehensive view of both history and the present state of the world, merits the most serious attention, and will, we doubt not, obtain it.—His doctrine is not of a melancholy or despairing kind.—It appears to be the only system by which we may maintain, together with our commercial prosperity, our national independence.

The nature and design of this

very interesting work is briefly set forth by the author in an introduction.

"The events of the war which we are now waging, have already proved that all attempts to preserve the balance of power on the continent must in the end, be nugatory. Two great powers now divide nearly the whole of it, and whatever assistance we give to either of them, may probably tend to no permanent good; so that the safest policy seems to be to look to ourselves for that security which we have hitherto founded on a precarious balance, and which has cost us so much treasure to maintain. This doctrine is now pretty nearly established, and the present alliance with Russia will perhaps be the last essay on the folly of coalitions!—

Whether we pay subsidies to the Russians to attack France, or vice versa, the result must be equally useless; if either of them be too powerful for the other, it is not our money, nor the handful of men which we can furnish to either party, that will determine the contest. Should one of them over-run the whole, a state so formed must fall to pieces in a few years, and the favorite balance of power will be alternately erected and overthrown. But the empire of the sea will always balance that of the land, whether it be in one or more hands. And the example of the republic of Rhodes, which made so long a resistance to Rome, at a time when navies were not what they are at the present day, ought to teach us that our views should be confined to islands, or transmarine possessions.

"The following tracts have been written as the successive transactions sug-

suggested the matter, result from the writer's having been an attentive spectator of them during the whole war, from its commencement after the death of Louis XVth to the present time. Events have crowded so fast on each other, that their cause and spirit cannot at first sight be easily discovered; but this is evident to all, that the French have been successful in almost all their attempts, that they have totally changed the face of Europe, while the British government seems never to have been guided in its conduct by any general abstract principle, nor by any great and philosophic view of human events; but rather to have suffered its measures to be determined by some bias it received at the moment.

“Had the ministers of the crown attentively read the history of those countries where their arms have been engaged, or to which their views have been turned, they could never have sent expeditions abroad, called forth by the reliance upon false hypotheses, and in no way adapted either to the circumstances of the country which was the object of them, nor tending to any one advantage, in the event of success.

“Thus the conduct of our armies being cramped by considerations quite foreign to the real state of affairs, can produce no advantage, while the principle on which we carry on the war in general defeats its own object; and the diplomatic agents we employ abroad are either so confined by

the orders transmitted to them, the nature of their powers, or, as more frequently happens, by their own want of abilities, that wherever we find the British government concerned, we see the want of energy and decision, and inconsistency and weakness in all our measures. This opinion is now so deeply rooted in the minds of foreigners, that no party have any confidence in us, and our national credit is daily suffering depreciation. While the French were consolidating a great empire in Europe, we have been afraid to pursue the war with vigour, lest our success should excite the jealousy of our allies; and this sentiment, the offspring of timidity, has lowered us in the esteem of other nations, and become the subject of severe sarcasm, or contemptuous ridicule.

“The tracts contained in this volume may serve to elucidate the foregoing assertions, and at the same time satisfy us, that we have not only the means of commanding the respect, but also of gaining the confidence, of other nations; that the present war, were it conducted with a different spirit and more enlarged views, would produce not only the security which we declare to be its object, but also lay the foundation of a grandeur and duration far exceeding that of any empire which ever yet existed. To the attainment of that end, the present system, or that followed during the administration of the immortal Pitt,* cannot be subser-

* *Pochi anni sono congiurò contra la Francia tutto il mondo nondimeno avanti che si vedesse il fine della guerra, Spagna si ribellò dai confederati, e fece accordo seco in modo che gli altri confederati furono costretti ad accordarsi ancora essi.*—

MACCHIAVELLI discorsi sopra Livio, lib. 3. chap. 11.

Mr. Pitt might have found his experiment had been tried, and recorded by a writer in the 15th century.

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vient. We must be led to it by principles resulting from the evidence of facts, and confirmed by the repeated testimony of the most authentic historical records.

“ But even though all the points which it was intended to establish in the course of the following tracts, should not have been made out equally to the satisfaction of the reader, it is hoped they will have received illustration, and that the truth, to whatever side it may incline, will be found corroborated by some new arguments, or more competent evidence.

“ We have no other resource than to shut our enemies within the continent, and debar them as much as possible from any foreign commerce by sea. On this system the scheme of an insular empire presents itself as the most obvious method to maintain our independence and power. Let us begin from the northward, and pass in review all the islands bordering on the continent of Europe.”

On the question of public justice, Mr. Leckie quotes an essay of Mr. Hume's on that subject.

“ Suppose (says he) that it should be a virtuous man's lot to fall into a society of ruffians, remote from the protection of laws and government, what conduct must he embrace in that melancholy situation? He sees such a desperate rapaciousness prevail, such a disregard to equity, such a contempt of order, such stupid blindness to future consequences, as must immediately have the most tragical conclusion, and must terminate in destruction to the greater number, and in a total dissolution of society to the rest. He meanwhile can have no other expedient than to

arm himself, to whomsoever the sword he seizes or the buckler may belong, to make provision of all means of defence and security; and his particular regard to justice being no longer of use to his own safety, or that of others, he must consult the dictates of self-preservation alone, without concern for those who no longer merit his care and attention.

“ The predicament of the British empire is precisely the same with Mr. Hume's virtuous man—she is remote from the protection of laws and government; for what superior can Great Britain appeal to, to redress her wrongs, when she is pressed upon by the insatiable ambition of Bonaparte; for we have never yet heard of any Amphictionic council in Europe able to redress the wrongs of nations. The only means left us are anticipating injuries by injuries, or avenging them by retaliation. *It is for us to seize the sword and buckler, to whomsoever it belong, and to convert it to our own advantage and preservation.* None of our philanthropic philosophers seem to have reflected that this is precisely the position of the British empire; hence their reflexions on public justice are always at variance with the grandeur, the prosperity, and even the safety of the empire.”

It is our opinion that there never was more seasonable advice, than what is here offered by Mr. Leckie, given to any nation, on a more important occasion.

The Beauties of Scotland: containing a clear and full Account of the Agriculture, Commerce, Mines, and

and Manufactures; of the Population, -Cities, Towns, Villages, &c. of each County. By Robert Forsyth, Esq. Advocate. Five large 8vo. Volumes, embellished with Engravings.

A PRECEDING article carries our views back to the past; this presents a view of the present state of Scotland, which appears to be very prosperous. Mr. Forsyth is advantageously known as a writer on agriculture and morals. The present highly variegated and magnificent work will not detract, but add to his reputation. To a great mass of selection from the statistical accounts published by sir John Sinclair, travellers, and other writers on the affairs and present state of Scotland, he has added much original information, derived from actual observation as well as private intelligence, and many ingenious and useful remarks of his own. The whole is arranged in a natural, proper, and beautiful order; clothed in perspicuous, proper, and unaffected language; and replete with anecdotes, interesting not only to the natives of particular counties or provinces, and to all natives of Scotland, but many of them to readers in general. The engravings are, on the whole, very fine, though not all of equal beauty. It would be difficult to conceive a publication, whether for design or execution, more calculated for both amusement and useful or practical information. Nor has Mr. Forsyth by any means been inattentive to the progress and present state of literature and science in Scotland. We farther observe, that he is an excellent critic in literary composition.

Scotland is shaped by the hand of Nature into three divisions: one lying between the English border and the isthmus formed by the approximation of the Forth and the Clyde; a second between these friths and the chain of bays and lakes that have invited the formation of the Caledonian canal; and a third, consisting of the greater part of Invernessshire, Rossshire, Sutherlandshire, and Caithness. Mr. Forsyth has, with great judgment, exhibited a general view of the physical geography of Scotland, by quotations from general Roy's *Military Antiquities*, in vol. i. p. 412, when he comes to the Lammer Muir Hills, the boundary between Berwickshire and East Lothian; and in volume iii. p. 539, when crossing the Forth, he proceeds in his description along the north-eastern coast. And this he does, in the first place, "on account of the resemblance which both the face of the country and the original race of people bear to those he had already described, reserving as much as possible the north-western country of Scotland, or the Highlands, for the latter part of his work. In his wide range he keeps a constant and an intelligent eye on the various objects mentioned in his title page, mingling, in the happiest manner, the *utile* with the *dulce*. The MANNERS of the people, the most interesting head, is not noticed in the title page, but largely insisted on. As Edinburgh has for some time been a very famous seat of literature and science, and is resorted to by students from every part of both Europe and America, as well as by crowds, we had almost said, of youth from the different provinces of

of Scotland, we shall make a few extracts from the *BEAUTIES OF SCOTLAND*, respecting the literary establishments or institutions of Edinburgh; and we may add the circumstances that contribute to the diffusion of knowledge, both at Edinburgh, and Aberdeen, and Glasgow, and till the death of the late chancellor, the earl of Kinnoul, at the ancient and most nobly endowed university of St. Andrews.

“All the professors, excepting the professor of divinity, receive fees from their students. The professors of the Greek and Latin languages have each two classes of more or less advanced students, and attend each class during two hours each day. Each of the professors of the different branches of science delivers to his students a daily lecture, which occupies rather less than an hour, but the professor of anatomy’s lecture lasts about an hour and a half. The session of college endures annually from the beginning of November till the month of April; and each professor dismisses his students separately for the session when his course of lectures is finished; so that one class is sometimes dismissed a few weeks before another. The professors have no necessary intercourse with their students, and usually have no personal knowledge of them. There are here no public examinations or disputations; because Scotchmen disregard degrees, excepting the degree of doctor in medicine; and, to obtain it, nothing more is necessary than to be able to undergo a fair trial, the essential part of which is privately gone about, and the professors make no inquiry about the personal history or connections of

the student. The whole students, during their attendance at the university, reside with their relations if they are natives of the city; and, if they come from a distance, they procure for themselves such lodgings as their circumstances afford. The professors in the university of Edinburgh, having only a small salary, or none at all, are under the necessity of attracting students by their literary industry alone, or by the reputation of their talents. The students, on the other hand, have no other inducement to attend any particular class than the improvement which they are sensible they derive from it. Long attendance is not expected; and even the medical degree, which is most valued, can be attained in three years.

“This negligent mode of education, in which no sort of authority or discipline is exerted by the professors over their students, and in which every student is allowed to live as he finds convenient while attending the university, without incurring farther expense than the professor’s fees, which for the highest class is only three guineas, is well suited to the character and situation of the Scottish nation. In this way great numbers of young persons of a spirited and active character, by employing their time with industry, are enabled to attain such a portion of literature as is sufficient for enabling them to assume a respectable character in the busy departments of life. Their pursuits of fortune are not delayed by a tedious academical course of study; while, at the same time, if at any future period of life they attain to affluence and leisure, they find their original stock of letters sufficient to enable them to proce-

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state any branch of science with success. At all events, during life, they remain impressed with a sense of the value of intellectual accomplishments. They endeavour to give the best education to their children; and in the possession of riches, they are not likely to assume those self-sufficient and purseproud manners which form the most disgusting effect of sudden and unexpected opulence.

“In the meanwhile, it is evident that this kind of education is only suited to young men of limited prospects, who know that their success in life depends upon their industry. Accordingly, now that riches and luxury have begun to abound in Scotland, the sons of men of fortune, unless bred to the profession of the law, are sinking fast, with regard to literature, below the character of their forefathers, among whom learning was very general. To acquire a respectable share of it, and to bestow upon it due encouragement, were formerly considered as essential duties of every man of rank.

“Upon the whole, students at the university of Edinburgh may be said in a great degree to educate themselves and each other. The celebrity of the medical professors, and of the men of letters whom Edinburgh once produced and still contains, has here excited among young persons a powerful spirit of literary emulation or ambition, which has not yet diminished. The students form themselves into clubs or societies for mutual improvement in medicine, natural history, and general literature. Some of these societies have existed for a considerable time, have ob-

tained royal charters, and number among their members many of the most distinguished literary characters. The members write essays, which are publicly read, and the sentiments they contain discussed at their weekly meetings. In some societies, in which elocution is accounted of importance, particular questions are discussed in those branches of science for the investigation of which the society has been instituted; and very eager, and sometimes eloquent, debates occur. As the science of medicine is that on account of which this university is most celebrated, the societies of students in this department are most numerous.

“Some of the most eminent professors are said to have disapproved of these societies, as having a tendency to withdraw the students from laborious and patient study, to generate a presumptuous disrespect for their teachers, and to render them superficial reasoners, attached to the particular systems of Brown, Cullen, or whatever else is in vogue, rather than able physicians and modest inquirers after truth. There is perhaps some truth in this censure. At the same time, from the distinguished character which men bred at the university of Edinburgh maintain, in all quarters of the globe, it seems probable that the energy of spirit, and the freedom of investigation, to which this mode of education gives rise, greatly overbalance the inconveniences attending it. In this world, good and evil, like light and darkness, are apt to tread extremely close upon the footsteps of each other; and we must remain satisfied with what is good, or at least

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with what is tolerable, without always requiring what is best."

"It is to be observed that students attending the university of Edinburgh have an opportunity of obtaining assistance in the prosecution of their education, not merely from the regular professors, but also from a considerable number of men of distinguished talents, who act as private lecturers in the more favourite branches of study. Anatomy and chemistry in particular are thus taught with a degree of success which greatly tends to stimulate the exertions of the regular professors. These last, however, possess always a great advantage in the competition for the attendance of students, on account of the necessity of attending their prelections for the purpose of attaining the academical degree of doctor in medicine.

"From the cheapness of education in Scotland at large, and from the facility of obtaining it in Edinburgh in particular, in consequence of its being the seat of the university, men of learning, possessing very moderate means of subsistence, abound here; and accordingly students in easy circumstances find no difficulty in obtaining, at a moderate price, well-informed men who attend them in their apartments, and assist them in their studies, and particularly in preparing them to undergo the examination in the Latin tongue, which is necessary to enable them to encounter the usual examinations previous to obtaining the medical degree. In the mathematics, and every other branch of science and of literature, the means

of instruction are found with similar facility.

"It is thus by the combination of a variety of circumstances that Edinburgh is rendered a distinguished place of resort for the education of youth; by the example of great literary success; by the united efforts of privileged and unprivileged lecturers and of private teachers; and, last of all, by the city at large, containing an assemblage of well-informed persons of all ranks, who respect those literary pursuits, to which, at some period of life, most of them have devoted their attention and their time in a less or greater degree."

The following is an instance of the manner in which this description of Scotland is agreeably seasoned with historical facts or anecdotes.

"In the parish of Glencross, the character of James Philp, esq. of Greenlaw there, is worthy of notice. He was educated as a lawyer under Heineccius, Vitriarius, and other eminent civilians in Germany and Holland. Soon after his return from abroad, he was appointed judge of the high court of admiralty. His profound knowledge in maritime law enabled him to execute this office for many years with much reputation. He was a man noted and beloved for the mildness and urbanity of his mind and manners; but he appears also to have been a man of inflexible rectitude.

"In the year 1754, the gentleman, who was afterwards admiral sir Hugh Palliser, was commander of the Sea-horse man of war, lying in the roads of Leith. A man, under indentures as an apprentice, had

had been enlisted as a sailor on board this ship. On a petition from his master, and on production of the indenture, judge Philp granted a warrant to bring the man ashore to be examined. A messenger went on board to apprehend him; but was told by captain Palliser, that he considered himself as subject only to the lords of the admiralty, and that he would not suffer the man to go ashore. Upon this the messenger, with his blazon on his breast, broke his rod of peace, and reported this illegal act of deforcement to the admiralty court. The judge, Mr. Philp, then granted a warrant to apprehend captain Palliser himself, and to commit him to prison. No attempt was made to execute this warrant till captain Palliser accidentally came on shore, when he was instantly seized and imprisoned. Next day he was brought into court, and refused to submit to its jurisdiction, asserting that he held his commission from the board of admiralty, to which alone he was responsible for his conduct. He was therefore sent back to prison, where he remained about six weeks, till the apprentice was delivered up to his master. When the case was reported by the earl of Findlater, then lord high admiral of Scotland, to lord-chancellor Hardwicke, the latter remarked, that "he was a bold judge who had done this; but what he had done was right." This high-spirited conduct, from a man of uncommonly-mild manners like Mr. Philp, met with universal approbation. It reminded his countrymen of the behaviour of the English chief-justice Hall, who, in the court of king's bench, ordered

the speaker of the house of commons, attended by a committee, to take himself away, assuring him, that if he did not instantly depart, he would commit him to Newgate, though the whole house of commons were in his belly.

"It is said, however, to this day, by the Scottish *bons vivans*, or lovers of good wine, who are not few, that sir Hugh Palliser obtained a severe revenge against the Scots, on account of the affront he sustained in the above affair. Before the treaty of union, French wines had been subjected, on their importation to Scotland, to very trifling, or rather to no duties. They were therefore imported in great abundance; and claret was universally used by all persons in easy circumstances. After the treaty of union, and after what is called the *Methven treaty* with Portugal, by which the Portuguese wines obtained a preference in Britain, the French wines being thereby subjected to double duties, the British ministry avoided enforcing the law in Scotland. They had two reasons for this. In the *first* place, Scotland was considered as a poor country, the revenue from which was of little importance; and, *secondly*, they did not wish to render the union unpopular, by violently attacking, or attempting to alter the ancient habits of the people. Accordingly, they connived at the importation to Scotland of French wines under the name of Portuguese wines. It is said, however, with what truth we know not, that sir Hugh Palliser, on his return to England, represented Scotland as now become a wealthy and luxurious country;

remonstrated with administration against their past conduct, in allowing the revenue to be defrauded annually of a large sum of money; and threatened, that unless the law should be enforced, he would endeavour to bring the subject before the public in England. A British ministry has always sufficient occasion for money. Sir Hugh Palliser having thus pointed out a quarter where it might be obtained without the troublesome necessity of having recourse to a jealous house of commons, his remonstrances were favourably listened to, and the collectors of the revenue in Scotland were instructed to enforce the law relative to French wines. This was, for some time, accomplished with difficulty. The deep bays or friths, which run far into the country of Scotland, afforded great opportunities for smuggling, at a time when the British navy did not possess that absolute dominion over the ocean which it has since acquired. When seizures were made, the juries in exchequer, during a long period, would never confess themselves able to distinguish the taste of French from that of Portuguese wines. Their verdicts were therefore almost uniformly against the crown. Nor was this spirit absolutely got quit of till the early part of Mr. Pitt's administration, when the duties upon wine were reduced under the management of the excise."

Another anecdote.

"An illiberal doubt has been sometimes entertained, how far a nation derives advantage from the general diffusion of literature among the common people; but the ex-

ample of Scotland has demonstrated, that the highest purity of morals uniformly accompanies the greatest degree of intelligence. There is no doubt that, to the establishment of parish schoolmasters it has been owing, that, at all periods, crimes have in Scotland been so extremely rare. In periods of political effervescence, which occur in a nation once perhaps in a couple of centuries, the diffusion of literature rapidly spreads an acquaintance with whatever new notions are afloat in the world; but it also spreads, with equal rapidity, whatever can be stated against their truth or practicability, and thereby prevents their being rashly adopted. In all the ordinary occupations of life, also, an early education confers habits of reflection. It shows that honesty is the best policy; and inspires a pride of spirit, which is the best guardian of most men's integrity. It is true, that literature does not always tame a disorderly spirit; but, to a very late period of life, it renders reformation possible, and its result valuable; and renders the first follies, or even the vices, of youth not absolutely fatal. Hence it happens, that he who in Scotland was a very foolish young man, afterwards, in another country, is only distinguished by his soberness and successful industry. The celebrated marshal Keith, who was under the necessity of passing his life in exile from Britain on account of the accession of his family to the rebellion of 1715, and who was so highly distinguished as a skilful and gallant officer in the service of Russia and Prussia, is said to have related the following anecdote, which,

which, in a striking manner, illustrates the wandering temper of the Scots. He was at one time sent to negotiate some important affairs with a Turkish provincial officer of high rank, and was received in the usual style of eastern solemnity and magnificence, by which business is always greatly embarrassed and rendered tedious. To his no small surprise, the Turk inquired what languages he could speak; and on learning that he understood the French, which the Turk also understood, the latter proposed to dismiss their interpreters and servants, as they would in all probability more easily adjust their business when undisturbed by the intervention of third parties. The proposal was readily agreed to. The apartment was no sooner cleared, than, to the utter astonishment of marshal Keith, the Turk, walking familiarly up to him, addressed him in broad Scotch, and asked him when he was last at Aberdeen. "Weel, man, whan was ye last at Aberdeen?" On an explanation, it was found that this Asiatic chief was no other than the son of a Scottish peasant, who had seen marshal Keith in Aberdeenshire, and who, after various wanderings in quest of fortune, had taken up his residence in Turkey, "And chang'd his gods for theirs, and so grew great."

We have said that Mr. Forsyth is a good critic. The following we consider as a specimen of sound criticism.

"The style of Dr. Robertson's writings was also calculated to gain considerable favour. All his periods are swelling, and polished

with the utmost care, and are calculated to please the ear without offending the taste by the introduction of any foreign idiom, or of high-sounding and unusual words and phrases. At the same time, his style is very far from being destitute of redundancy. It is more artful than that of Gibbon, because the art is less apparent. But it is evident that this historian was at least as anxious about the structure of the sentences in which his details are enunciated, as about the details themselves. He never descends from his dignity, like the historian of England, Hume, or assumes the tone of easy and negligent narrative. In other respects, Dr. Robertson never forgets in his writings that he is a churchman, or ventures to hazard a sentiment, of which he is not certain that all the world will readily approve. He was a writer of too much prudence to earn the praise of great originality of thought."—*Beauties of Scotland*, vol. i. p. 368.

Mr. Forsyth is particularly attentive to the subjects of mines, strata, and soil, and to agriculture. The following general remark on Lanarkshire is very curious and striking.

"Upon the whole, it may be remarked, that this county, in some degree, contradicts a general rule relative to the fertility of the earth. It is generally understood, that in the same latitude land is always more valuable in proportion to the comparative lowness of the situation; but, in opposition to this rule, the territory along the Clyde above the falls seems to be superior to any in the lower part of the county; not only to these

fields

fields nearly on the same level on the ridges of the country, but exceeding, in real intrinsic fertility, the fine low grounds which are 400 or 500 feet less elevated. The meadows or valleys of the former, by the river-side, are cropped and left in grass for a few years alternately, and without receiving any manure continue to yield abundant harvests. The uplands, when properly freed of woods, are very productive with half the manure which is found necessary in the lower part of the county, and the harvests are generally earlier."

Mr. Chalmers, in his *Caledonia*, having entered Perthshire, and come through the camp of Ardoch to the valley of the Erne, the *Glacialis Ierne* of Claudian,* was unavoidably led to speak of the campaigns of Agricola in North Britain. Mr. Forsyth does not, like that most extraordinary military critic, Mr. George Chalmers, bring Agricola into Scotland through the Solway Frith, [called in Erse, Mr. C. informs us, *Taw*], the Locker Moss, the rugged and woody heights and glens of Selkirk Forest, and Lanarkshire, and the intricacies of Glendeyon. He supposes him, as all the world did before Mr. Chalmers, to have marched his legions against the Caledonians along the eastern coast of Scotland. And his fleet, he supposes, by his orders, sailing round the coast of England from Sandwich, attended his march to the Forth. Thus far well. Mr. Forsyth is very much inclined to believe that the famous battle between the Romans and the Caledonians, under

their leader Galgacus, was fought in the *Stormont*, somewhere near the confluence of the Tay and the Isla, near Kinloch and Blairgowrie. In our last volume, in a review of Mr. Chalmers's *Caledonia*, we have given our reasons for thinking that it was fought in the moor of Ardoch. There is nothing extravagant in the supposition that the scene of that great or decisive battle was the *Stormont*. That it really was the scene we do not think probable. Agricola, in the third year of the expeditions, had wasted, terrified, and bridled the country, *ponendis castellis*,† as far as the frith of Tay. After the victory over Galgacus, Agricola determined to push his conquests beyond the boundary to which he had extended his ravages and power, the Tay—*vastatis usque ad Tamm regionibus*—to the new nations that he had discovered, but not conquered—*novas gentes aperuit*. He therefore advanced, after the battle, into the region beyond the Tay, that had hitherto limited his conquests to that of the peninsula of Fife, lying between the estuaries of the Forth and of the Tay. Marching his army across this river, he passed onward to the north-east, into the land of the *Horesti*: which, it is most natural to suppose, comprehended not only *Angus* and *Mearns*, but that champaign part of Perthshire, which is bounded on the west and the south by the Tay, and on the north by the Grampian mountains. We speak familiarly now of the parishes of Cargyll, of Kinloch, and Blairgow-

* *Scotorum cumulos flevit Glacialis Ierne.*

† *TACIT. AGRIC. CAP. 22.*

rie; of Gowrie, and the Carse of Gowrie; of Angus, and of Mearns: but those distinctions were not known in the times of Agricola by the barbarous inhabitants; and if they had, they would not have been known to an invading Roman. Parishes and counties were determined or defined not altogether by contiguity, but by religious donations, feudal tenures and privileges, and other circumstances in the history of civilized society. Accordingly, Agricola, in a wild, unknown, and barbarous country, seizes only the great outlines of the Forth, the Clyde, the Tay, the Grampians, and the country, marked by natural boundaries of the Horesti. It is most natural to conceive that Agricola (from whose notes, no doubt, Tacitus wrote a brief account of his campaigns) considered all the inhabitants of the region into which he entered, on crossing the Tay, part of Perthshire as well as Angus and Mearns, as one people. The *Stormont* was part of the land of the Horesti. But if the battle with Galgacus was fought in the land of the Horesti, it could not have been said of Agricola that he marched his army into the territory of the Horesti.

We have remarked in Mr. Forsyth's enumeration of the principal mansions of the nobility and gentry of Perthshire, the mention of such insignificant and grotesque habitations as *Drimmie*, the seat of lord Kinnaird, in the Carse of Gowrie; and the omission of such elegant and finely-situated residences as the house of Invermay, the house of Abercarney, Faskally, Errol, and Duplin castle, the seat of the earl of Kinnoull. This

last is sweetly embosomed on elevated ground, on the side of a den, through which a rivulet, forming a cascade, in front of the south side of the house, flows into the Erue, and in the midst of one of the finest parks, pleasure grounds, and most extensive and best grown plantations in Scotland. In this mansion, also, is one of the finest collection of pictures in Scotland. It is not reckoned inferior to any in Scotland, that at the palace of Hamilton excepted. We notice also in the table of places in Perthshire, most remarkable on account of their elevation, or conspicuous on account of their situation and importance, *Belmont castle* (a neat modern house, the seat of the late lord privy-seal for Scotland), and the junction of the rivers Tay and Isla; certainly not distinguished by any circumstance either of celebrity or natural interest. We do not find, in this table, the celebrated hill of *Dunsinnane*, on which was situated the strong castle of Macbeth, king of Scotland, in the plain of Strathmore, about six or seven miles westward of Belmont castle, before it was named by the right honourable Stuart Mac'enzie, called CLINKHILL. Yet Mr. Forsyth, having described the castle of Macbeth, tells us, very truly, that "from the top of the hill of Dunsinnane there is an extensive view of above fifty miles every way, comprehending Fifeshire, the hills in the neighbourhood of Edinburgh, Glen Almon, Crieff, the hills in the neighbourhood of Blair Athol, and Brae Marr. Strathmore also, and a great part of Angus, are immediately under view. In short, there could

could not be a more commanding situation." *Beauties of Scotland*, vol. iv, p 320.

This hill is situate at the distance of about four miles from Scone, where the kings of Scotland were crowned, and six from Perth, the ancient capital of Scotland.

Before we take our leave of Mr.

Forsyth, we have to express particular satisfaction with the account he has given of the great and flourishing city of Glasgow, the classes into which he has arranged the inhabitants, and the characters of these, together with the circumstances by which they are formed,

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* The reader is requested to observe, that three distinct series of pagination have been followed in the present Volume, which commences respectively at the portions allotted to the History of Europe—the Chronicle—and the Characters.

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